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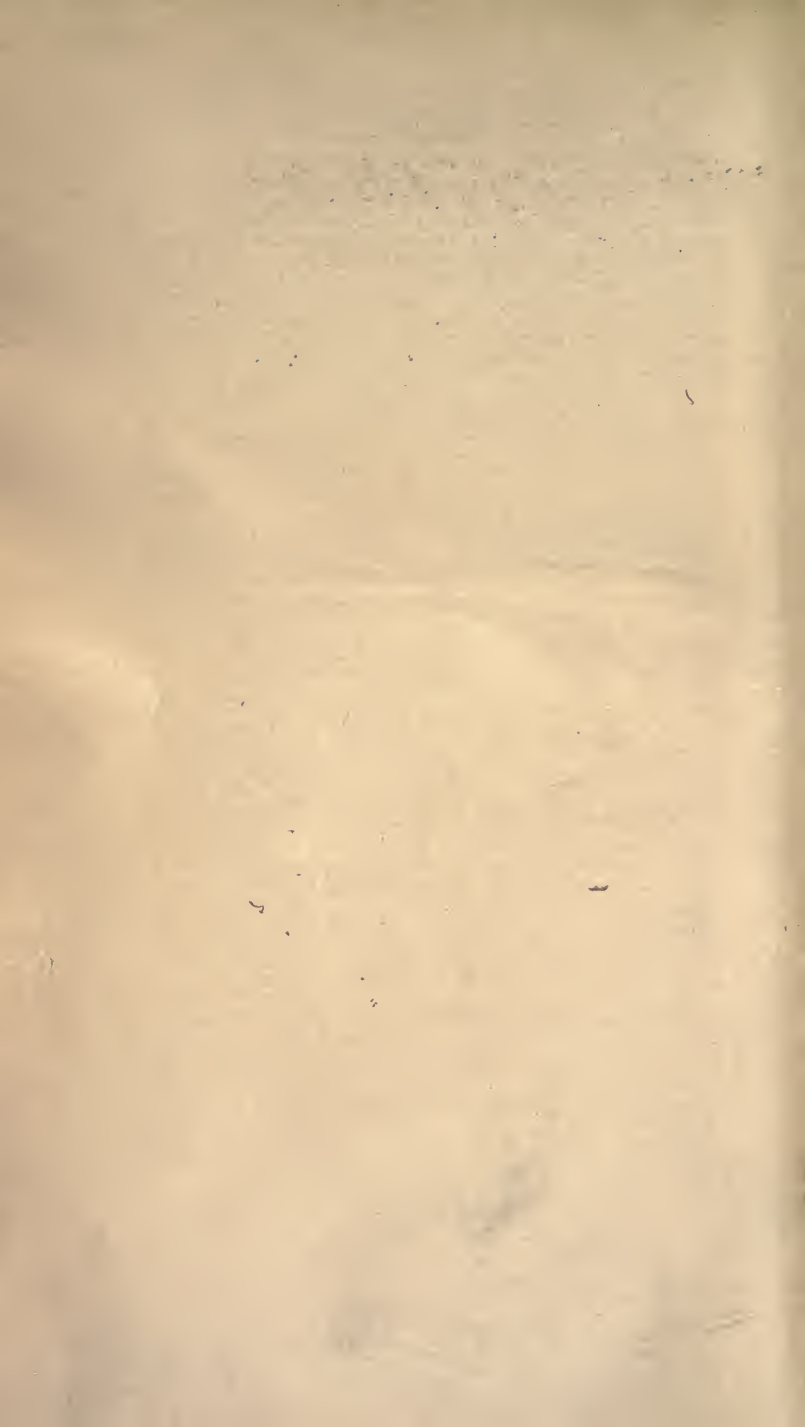


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ON
EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO
SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON
PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC
NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE
ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING
A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF
CHAUCER AND GOWER, AND REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESBURY
ON ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521.

BY
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PART III.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE XIVTH AND
XVTH CENTURIES.
CHAUCER, GOWER, WYCLIFFE, SPENSER, SHAKSPERE.
SALESBURY, BARCLEY, HART, BULLOKAR, GILL.
PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY.

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CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA.

In Part I.

- pp. 270-297. In addition to the arguments there adduced to shew that the ancient sound of long *i* was (*ii*) or (*ii*), and not (*ei*, *ai*, *ei*), Mr. James A. H. Murray has communicated to me some striking proofs from the Gaelic forms of English words and names, and English forms of Gaelic names, which will be given in Part IV.
- p. 302, l. 14, *blue* is erroneously treated as a French word, but in the ALPHABETICAL LIST on the same page it is correctly given as anglosaxon. The corrections which this oversight renders necessary will be given in Part IV., in the shape of a cancel for this page, which could not be prepared in time for this Part.

In Part II.

- p. 442, *Paternoster*, col. 2, vv. 4 and 8, for *don*, *miis·doon· read doon, mis·doon·*.
- p. 443, *Credo* 1, col. 2, ll. 4 and 7, for *lav·erd, ded, read laa·verd, deed*; *Credo* 2, col. 2, line 4, for *lov·erd read loo·verd*.
- p. 462, *verses*, l. 2, for *Richard* read *Richard*.
- pp. 464-5. On the use of *f* for *z*, and the possibility of *z* having been occasionally confused with (*s*) in speech, Mr. W. W. Skeat calls attention to the remarks of Sir F. Madden, in his edition of *Layamon*, 3, 437.
- p. 468, *Translation*, col. 2, l. 4, for *hil* read *hill*.
- p. 473, note, col. 2, l. 1, for 446 read 447; l. 17, for (*mee, dee, swee, pee*) read (*mee, dee, swee, pee*); l. 18, for *may* read *May*; l. 24-5 for (*eint·mynt*) read (*eint·ment*).
- p. 503, l. 8, *pronunciation*, for *dead·litshe* read *dead·liitshe*.
- p. 540, l. 6, for *hafði* read *hafði*.
- p. 549, l. 5 from bottom of text, for *mansaugur* (*maan·sœœi·gær*), read *man·saungur* (*maan·sœœi·gær*).
- p. 550, Mr. H. Sweet has communicated to me the sounds of Icelandic letters as noted by Mr. Melville Bell from the pronunciation of Mr. Hjaltalin, which will be given in Part IV.
- p. 553, verse 30, col. 1, l. 4, for *alíkálfi* read *aííkálfi*; col. 2, l. 4, for *aal·li·kaul·vi* read *aal·íikaul·vi*.
- p. 559, in the *Haustlång*; l. 1, for *er* read *es*, l. 2, for *er* read *es*; l. 4, for *bauge* read *baugi*; l. 5, for *Hel·lesbror . . . bauge* read *Hel·lesbror . . . baugi*; line 7, for *isarnleiki* read *isarnleiki*.
- p. 560, note 1, l. 2, for *lóngr* read *láng*.
- p. 599, col. 2, l. 14, for *demesne* read *demesne*.
- p. 600, col. 1, l. 6, for *Eugene* read *Eugene*.
- p. 614, *Glossotype* as a system of writing is superseded by *Glossic*, explained in the appendix to the notice prefixed to Part III.
- p. 617, col. 2, under *n*, l. 4, for *lpand* read *pland*.

In Part III.

- p. 639, note 2 for (*spii·seli, spes·eli*) read (*spii·sheli, spesh·eli*).
- p. 651. The numbers in the Table on this page are corrected on p. 725.
- p. 653, note 1. The memoir on Pennsylvania German by Prof. S. S. Haldeman, was read before the Philological Society on 3 June, 1870, and will be published separately; Dr. Mombert, having gone to Europe, has not furnished any additions to that memoir, which is rich in philological interest.
- p. 680 to p. 725. Some trifling errors in printing the Critical Text and Pronunciation of Chaucer's Prologue are corrected on p. 724, note.
- p. 754, note 1, for (*abitee·shun*) read (*abítaa·siun*).
- p. 789, col. 1, the reference after *†amat* should be 759⁴.
- p. 791, col. 2, under *much good do it you*, for *mychgoditio* read *mychgoditio*; and to the references add, p. 938, note 1.
- pp. 919-996. All the references to the Globe Shakspeare relate to the issue of 1864, with which text every one has been verified at press. For later issues, the number of the page (and page only) here given, when it exceeds 1000, must be diminished by 3, thus VA 8 (1003), must be read as VA 8 (1000), and PT 42 (1057), must be read as PT 42 (1054). The cause of this difference is that pages 1000, 1001, 1002, in the issue of 1864, containing only the single word *POEMS*, have been cancelled in subsequent issues.

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NOTICE.

Indisposition, arising from overwork, has greatly delayed the appearance of this third part of my work, and a recent relapse, rendering the revision of the last seventy pages and the preparation of this notice extremely difficult, has compelled me to postpone to the next part the illustrations for the xviith and xviiith centuries, which were announced to be included in the present. Three years or more will probably elapse before the remainder of the book can be published.

The fourth and concluding part of this treatise is intended to consist of four chapters, two of which, devoted to the xviith and xviiith centuries respectively, are now completely ready for press, and will therefore certainly appear either under my own or some other superintendence. In chapter XI., I am desirous of giving some account of Existing Varieties of English Pronunciation, dialectic, antiquated, American, colonial, and vulgar, for the purpose of illustrating the results of the preceding investigation. This cannot be properly accomplished without the extensive co-operation of persons familiar with each individual dialect and form of speech. I invite all those into whose hands these pages may fall to give me their assistance, or procure me the assistance of others, in collecting materials for this novel and interesting research, which promises to be of great philological value, if properly executed. Many hundred communications are desirable. There cannot be too many, even from the same district, for the purpose of comparison and control. As I hope to commence this examination early in 1872, it will be an additional favour if the communications are sent as soon as possible, and not later than the close of 1871. They should be written on small-sized paper, not larger than one of these pages, and *only on one side*, leaving a margin of about an inch at the top for reference notes, with the lines wide apart for insertions, and all the phonetic part written in characters which cannot be misread. Correspondents would much add to the value of their communications by giving their full names and addresses, and stating the opportunities they have had for collecting the information sent. For the purpose of writing all English dialects in one alphabet on an English basis, I have improved the Glossotype of Chapter VI., and append its new form under the name of *Glossic*, with specimens which will shew the reader how to employ it, (pp. xiii-xx.) For the sake of uniformity and general intelligibility, I should feel obliged if those who favour me with communications on this subject would represent all peculiarities of pronunciation in the Glossic characters only, without any addition or alteration whatever. The little arrangements here suggested will, if carried

out, save an immense amount of labour in making use of any communications.

The following table will shew the kind of work wanted. All the varieties of sound there named are known to exist at present, and there are probably many more. It is wished to *localize them accurately*, for the purpose of understanding the unmixed dialectic English of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, and to find traces of the pronunciations prevalent in the more mixed forms of the XIVth, XVth, and XVIth centuries. Many of the latter will be found in Ireland and America, and in the 'vulgar' English everywhere. No pronunciation should be recorded which has not been actually heard from some speaker who uses it naturally and habitually. The older peasantry and children who have not been at school preserve the dialectic sounds most purely. But the present facilities of communication are rapidly destroying all traces of our older dialectic English. Market women, who attend large towns, have generally a mixed style of speech. The daughters of peasants and small farmers, on becoming domestic servants, learn a new language, and corrupt the genuine Doric of their parents. Peasants do not speak naturally to strangers. The ear must also have been long familiar with a dialectic utterance to appreciate it thoroughly, and, in order to compare that utterance with the Southern, and render it correctly into Glossic, long familiarity with the educated London speech is also necessary. Resident Clergymen, Nonconformist Ministers, National and British Schoolmasters, and Country Gentlemen with literary tastes, are in the best position to give the required information, and to these, including all members of the three Societies for whom this work has been prepared, I especially appeal. But the number of persons more or less interested in our language, who have opportunities of observing, is so great, that scarcely any one who reads these lines will be unable to furnish at least a few observations, and it should be borne in mind that even one or two casual remarks lose their isolated character and acquire a new value when forwarded for comparison with many others. It is very desirable to determine the systems of pronunciation prevalent in the Northern, West and East and Central Midland, South Western, South Eastern, and purely Eastern dialects. The Salopian, Lincolnshire, and Kent Dialects are peculiarly interesting. Mr. James A. H. Murray's learned and interesting work on *Lowland Scotch* (London, Asher, 1871) will shew what is really wanted for each of our dialectic systems.

In the following, unfortunately very imperfect, Table a few suggestive words are added to each combination of letters, and the presumed varieties of pronunciation are indicated both in Glossic and Palaeotype, but only in reference to the particular combinations of letters which head the paragraph. The symbols placed after the sign =, shew the various sounds which that combination of letters is known to have in some one or other of the exemplificative words, in some locality or other where English is the native language of the speaker. In giving information, however, the whole

word should be written in Glossic, as considerable doubt may attach to local pronunciations of the other letters, and the name of the locality, and of the class of speakers, should be annexed. The quantity of the vowel and place of the accent should be given in every word, according to one of the two systems explained in the Key to Universal Glossic, p. xvi, and exhibited on pp. xix and xx. In writing single words, the accentual system, used on p. xx, is preferable. Great attention should be paid to the analysis of diphthongs, and the Glossic *ei*, *oi*, *ou*, *eu*, should only be employed where the writer, being unable to analyse the sound accurately, confines himself to marking vaguely the class to which it belongs. The trilled *r* when occurring without a vowel following should always be carefully marked, and the untrilled *r* should never be marked unless it is distinctly heard. Each new word, or item of information, should commence on a new line. Thus:

cord *kaa'd* or *kāad* Bath, workmen, petty traders, etc.

card *ka'd* or *kād* Bath, as before.

beacon *bai'kn* or *bāikn* Bath, as before.

key *kai'* or *kāi* Bath, as before.

fair *feir* or *fay'er* *fāyer* *fāyu'* Bath, country farming man.

TABLE OF PRESUMED VARIETIES OF ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION.

Vowels.

A short in: tap cap bad cat mad sack bag; doubtful in: staff calf half calve halve aftermath path father pass cast fast mash wash hand land plant ant want hang=*ae, a, a', aa, ah, au, o, ao, oa*=(*æ, æ, ah, a, a, ɔ, oo, oo*).

A long in: gape grape babe gaby late skate trade made ache cake ague plague safe save swathe bathe patience occasion ale pale rare name same lane wane=*ee, ai, e, ae, a, a', aa; aiy, aih', aiu, ey, eeh', eeu*=(*ii, ee, ee, ee, ææ, aah, aa; eei, ee', eeo, eei, ii', iio.*)

AI, AY in: way hay pay play bray day clay gray say lay may nay, bait wait aid maid waif waive ail pail trail fair hair chair pair stair=*ee, ai, e, ae, aa; aiy, aay', aay*=(*ii, ee, ee, ee, aa; eei, ai, aai.*)

AU, AW in: paw daw thaw saw law raw maw gnaw, bawl maul maunder, aunt haunt gaunt daughter=*aa, ah, au, ao, oa; aaw, auw*=(*aa, aa, ʌʌ, oo, oo; au, ʌu*).

E short in: kept swept neb pretty wet wed feckless keg Seth mess guess very hell hem hen yes yet=*i, e, ai, ae, a*=(*i, e, e, ɛ, æ*).

E long in: glade complete decent extreme here there where me he she we be=*ee, ai, e, ae, a?*=(*ii, ee, ee, ee, ææ?*)

EA in: leap eat seat meat knead mead read speak squeak league leaf leave wreath heath breathe crease ease leash weal ear, a tear, seam wean; yea great break bear wear, to tear; leapt sweat instead head thread spread heavy heaven weapon leather weather measure health wealth=*ee, ai, e, ae; eeh', aih'*; *yaa*=(*ii, ee, ee e, ee ɛ; ii', ee', ja.*)

EE in: sheep weed heed seek beef beeves teeth see the fleece trees heel seem seen=*ee, ai; aiy, ey*=(*ii, ee; ei, ei*)

EI, EY in: either neither height sleight Leigh Leighton conceive neive seize convey key prey hey grey=*ee, ai; aay, uuy, uy*=(*ii, ee; ai, ai, ei*).

EO in: people leopard Leominster Leopold Theobald=*ee, e, i, eeo, eeu*=(*ii, e, i, iioo, iia*).

EU, EW in: pew few hew yew ewe knew, to mew, the mews, chew Jew new shew shrew Shrewsbury stew threw sew grew brew=*eeu, iu, aiw, ew, aew, aw, ui, ue, uew, eo, eow, oo, oa, oaw uuw; aa, ah, au; yoa*=(*iu, iu, eu, eu, æu, ɪ, ʏ, yu, æ, æu, uu, oo, oow, eu; aa, aa, ʌʌ; juo.*)

I short in: hip crib pit bid sick gig stiff, to live, smith smithy withy hiss his fish fill swin sin first possible charity furniture=*ee, i, e, æ, a, u, u'*=(*i, i, e, ɛ, æ, ɔ, ʊ*).

I long in: wipe gibe kite hide strike
knife knives wife wives scythe blithe
ice twice thrice wise pile bile rime
pine fire shire; sight right might
light night fright fight pight; sight
rye my lie nigh fry fye pie=*i, ee,*
ai, au; iy, ай, ey, aay, ahy any,
uy, uuy=(ii, ii, ee, AA; ii, ei, ei,
ai, ai, Ai, ai, ai).

IE in: believe grieve sieve friend fiend
field yield=*ee, i, e, ae=(ii, i, i, e, e).*

O short, and doubtful, in: mop knob
knot nod knock fog dog off office
moth broth brother mother pother
other moss cross frost pollard Tom
ton son done gone morning song
long=*o, oa, ao, au, aa, u, wo=(o oo,*
o, o, A AA, a, a, u).

O long, OA, and OE in: hope rope soap
note goat oats rode road oak stroke
joke rogue oaf loaf leaves oath loth
loathe goes foes shoes lose roll hold
gold fold sold home roam hone groan
=*oo, oa, ao, au, ah, aa; ee, ai;*
eeh', aih', oah', aoh', oau, aaw, uw,
uuw; ye, ya, yaa; woa=(uu, o oo,
o oo, AA, aa, aa; ii, ee; ii', ee', oo',
oo', ooa, au, au, au, je, ja, ja; woo).

OI, OY in: join loin groin point joint
joist hoist foist boil oil soil poison
ointment; joy hoy toy moil noise
boisterous foison=*oy, auy, aay, oay,*
aoy, uy, uuy, ooy, u; waay, wuuy,
woy=(oi, ai, ai, oi, oi, oi, ai, ui, a;
wai, wai, wai).

OO in: hoop hoot soot heed food aloof
groove sooth soothe ooze tool groom
room soon moon; cook look shook
brook; loose goose=*oo, uo, ui, ue,*
eo; eoh', oeh', uuv=(uu u, u, ii,
yy, aa; aa', oe', au).

OU, OW in: down town now how
flower sow cow, to bow *flectere*,
a bow *arcus*, a bowl of soup
cyathus, a bowling green; plough
round sound mound hound thou out
house flour; found bound ground;
our; brought sought fought bought
thought ought nought soul four;
blow snow below, a low bough, the
cow lows, a row of barrows, a great
row *tumultus*, crow, know; owe,
own=*oo, uo, uo', oa, oa', aa, ah,*
au, ai; aaw, uw, uuw, oaw, aow,
uiw, uow, eow, eo, w, oe, w=(uu u, uu
u, uh, oo o, oh, aa, aa, AA, ee; au,
au, au, ouu, ouu, ru, yu, au, ay, aey).

U short in: pup cub but put bud cud
pudding much judge suck lug sugar
stuff bluff busy business hush bush
crush push rush blush bushel cushion

bull pull hull hulk bulk bury burial
church rum run punish sung=*u,*
uu, uo, oa', i, e, ue, eo=(a, a, u,
oh, i, e, y, a).

U long and UI, UY in: mute fruit
bruise cruise, the use, to use, the
refuse, to refuse, mule true sue fury
sure union=*yoo, eew, ue, uew, ui'w,*
eo, eow, eou=(juu, iu, yy, yu, uu,
aa, au, aa).

Consonants.

B mute or =*p, f, v, v', w=(p, f, v,*
bh, w).

C hard and K in: cat card cart sky etc.
=*k, ky', g, gy'=(k, kj, g, gj).*

C soft =*s, sh=(s, sh).*

CH in: beseech church cheese such
much etc. =*ch, k, kh, kyh, sh=(tsh,*
k, kh, kh, sh).

D =*d, dh, t, th=(d, dh, t, th).*

F =*f, v=(f, v).*

G hard in: guard garden, etc. =*g, gy',*
y=(g, gj, j), ever heard before n as
in: gnaw, gnat?

G soft, and J in: bridge ridge fidget
fudge budge =*j, g=(dzh, g).*

GH in: neigh weigh high thigh high
burgh laugh daughter slaughter
bough cough hiccough dough chough
shough though lough clough plough
furlough, slough of a snake, a deep
slough, enough through borough
thorough trough sough tough =*mute*
or *g, gh, gyh, kh, kyh, f, f', wh,*
w, oo, p=(g, gh, gh, kh, kh, f, ph,
wh, w, u, p).

H regularly pronounced? regularly
mute? often both, in the wrong
places? custom in: honest habita-
tion humble habit honour exhibi-
tion prohibition hour hospital host
hostler hostage hostile shepherd
cowherd Hebrew hedge herb hermit
homage Hughes hue humility (h)it
(h)us ab(h)ominably?

J see G soft.

K see C hard; ever heard before *n* in:
know knit knave knob?

L mute in: talk walk balk falcon fault
vault, alms? syllabic in: stab-ling
juggl-er? sounded *uol, ul, h'l=(ul,*
el, 'l) after *o* long? voiceless as *lh*?

M any varieties? syllabic in: el-m,
whel-m, fil-m, wor-m, war-m?

N nasalizing preceding vowel? ever =
ng? not syllabic in: fall'n, stol'n,
swoll'n?

NG in: long longer hanger danger
stranger linger finger singer, strength

length=*ng*, *ngg*, *nj*, *n*=(*q*, *qg*, *ndzh*, *n*); ever *ngg* or *ngk*=(*qg*, *qk*) when final in: sing thing nothing?

P ever confused with *b*? ever post-aspirated as *p_h*=(*ph*)?

QU=*kw*?, *kw*, *kwh*?=(*kw*, *kw*, *kwh*?)

R not preceding a vowel; vocal=*r*=(*r*), or trilled=*r'*=(*r*), or guttural=*r*, '*rh*'=(*r*, *rh*), or mute? How does it affect the preceding vowel in: far cart wart pert dirt shirt short hurt fair care fear shore oar court poor? ever transposed in: grass bird etc.? trilled, and developing an additional vowel in: wor-ld cur-l wor-m wor-k ar-m?

R preceding a vowel; always trilled=*r*'=(*r*), or guttural=*r*'=(*r*) ever labial=*w*, '*br*'=(*w*, *brh*)? Inserted in: draw(r)ing, saw(r)ing, law(r) of land, etc.?

R between vowels: a single trilled *r'*, or a vocal *r* followed by a trilled *r'*=*rr'*, *h'r'*=(*rr*, '*r*')?

S=*s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*?=(*s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*)? regularly *z*? regularly lisped=*t'h*?=(*c*)?

SH=*s*, *sh*, *zh*=(*s*, *sh*, *zh*), or, regularly *zh*=(*zh*)?

T=*t*, *d*, *th*, *s*, *sh*, *t'h*=(*t*, *d*, *th*, *s*, *sh*, *th*).

TH=*t*, *d*, *th*, *tth*, *dh*, *f*=(*t*, *d*, *th*, *tth*, *dh*, *f*) in: fifth sixth eighth with though whether other nothing etc.

V=*v*, *v'*, *w*=(*bh*, *w*), or regularly *w*?

W=*w*, *v*, *v*=(*w*, *bh*, *v*). Is there a regular interchange of *v*, *w*? inserted before O and OI in: home hot coat point etc.? regularly omitted in: wood wooed would woo woel woman womb, etc.? pronounced at all in: write, wring, wrong, wreak, wrought, wrap, etc.? any instances of *wl* pronounced as in: lisp wlonk lukewarm wlatng loathing wlappe white?

WH=*w*, *wh*, *f*, *f'*, *kwh*=(*w*, *wh*, *f*, *ph*, *kwh*).

X=*k*, *ks*, *gz*?

Y inserted in: ale head, etc.; regularly omitted in *ye*, *yield*, *yes*, *yet*, etc.?

Z=*z*, *zh*=(*z*, *zh*).

Unaccented Syllables.

Mark, if possible, the obscure sounds which actually replace unaccented vowels before and after the accented syllable, and especially in the unaccented terminations, of which the following words are specimens, and in any other found noteworthy or peculiar.

1) -*and*, husband brigand headland midland, 2) -*end*, dividend legend, 3) -*ond*, diamond almond, 4) -*und*, rubicund jocund, 5) -*ard*, haggard niggard sluggard renard leopard, 6) -*erd*, halberd shepherd, 7) -*ance*, guidance dependance abundance clearance temperance ignorance resistance, 8) -*ence*, licence confidence dependence patience, 9) -*age*, village image manage cabbage marriage, 10) -*ege*, privilege college, 11) -*some*, meddlesome irksome quarrelsome, 12) -*sure*, pleasure measure leisure closure fissure, 13) -*ture*, creature furniture vulture venture, 14) -*ate*, [in nouns] laureate frigate figurate, 15) *al*, cymbal radical logical cynical metrical poetical local medial lineal, 16) -*el*, camel pannel apparel, 17) -*ol*, carol wittol, 18) -*am*, madam quondam Clapham, 19) -*om*, freedom seldom fathom venom, 20) -*an*, suburban logician historian Christian metropolitan, and the compounds of *man*, as: woman, etc., 21) -*en*, garden children linen woollen, 22) -*on*, deacon pardon fashion legion minion occasion passion vocation mention question felon, 23) -*ern*, eastern cavern, 24) -*ar*, vicar cedar vinegar scholar secular, 25) -*er*, robber chamber member render, 26) -*or*, splendor superior tenor error actor victor, 27) -*our*, labour neighbour colour favour, 28) -*ant*, pendant sergeant infant quadrant assistant truant, 29) -*ent*, innocent quiescent president, 30) -*acy*, fallacy primacy obstinacy, 31) -*ancy*, infancy tenancy constancy, 32) -*ency*, decency tendency currency, 33) -*ary*, beggary summary granary literary notary, 34) -*ery*, robbery bribery gunnery, 35) -*ory*, priory cursory oratory victory history, 36) -*ury*, usury luxury.

Also the terminations separated by a hyphen, in the following words: sof-a ide-a, sirr-ah, her-o stuce-o potat-o tobacc-o, wid-ow yell-ow fell-ow shad-ow sorr-ow sparr-ow, val-ue neph-ew sher-iff, bann-ock hadd-ock padd-ock = frog, poss-ible poss-ibility, stom-ach lil-ach, no-tice poul-tice, prel-acy pol-icy, cer-tain, Lat-in, a sing-ing, a be-ing, pulp-it vom-it rabb-it, mouth-ful sorrow-ful, terri-fy signi-fy, child-hood, maiden-head, rap-id viv-id tep-id, un-ion commun-ion, par-ish per-ish, ol-ive rest-ive, bapt-ize civil-ize, ev-il dev-il, tru-ly sure-ly, har-mony matri-mony, hind-most ut-most better-most fore-most, sweet-

-ness, right-eous pit-eous plent-eous, friend-ship, tire-some whole-some, nation na-tional, pre-cious prodi-gious, official par-tial par-tiality, special spe-ciality spe-cialty, ver-dure or-dure, fi-gure, in-jure con-jure per-jure, plea-sure mea-sure trea-sure lei-sure cock-sure cen-sure pres-sure fis-sure, fea-ture crea-ture minia-ture na-ture na-tural litera-ture sta-ture frac-ture con-jec-ture lec-ture architec-ture pic-ture stric-ture junc-ture punc-ture struc-ture cul-ture vul-ture ven-ture cap-ture rap-ture scrip-ture depar-ture tor-ture pas-ture ves-ture fu-ture fix-ture seiz-ure, for-ward back-ward up-ward down-ward, like-wise side-wise, mid-wife house-wife good-wife.

All inflexional terminations, as in : speak-eth speak-s add-s spok-en pierc-ed breath-ed princ-es prince-'s church-es church-'s path-s path-'s wolv-es ox-en vix-en, etc. Forms of participle and verbal noun in -ing.

Note also the vowel in unaccented prefixes, such as those separated by a hyphen in the following words : a-mong a-stride a-las, ab-use, a-vert, ad-vance, ad-apt ad-mire ac-cept af-fix' an-nounce ap-pend, a-l-ert', al-cove a-byss, auth-entic, be-set be-gin, bin-ocular, con-ceal con-cur con-tract' con-trol, de-pend de-spite de-bate de-stroy de-feat, de-fer', dia-meter, di-rect dis-cuss, e-lope, en-close in-close, ex-cept e-vent e-mit ec-lipse, for-bid, fore-tell, gain-say, mis-deed mis-guide, ob-ject' ob-lige oc-casion op-pose, per-vert, pre-cede pre-fer', pro-mote pro-duce' pro-pose, pur-sue, re-pose, sub-ject' suf-fice, sur-vey sur-pass, sus-pend, to-morrow to-gether, trans-fer trans-scribe, un-fit, un-till.

Position of Accent.

Mark any words in which unusual, peculiar, or variable positions of accent have been observed, as : illus'trate il'lustrate, demon'strate dem'onstrate, ap'plicable applic'able, des'picable desp'icable, as'pect aspect', or'deal (two syllables) orde'al (three syllables), etc.

Words.

Names of numerals 1, 2, by units to 20, and by tens to 100, with thousand and million. Peculiar names of numbers as : pair, couple, leash, half dozen, dozen, long dozen, gross, long gross, half score, score, long score, long hundred, etc., with interpretation. Peculiar

methods of counting peculiar classes of objects. Ordinals, first, second, etc., to twentieth, thirtieth, etc., to hundredth, then thousandth and millionth. Numeral adverbs : once, twice, thrice, four times, some times, many times, often, seldom, never, etc., Single, simple, double, treble, quadruple, etc., fourfold, manifold, etc., three-some, etc. Each, either, neither, both, some, several, any, many, enough, enow, every. Names of peculiar weights and measures or quantities of any kind by which particular kinds of goods are bought and sold or hired, with their equivalents in imperial weights and measures. Names of division of time : minute, hour, day, night, week, days of week, sevennight, fortnight, month, names of months, quarter, half-quarter, half, twelvemonth, year, century, age, etc., Christmas, Michaelmas, Martinmas, Candlemas, Lammass, Lady Day, Midsummer, yule, any special festivals or days of settlement. Any Church ceremonies, as christening, burying, etc.

Articles ; the, th', t', e', a, an, etc. Demonstratives : this, that, 'at, thick, thack, thuck, they=þe, them=þam, thir thor thors these. Personal pronouns in all cases, especially peculiar forms and remnants of old forms, as : I me ich 'ch, we us, hus huz, thou thee, ye you, he him 'en=hine, she hoo=heo her, it hit, its his, they them 'em=hem, etc.

Auxiliary verbs : to be, to have, in all their forms. Use of shall and will, should and would. All irregular or peculiar forms of verbs.

Adverbs and conjunctions : no, yes, and, but, yet, how, perhaps, etc. Prepositions : in, to, at, till, from, etc.

Peculiar syntax and idioms : I are, we is, thee loves, thou beest, thou ist, he do, they does, I see it=saw it, etc.

Negative and other contracted forms : don't doesn't aint aren't ha'nt isn't wouldn't couldn't shouldn't musn't can't canna won't wunna dianna didn't, etc., I'm thou'rt he's we're you're I've I'd I'd I'll, etc.

Sentences.

The above illustrated in connected forms, accented and unaccented, by short sentences, introducing the commonest verbs : take, do, pray, beg, stand, lie down, come, think, find, love, believe, shew, stop, sew, sow, must, ought, to

use, need, lay, please, suffer, live, to lead, doubt, eat, drink, taste, mean, care, etc., and the nouns and verbs relating to: bodily parts, food, clothing, shelter, family and social relations, agriculture and manufacture, processes and implements, domestic animals, birds, fish, house vermin, heavenly bodies, weather, etc.

Sentences constructed like those of French, German, and Teviotdale in Glossic, p. xix, to accumulate all the peculiarities of dialectic utterances in a district.

Every peculiar sentence and word should be written fully in Glossic, and have its interpretation in ordinary language and spelling, as literal as possible, and peculiar constructions should be explained.

Comparative Specimen.

In order to compare different dialects, it is advisable to have one passage written in the idiom and pronunciation of all. Passages from the Bible are highly objectionable. Our next most familiar book is, perhaps, Shakspeare. The following extracts from the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act 3, sc. 1, sp. 69-133, have been selected for their rustic tone, several portions having been omitted as inappropriate or for brevity. Translations into the proper words, idiom, and pronunciation of every English dialect would be very valuable.

The Milkmaid, her Virtues and Vices.

Launce. He lives not now that knows me to be in love. Yet I am in love. But a team of horse shall not pluck that from me, nor who 'tis I love—and yet 'tis a woman. But what woman, I will not tell myself—and yet 'tis a milkmaid. Here is a cate-log of her condition. 'Imprimis: She can fetch and carry.' Why a horse can do no more; nay, a horse cannot fetch, but only carry; therefore is she better than a jade. 'Item: She can milk;' look you, a sweet virtue in a maid with clean hands.

[Enter Speed.

Speed. How now! what news in your paper?

Launce. The blackest news that ever thou heardest.

Speed. Why, man, how black?

Launce. Why, as black as ink.

Speed. Let me read them.

Launce. Fie on thee, jolt-head! thou canst not read.

Speed. Thou liest; I can. Come, fool, come; try me in thy paper.

Launce. There; and Saint Nicholas be thy speed!

Speed. [reads] 'Imprimis: she can milk.'

Launce. Ay, that she can.

Speed. 'Item: she brews good ale.'

Launce. And thereof comes the proverb: 'Blessing of your heart, you brew good ale.'

Speed. 'Item: she can sew.'

Launce. That's as much as to say, Can she so?

Speed. 'Item: She can wash and scour.'

Launce. A special virtue; for then she need not be washed and scoured.

Speed. 'Item: she can spin.'

Launce. Then may I set the world on wheels, when she can spin for her living.

Speed. 'Here follow her vices.'

Launce. Close at the heels of her virtues.

Speed. 'Item: she doth talk in her sleep.'

Launce. It's no matter for that, so she sleep not in her talk.

Speed. 'Item: she is slow in words.'

Launce. O villain, that set down among her vices! To be slow in words is a woman's only virtue: I pray thee, out with't, and place it for her chief virtue.

Speed. 'Item: she is proud.'

Launce. Out with that too; it was Eve's legacy, and cannot be ta'en from her.

Speed. 'Item: she will often praise her liquor.'

Launce. If her liquor be good, she shall; if she will not, I will; for good things should be praised.

Speed. 'Item: she hath more hair than wit, and more faults than hairs, and more wealth than faults.'

Launce. Stop there; I'll have her; she was mine, and not mine, twice or thrice in that last article. Rehearse that once more.

Speed. 'Item: She hath more hair than wit.'

Launce. More hair than wit? It may be; I'll prove it. The cover of the salt hides the salt, and therefore it is more than the salt: the hair that covers the wit is more than the wit, for the greater hides the less. What's next?

Speed. 'And more faults than hairs.'

Launce. That's monstrous: O, that that were out!

Speed. 'And more wealth than faults.'

Launce. Why, that word makes the faults gracious. Well, I'll have her: and if it be a match, as nothing is impossible,—

Speed. What then?

Launce. Why, then will I tell thee—that thy master stays for thee at the North-gate.

Speed. For me?

Launce. For thee! ay, who art thou?

he hath stayed for a better man than thee.

Speed. And must I go to him?

Launce. Thou must run to him, for thou hast stayed so long, that going will scarce serve the turn.

Speed. Why didst thou not tell me sooner? pox of your love-letters!

[*Exit.*

Launce. Now will he be swung for reading my letter—an unmannerly slave, that will thrust himself into secrets! I'll after, to rejoice in the boy's correction.

[*Exit.*

Of course it would be impossible to enter upon the subject at great length in Chapter XI. The results will have to be given almost in a tabular form. But it is highly desirable that a complete account of our existing English language should occupy the attention of an ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY, and I solicit all correspondents to favour me with their views on this subject, and to state whether they would be willing to join such a body. At the same time I must request permission, owing to the necessity of mental repose on this subject, to abstain from more than simply acknowledging the receipt of their communications during 1871.

In Chap. XII. I hope to consider the various important papers which have recently appeared, bearing upon the present investigations, especially those by Dr. Weymouth, Mr. Payne, Mr. Murray, Mr. Furnivall, and Herr Ten Brink, together with such criticisms on my work as may have appeared before that chapter is printed. Any reader who can point out apparent errors and doubtful conclusions, or who can draw my attention to any points requiring revision, or supply omissions, or indicate sources of information which have been overlooked, will confer a great favour upon me by communicating their observations or criticisms within the year 1871, written in the manner already suggested. The object of these considerations, as of my whole work, is, not to establish a theory, but to approximate as closely as possible to a recovery of Early English Pronunciation.

Those who have read any portion of my book will feel assured that no kind assistance that may thus be given to me will be left unacknowledged when published. And as the work is not one for private profit, but an entirely gratuitous contribution to the history of our language, produced at great cost to the three Societies which have honoured me by undertaking its publication, I feel no hesitation in thus publicly requesting aid to make it more worthy of the generosity which has rendered its existence possible.

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS.

25, ARGYLL ROAD, KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.

13 February, 1871.

GLOSSIC,

A NEW SYSTEM OF SPELLING, INTENDED TO BE USED CONCURRENTLY WITH THE EXISTING ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY IN ORDER TO REMEDY SOME OF ITS DEFECTS, WITHOUT CHANGING ITS FORM, OR DETRACTING FROM ITS VALUE.

KEY TO ENGLISH GLOSSIC.

Read the large capital letters always in the senses they have in the following words, which are all in the usual spelling except the three underlined, meant for foot, then, rouge.

BEET	BAIT	BAA	CAUL	COAL	COOL
KNIT	NET	GNAT	NOT	NUt	<u>FUOT</u>
	HEIGHT	FOIL	FOUL	FEUD	
	YEA	WAY	WHEY	HAY	
PEA	BEE	TOE	DOE	CHEST	JEST
FIE	VIE	THIN	<u>DHEN</u>	SEAL	ZEAL
				RUSH	<u>ROUZHÉ</u>
EAR	R'ING	EARR'ING	LAY	MAY	NAY
					SING

R is vocal when no vowel follows, and modifies the preceding vowel forming diphthongs, as in PEER, PAIR, BOAR, BOOR, HERB.

Use R for R' and RR for RR', when a vowel follows, except in elementary books, where r' is retained.

Separate *th*, *dh*, *sh*, *zh*, *ng* by a hyphen (-) when necessary.

Read a stress on the first syllable when not otherwise directed.

Mark stress by (·) after a long vowel or *ei*, *oi*, *ou*, *eu*, and after the first consonant following a short vowel.

Mark emphasis by (·) before a word.

Pronounce *el*, *em*, *en*, *er*, *ej*, *a*, obscurely, after the stress syllable.

When three or more letters come together of which the two *first* may form a digraph, read them as such.

Letters retain their usual names, and alphabetical arrangement.

Words in customary or NOMIC spelling occurring among GLOSSIC, and conversely, should be underlined with a wavy line ~~, and printed with spaist letters, or else in a *different type*.

Specimen ov Ingglisch Glosik.

NOM'IK, (dhat iz, kustemeri Ingglisch speling, soa kauld from dhi Greek *nom'os*, kustem,) konvai'z noa intimaishen ov dhi risee'vd proanunsiai'shen ov eni werd. It iz konsikwentli veri difkelt too lern too reed, and stil moar difkelt too lern too reit.

INGGLISH GLOSIK (soa kauld from dhi Greek *gloas'sa*, tung) konvai'z whotever proanunsiai'shen iz inten'ded bei dhi reiter. Glosik buoks kan dhairfoar bee maid too impaart risee'vd aurthoa'ipi too aul reederz.

Ingglisch Glosik iz veri eezi too reed. With proper training, a cheild ov foar yearz oald kan bee redili taut too giv dhi egzak't sound ov eni glosik werd prizen'ted too him. Aafter hee haz akwei'rd familiar'iti widh glosik reeding hee kan lern nomik reeding aulmoast widhou't instruk'shen. Dhi hoal teim rikwei'rd faur lerning boath glosik and nomik, iz not haaf dhat rikwei'rd faur lerning nomik aloa'n. Dhis iz impoartent, az nomik buoks and paiperz aar dhi oanli egzist'ing soarsez ov infermai'shen.

Glosik reiting iz akwei'rd in dhi proases ov glosik reeding. Eni wun hoo kan reed glosik, kan reit eni werd az wel az hee kan speek it, and dhi proper moad ov speeking iz lernt bei reeding glosik buoks. But oaing too its pikeu'lier konstruk'shen, glosik speling iz imee'dietli intel'ijibl, widhou't a kee, too eni nomik reeder. Hens, a glosik reiter kan komeu'nikait widh *aul* reederz, whedher glosik aur nomik, and haz dhairfoar noa need too bikum' a nomik reiter. But hee 'kan bikum' wun, if serkemstensez render it dizei'rabl, widh les trubl dhan dhoaz hoo hav not lernt glosik.

Dhi novelti ov dhi prezent skeem faur deeling widh dhi Speling Difikelti iz, that, wheil it maiks noa chainj in dhi habits ov egzis'ting reederz and reiterz, and graitle fasil'itait lerning too reed our prezent buoks, it ente'rli obviaits dhi nises'iti ov lerning too reit in dhi euzheuel komplikaited fashen.

Dhi abuv' aar edeukai'shenel and soashel eusez ov Glosic. It iz heer introadeu'st soalli az a meenz ov reiting Aul Egzisting Vare'i'tiz ov Ingglish Proanunsiai'shen¹ bei meenz ov Wun Alfabet on a wel noan Ingglish basis.

¹ Eevn amung' heili edeukaited Inglishmen, maarkt vare'i'tis ov proanunsiai'shen egzist. If wee inkloo'd proavin'shel deialekts and vulgaritiz, dhi number ov dheez vare'i'tiz wil bee inaurmusli inkreest. Dhi eer rikwei'rz much training, bifoar it iz aibl too apree'shiai't mineu't shaidz ov sound, dhoa it redili diskrim'inaits braud diferensez. Too meet dhis difikelti dhis skeem haz been divided intoo 'too. Dhi ferst, aur Ingglish Glosik, iz adapt'ed faur reiting Ingglish az wel az dhi autherz ov proanoun'sing diksheneriz euzheueli kontemplait. Dhi sekend aur Euniversel Glosik, aimz at giving simbelz faur dhi moast mineu't foanet'ik analisis yet achee'vd. Dhus, in dhi ferst, dhi foar difthongz *ei, oi, ou, eu*, aar striktli konven'shenel seinz, and pai noa heed too dhi grait vare'iti ov waiz in which at leest sum ov dhem aar habit'ueeli proanoun'st. Agai'n, *eer, air, oar, oor*, aar stil ritn widh *ee, ai, oa, oo*, auldhoo' an aten'tiv lisner wil redili rekogneiz a mineu't aulteraishen in dheir soundz. Too fasil'itait reiting wee mai euz *el, em, en, ej, a*, when not under dhi stres, faur dhoaz obskeu'r soundz which aar soa prevalent in speech, dhoa reprobaited bei aurthoa'ipists, and singk dhi disting'kshen bitwee'n *i*, and *ee*, under dhi saim serkemstensez. Aulsoa dhi sounds in defer, occur, deferring, occurring may bee aulwaiz ritn with *er*, dhus *difer, oker, differring, okerrring*, dhi dubling ov dhi *r* in dhi 'too laast

werdz sikeu'rring dhi voakel karakter ov dhi ferst *r*, and dhi tril ov dhi sekend, and dhus disting'gwisning dheez soundz from dhoaz herd in *her'ing, okur'ens*. Konsiderabl ekspeer'riens sujest's dhiz az a konveenient praktikel aurthoa'ipi. But faur dhi reprizentai'shen ov deialekts, wee rekwei'r jenereli a much strikter noataishen, and faur aurthoaep'ikel diskrip'shen, aur seientifik foanetik diskush'en, sumthing stil moar painfuoli mineu't. A feu sentensez aar anek'st, az dhai aar renderd bei Wauker and Melvil Bel, ading dhi Autherz oan koloa'kwiel uterens, az wel az hee kan estimait it.

PRAKTIKEL. Ende'ver faur dhi best, and proavei'd agen'st dhi werst. Nises'iti iz dhi mudher ov inven'shen. Hee' hoo wonts konten't kanot feind an eezi chair.

WAUKER. Ende'ver faur dhe best, and proavaay'd agen'st dhe wurst. Neeses'eetee iz dhe mudhur ov inven'shun. Hee' hoo wonts konten't kanot faay'nd an ee'zee chair.

MELVIL BEL. Endaeu'u'r fo'r dhi' baest, a'nd pr'aovaay'd a'gaen'h'st dhi' wuurst. Neesaes'iti iz dhi' muudh'u'r o'v invaenh'shu'n. Hee' hoo waun'h's ko'ntaenh't kan'o't faay'nd a'n ee'zi che'r.

ELIS. Ende'u' fu'(dhi)best u'n)-pr'oa'vuy'd u'gen'st dhi'wu'st. Nises'iti)z dhi)mudh'u'r u'v'inven'shu'n. Hee' hoo)wont's ku'nten't kan'ut fuy'nd u'n'jee'zi che'u'.

KEY TO UNIVERSAL GLOSSIC.

Small Capitals throughout indicate English Glossic Characters as on p. xiii. Large capitals point out the most important additional vowel signs.

THE THIRTY-SIX VOWELS OF MR. A. MELVILLE BELL'S "VISIBLE SPEECH."

	Back.	Mixed.	Front.		Back.	Mixed.	Front.
	Primary.				Wide.		
High	uu'	ea	EE		U'	I'	I
Mid	UU	U	AI		AA	A'	E
Low	ua	ua'	AE		AH	E'	A
	Round.				Wide Round.		
High	oo	ui'	ui		uo	uo'	UE
Mid	OA	oa'	EO		AO	ao'	OE
Low	AU	au'	eo'		o	o'	oe'

BRIEF KEY TO THE VOWELS.

- A as in English *gnat*.
 A' (read *ai-huok*) fine southern English *ask*, between *aa* and *e*.
 AA as in English *baa*.
 AE usual provincial English *e*, French *ê*, German *ä*.
 AH broad German *ah*, between *aa* & *au*.
 AI as in English *bait*, with no after-sound of *ee*.
 AO open Italian *o*, between *o* and *oa*.
 ao' closer sound of *ao*, not quite *oa*.
 AU as in English *caul*.
 au' closer sound of *au*, as *i* in Irish *sir*.
 E as in southern English *net*.
 E' modification of *e* by vocal *r* in *herb*.
 ea Russian *ѣ*, Polish *y*, variety of *ee*.
 EE as in English *beet*.
 EO close French *eu* in *peu*, *feu*.
 eo' opener sound of *eo*, not quite *oe*.
 I as in English *knit*.
 I' opener sound of *i*, not quite *e*, as *e* in English *houses*, Welsh *u*.
 o as in English *not*, opener than *au*.
 o' a closer sound of *o*.
 oa as in English *coal*, with no after-sound of *oo*.
 oa' closer sound of *oa*; *u* with lips rounded.
 OE open French *eu* in *veuf*, German *ö*.
 oe' opener sound of *oe*.
 oo as in English *cool*.
 u as in English *nut*.
 U obscure *u*, as *o* in English *mention*.
 ua open provincial variety of *u*.
 ua' slightly closer *ua*.
 UE French *u*, German *ü*.
 ui provincial Ger. *ü*, nearly *ee*, Swed. *y*.
 ui' Swedish long *u*.

uo as in English *full*, *woman*, *book*.
 uo' Swedish long *o*.

UU usual provincial variety of *u*.

uu' Gaelic sound of *ao* in *laogh*; try to pronounce *oo* with open lips.

SPECIAL RULES FOR VOWELS.

Ascertain carefully the received pronunciation of the first 12 key words on p. xiii, (avoiding the after-sounds of *ee* and *oo*, very commonly perceptible after *ai* and *oa*). Observe that the tip of the tongue is depressed and the middle or front of the tongue raised for all of them, except *u*; and that the lips are more or less rounded for *oo*, *uo*, *oa*, *au*, *o*. Observe that for *i*, *e*, *uo*, the parts of the mouth and throat behind the narrowest passage between the tongue and palate, are more widely opened than for *ee*, *ai*, *oo*.

Having *ee* quite clear and distinct, like the Italian, Spanish, French, and German *i* long, practise it before all the English consonants, making it as long and as short as possible, and when short remark the difference between *ee* and *i*, the French *fini*, and English *finny*. Then lengthen *i*, noticing the distinction between *leap lip*, *steal still*, *feet fit*, when the latter words are sung to a long note. Sustaining the sound first of *ee* and then of *i*, bring the lips together and open them alternately, observing the new sounds generated, which will be *ui* and *ue*. A proper appreciation of the vowels, primary *ee*, wide *i*, round *ui*, wide round *ue*, will render all the others easy.

Obtain *oo* quite clear and distinct, like Italian and German *u* long, French *ou* long. Pronounce it long and short before all the English consonants. Observe the distinction between *pool* and *pull*, the former having *oo*, the latter *uo*. The true short *oo* is heard in French *poule*. English *pull* and French *poule*, differ as English *finny* and French *fini*, by widening. Observe that the back of the tongue is decidedly raised as near to the soft palate for *oo*, *uo*, as the front was to the hard palate for *ee*, *i*; and that the lips are rounded. While continuing to pronounce *oo* or *uo*, open the lips without moving the tongue. This will be difficult to do voluntarily at first, and the lips should be mechanically opened by the fingers till the habit is obtained. The results are the peculiar indistinct sounds *uu'*

and *u'*, of which *u'* is one of our commonest obscure and unaccented sounds.

In uttering *ee*, *ai*, *ae*, the narrowing of the passage between the tongue and hard palate is made by the middle or front of the tongue, which is gradually more retracted. The *ai*, *ae*, are the French *é*, *è*, Italian *e chiuso* and *e aperto*. The last *ae* is very common, when short, in many English mouths. The widening of the opening at the back, converts *ee*, *ai*, *ae*, into *i*, *e*, *a*. Now *e* is much finer than *ae*, and replaces it in the South of England. Care must be taken not to confuse English *a* with *aa*. The true *a* seems almost peculiar to the Southern and Western, the refined Northern, and the Irish pronunciation of English. The exact boundaries of the illiterate *a* and *aa* have to be ascertained. Rounding the lips changes *ee*, *ai*, *ae*, into *ui*, *eo*, *eo'*, of which *eo* is very common. Rounding the lips also changes *i*, *e*, *a*, into *ue*, *oe*, *oe'*, of which *oe* is very common.

On uttering *oo*, *oa*, *au*, the back of the tongue descends lower and lower, till for *au* the tongue lies almost entirely in the lower jaw. The widening of these gives *uo*, *ao*, *o*. The distinction between *au*, *o*, is necessarily very slight; as is also that between *ao* and *o*. But *ao* is very common in our dialects, and is known as *o aperto* in Italy. The primary forms of *oo*, *oa*, *au*, produced by opening the lips, are the obscure *uu'*, *uu*, *ua*, of which *uu* is very common in the provinces, being a deeper, thicker, broader sound of *u*. But the wide sounds *uo*, *ao*, *o*, on opening the lips, produce *u'*, *aa*, *ah*. Here *aa* is the true Italian and Spanish *a*, and *ah* is the deeper sound, heard for long *a* in Scotland and Germany, often confused with the rounded form *au*.

Of the mixed vowels, the only important primary vowel is *u*, for which the tongue lies flat, half way between the upper and lower jaw. It is as colourless as possible. It usually replaces *ui* in unaccented syllables, and altogether replaces it in refined Southern speech. Its wide form *a'* is the modern French fine *a*, much used also for *aa* in the South of England. The rounded form *oa'* seems to replace *u* or *uu* in some dialects. The mixed sound resulting from attempting to utter *ah* and *a* together is *e'*, which Mr. Bell considers to be the true vowel in *herd*.

Distinctions to be carefully drawn in

writing dialects. EE and I. AI and E. AE and E. AA, AH and A. OA and AO. AO, AU and AH. OO and UO. UU and U. UI, UE and EEW, IW, YOO. UE and EO. OE and U.

QUANTITY OF VOWELS.

All vowels are to be read short, or medial, except otherwise marked.

The Stress (') placed immediately after a vowel shews it to be long and accented, as *august*; placed immediately after a consonant, hyphen (-), gap (:), or stop (.), it shews that the preceding vowel is short and accented, as *augus't*, *aamao'.*, *pa'pa'.*

The Holder (·) placed immediately after a vowel or consonant shews it to be long, as *au'gust*, *needl·*; the Stress Holder (··) shews that the consonant it follows, is held, the preceding vowel being short and accented, compare *hap'i*, *hap··i*, *ha'pi*, *hap·ri*; in theoretical writing only. Practically it is more convenient to double a held consonant, as *hap'i*, *hap'pi*, *hap'pi*.

Stop (·) subjoined to any letter indicates a caught-up, imperfect utterance, as *ka·*, *kat·* for *kat*; great abruptness is marked by (...)

Accent marks may also be used when preferred, being placed over the first letter of a combination, thus:

	Very long.	Long.	Medial.	Short.	Very short.
with stress—	âa··	âa	âa	âa	âa
without stress—	âa··	âa	âa	âa	âa

If the first letter is a capital the accent marks may be placed on the second, as *Âugust*, *Âugust*, *kdaâa*.

SYSTEMATIC DIPHTHONGS.

The stressless element of a diphthong is systematically indicated by a preceding turned comma (') called *hook*, as *m'eeai'ee* It. *miei*, *Laa'ooraa* It. *Laura*, *p'aaoo'raa* It. *paura*, *l'ueee* Fr. *lui*. But when, as is almost always the case, this element is 'ee 'oo, or 'ue, it may be replaced by its related consonant *y*, *w* or *vo*, as *myaiy*, *Laawraa*, *l'wee*. Any obscure final element as 'u, 'e, 'e', is sufficiently expressed by the sign of simple voice *h'*, as provincial *neeh't* night, *streeh'm* stream *wih'kn* waken. In applying the rule for marking stress and quantity, treat the stressless element as a consonant.

The four English Glossic diphthongs EI, OI, OU, EU are unsystematic, and are variously pronounced, thus :

EI is *uy* in the South, sometimes *a'y*, *aay*; and is often broadened to *uuy*, *ahy*, *au'y*, in the provinces.

OI is *oy* in the South, and becomes *any*, provincially.

OU is *uw* in the South, sometimes *a'w*, *aaw*, and is often broadened to *uwu* *ahw*, *oaw*, *aow*; it becomes *oe.w* in Devonshire, and *aew* in Norfolk.

EU varies as *iw*, *eww*, *yoo*, *yiw*, *yeeu*.

The Londoners often mispronounce AI as *ai'y*, *aiy*, *ey* or nearly *uy*, and OA as *oa'w*, *oaw*, *ow* or nearly *uw*.

English vocal R, is essentially the same as H', forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Thus English glossic *peer*, *pair*, *boar*, *boor*, *fer*, *difer-ring*, are systematic *pi'h'*, *pe'h'*, *baoh'*, *buoh'*, *fe'h'* or *fu'*, *dife'h'-ring* or *difur-ring*. But *r* is used where *r'*, or *rr'*, or *h'r'* may be occasionally heard.

CONSONANTS.

Differences from English Glossic consonants are marked by adding an *h* in the usual way, with *y'* for palatals, and *w'* for labials, by subjoining an apostrophe (') or by prefixing a turned comma (`,`), a turned apostrophe (`,`), or a simple comma (`,`).

Simple consonants, and added G.

Y, W, H; P B, T D, J, K G, F V, S Z, vocal R, L M N, NG.

Added H.

WH, CH, TH DH, SH ZH.

KH, GH German *ch*, *g* in *Dach*, *Tage*; YH, R'H, LH, MH, NH, NGH are the hissed voiceless forms of *y*, *r'*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*.

Added Y' and YH.

TY, DY, KY, GY, LY, NY, NGY', are palatalised or *mouillé* varieties of *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *l*, *n*, *ng*, as in *virtue*, *verdure*, old *cart*, old *guard*, Italian *gl*, *gn*, vulgar French, *il n'y a pas*=*ngy'aa pah*. LYH is the hissed voiceless form of LY'.

KYH, GYH are palatal varieties of KH, GH as in German *ich*, *fliege*.

Added W' and WH.

TW', DW', KW', GW', RW', R'W', LW', NW', &c., are labial varieties

of *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *r*, *r'*, *l*, *n*, &c., produced by rounding the lips at or during their utterance, French *toi*, *dois*, English *quiet*, *guano*, *our*, French *roi*, *loi*, *noix*, &c.

KWH, GWH are labial varieties of KH, GH as in German *auch*, *saugen*, and Scotch *quh*. HWH is a whistle.

Added apostrophe (') called "Hook."

H' called *aich-huok*, is the simplest emission of voice: H'W' is *h'* with rounded lips; H'WH a voiced whistle.

T', D', called *tee-huok*, *dee-huok*, dental *t*, *d*, with tip of tongue nearly between teeth as for *th*, *dh*.

F', V', called *ef-huok*, *vee-huok*, toothless *f*, *v*, the lip not touching the teeth; *v'* is true German *v*.

R', or R before vowels, is trilled *r*.

N' read *en-huok*, French nasal *n*, which nasalizes the preceding vowel. To Englishmen the four French words *vent*, *vont*, *vin*, *un* sound *von'*, *voan'*, *van'*, *un'*; but Frenchmen take them as *vahn'*, *voan'*, *vaen'*, *oen'*. Sanscrit *unuosvaa ru*.

K', G' peculiar Picard varieties of *ky'*, *gy'*, nearly approaching *ch*, *j*.

CH', J', TS', DZ' monophthongal Roman varieties of *ch*, *j*, *ts*, *dz*.

T'H, D'H lisped varieties of *s*, *z*, imitating *th*, *dh*; occasional Spanish *z*, *d*.

S' not after *t*, Sanscrit *visu.rgu*.

Prefixed comma (`,`), called "Comma."

,H read *koma-aich*, lax utterance, opposed to H.

,T ,D read *koma-tee*, *koma-dee* peculiar Sardinian varieties of *t*, *d*, the tongue being much retracted.

,L Polish barred *l*, with ,LH its voiceless, ,LW' its labial, and ,LWH its voiceless labial forms.

; read *hamza*, check of the glottis.

Prefixed turned comma (`,`), called "Hook."

ˆ read *ein*, the Arabic *ʾaayn* or *bleat*. ˆH, ˆT ˆD, ˆS ˆZ, ˆK, read *huok-aich*, *huok-tee*, &c.; peculiar Arabic varieties of *h*, *t*, *d*, *s*, *z*, *k*; ˆG the voiced form of ˆK.

ˆKH, ˆGH, called *huok-kai-aich*, *huok-jee-aich*; the Arabic *kh*, *gh* pronounced with a rattle of the uvula.

- ‘W, ‘PR, ‘BR, read *huok-dubl-eu*, &c.; lip trills, the first with tight and the others with loose lips; the first is the common English defective *w* for *r*, as *ve’wi t’woo*, the last is used for stopping horses in Germany.
 ‘R read *huok-aar*, the French *r grasseyé*, and Northumberland burr or *k’ruop* = *gh*†; ‘RH its voiceless form.
 ‘LH, ‘L, read *huok-el-aich*, *huok-el*, Welsh *ll*, and its voiced Manx form.
 ‘F, ‘V, read *huok-ef* &c.; *f*, *v* with back of tongue raised as for *oo*.

Prefixed turned apostrophe (’), called “Curve.”

- AA, read *kerv-aa*, an *aa* pronounced through the nose, as in many parts of Germany and America, different from *aan*’, and so for any vowel, ‘*h*, or *h*’.
 T, D, SH, ‘R, ‘L, ‘N read *kerv-tee* &c., Sanscrit “cerebral” *t*, *d*, *sh*, *r*’, *l*, *n*; produced by turning the under part of the tongue to the roof of the mouth and attempting to utter *t*, *d*, *sh*, *r*’, *l*, *n*.
 H read *kerv-aich*, a post aspiration, consisting of the emphatic utterance of the following vowel, in one syllable with the consonant, or an emphatically added final aspirate after a consonant. Common in Irish-English, and Hindoostanee.
 W is the consonant related to *ue*, as *w* is to *oo*.

Clicks,—spoken with suction stopped.

- C, tongue in *t* position, English *tut* !
 Q, tongue in *t* position.
 X, tongue in *ty* position, but unilateral, that is, with the left edge clinging to the palate, and the right free, as in English clicking to a horse. C, *q*, *x*, are used in Appleyard’s *Caffre*.
 QC, tongue in *ty* position, but not unilateral; from Boyce’s *Hottentot*.
 KC, tongue retracted to the ‘*k* position and clinging to the soft palate.

Whispers or Flats.

- ‘H, called *serkl-aich*, simple whisper;
 ‘H’ whisper and voice together
 ‘‘H’ diphthongal form of ‘*h*’.
 ‘AA, read *serkl-aa*, whispered *aa*, and so for all vowels.
 ‘B, ‘D, read *serkl-bee* etc., the sound of *b*, *d*, heard when whispering, as distinct from *p*, *t*, common in Saxony when initial, and sounding to

Englishmen like *p*, *t* when standing for *b*, *d*, and like *b*, *d* when standing for *p*, *t*. ‘G, whispered *g*, does not occur in Saxony.

- ‘V, ‘DH, ‘Z, ‘ZH, ‘L, ‘M, ‘N read *serkl-vee* etc., similar theoretical English varieties, final, or interposed between voiced and voiceless letters.

TONES.

The tones should be placed after the Chinese word or the English syllable to which they refer. They are here, for convenience, printed over or under the vowel *o*, but in writing and printing the vowel should be cut out.

- \bar{o} , \bar{z} , high or low level tone, *p, hing*’.
 \acute{o} , \acute{z} , tone rising from high or low pitch, *shaang*’.
 \grave{o} , \grave{z} rise and fall, (that is, *foo-kyen shaang*’), or fall and rise.
 \tilde{o} , \tilde{z} falling tone to high or low pitch, *kyoo*’ or *k, hoe*’.
 \check{o} , \check{z} sudden catch of the voice at a high or low pitch, *shoo*’, *zhee*’, *nyip*’, or *yaap*’.

SIGNS.

Hyphen (-), used to separate combinations, as in *mis-hap*, *in-got*. In *whair-ever*, *r* is vocal; *elm fauln* are monosyllables, *el-m*, *faul-n* are dissyllables; *fidler* has two syllables, *fidl-er* three syllables.

Divider), occasionally used to assist the reader by separating to the eye, words not separated to the ear, as *tel(er dhat)l doo*.

Omission (.), occasionally used to assist the reader by indicating the omission of some letters usually pronounced, as *hee)l doo)t*.

Gap (:) indicates an hiatus.

Closure (.) prefixed to any letter indicates a very emphatic utterance as *mei hei for my eye*.

Emphasis (‘) prefixed to a word, shews that the whole word is more emphatically uttered, as *ei ‘neu dhat ‘dhat dhat ‘dhat man sed woz rong*; *‘ei gaiv ‘too thingz too ‘too men*, and *‘hee gaiv ‘too, ‘too, ‘too ‘too, ‘too*.

The following are subjoined to indicate, † emission, ‡ suction, § trill of the organs implicated, † inner and ‡ outer position of the organs implicated, † tongue protruded, § unilaterality, * linking of the two letters between which it stands to form a third sound, (extreme faintness.

EXAMPLES OF UNIVERSAL GLOSSIC

* * * The Reader should pay particular attention to the Rules for marking vowel quantity laid down in the Key, p. xvi.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

French.—Ai p,wee uen vyaïy ka'raony' ai un'n)on'fon' bao'rny' oan' von'due deo moavae van' oa poeplh bæ't. Ee aet voo?

German.—Ahkh! aaynu' aayntseegyhu' ue'blu' foyreegyhu' mueku' koentu' v'oal ahwkwh meekyh boe'zu' mahkhu'n! Yhah'szoa! Es toot meer' oon:en'dleekyh laayt!

OLD ENGLISH.

Conjectured Pronunciation of Chaucer, transliterated from "Early English Pronunciation," p. 681:

Whaan dhaat Aa'pri:l with)is shoore's swao'te
 Dhe droo'kwht aof Maarch haath per'sed tao dhe rao'te,
 Aand baa'dhed ev'ri vaayn in swich li'koo'r
 Aof which ver'tue enjen'dred is dhe floo'r;
 Whaan Zefiroos, e'k, with)is swe'te bre'the
 Inspired haath in ev'ri haolt aand he'the
 Dhe tendre kropes, aand dhe yoonge soone
 Haath in dhe Raam is)haalfe koo'r's iroon'e,
 Aand smaa'le foo'les maa'ken melaodi'e,
 Dhaat sle'pen aal dhe nikyht with ao'pen i'e,—
 Sao priketh hem naa'tue'r in her' kao'raa'jes;
 Dhaan laongen faolk tao gao'n aon pil'gri'maa'jes,
 Aand paalmerz faor' tao se'ken straawnje straondes,
 Tao fer'ne haalwes koo'th in soon'dri laondes;
 Aand spes'iaali fraom ev'ri shi'res ende
 Aof Engelaond, tao Kaawn'ter'ber'i dhaay wende,
 Dhe hao'li blisfool maar'ti'r faor tao se'ke,
 Dhaat hem haath haolpen, whaan dhaat dhaay we'r se'ke.

DIALECTIC ENGLISH AND SCOTCH.

Received Pronunciation.—Whot d)yoo wont? *Vulgar Cockney*.—Wau'chi wau'nt? *Devonshire*.—Wat d)yue want? *Fifeshire*.—Whuu't u'r' yi' waan;n? *Teviotdale*.—Kwhaht er' ee wahntun?

Teviotdale, from the dictation of Mr. Murray of Hawick.—(Dhe)r' ti'wkwh sahkwhs graow'un e dhe Ri'wkwh Hi'wkwh Hahkw'h. —Kwhaht er' ee ah'nd um? U')m ah'nd um naokwht.—Yuuw un me'y el gu'ng aowr' dhe deyk un puuw e pey e dhe muunth e Mai'y.—Hey)l bey aowr' dhe naow nuuw.

Aberdeen.—Faat foa'r' di'd dhe peer' si'n vreet tl)z mi'dher'?

Glasgow.—Wu)l ait wur' bred n buu;ur' doon dhu waa;ur'.

Lothian.—Mahh' koanshuns! hahng u' Be'yli!—Gaang u'wah, laadi! gai tu dhu hoar's, sai xx! un shoo em baak ugi'n'!

Norfolk.—Wuuy dao'nt yu' paa'mi dhaat dhur 'tue paewnd yu' ao')mi, bo? Uuy dao'nt ao')yu' nao 'tue paewnd. Yuuw due!

Scoring Sheep in the Yorkshire Dales.—1. yaan, 2 taih'n, 3 tedhuru, 4 medhuru (edhuru), 5 pimp (pip), 6 saa'jis (see'zu), 7 laa'jis (re'ru), 8 sao'va (koturu), 9 dao'vu (hau'nu), 10 dik, 11 yaan uboo'n, 12 tain uboo'n, 13 tedhur' uboo'n, 14 medhur' uboon, 15 jigit, 16 yaan ugeeh'n, 17 tain ugeeh'n, 18 tedhur' ugeeh'n, 19 medhur' ugeeh'n, 20 gin ageeh'n (bumfit).

DIALECTS OF THE PEAK OF DERBYSHIRE FROM THE DICTATION OF
MR. THOMAS HALLAM, OF MANCHESTER, A NATIVE OF THE PEAK.

* * Mr. Hallam considers that he said *a', uo. uow, vâeys*, where I seemed to hear and wrote *aa, oa', ui'w, va'ys*. Mr. Hallam dictated the quantities.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH VARIETY.

Th)Sôa'ngg u) Sôlumun, Châapt'ur th)-
sâekund.

1. Aú)m th)rôaz u)Shâerun un)th)-
lilli u)th vâalliz.

2. Lànyk th)lilli umôa'ng thâurnz,
sûi'w iz màhy lûuv umôa'ng th)-
dûuwt't'ur.

3. Làhyk th)âappl t'riy umôa'ng
th)t'riyz u)th wôa'd, sûi'w iz mahy
bilûuvd umôa'ng th)sôa'nz. Aú sit'mi
dâawn wi grâet dliy ôa'nd'ur'iz
shâadu, un)iz)frûi'wt wur)swiwt tu)mi
tâist.

4. Iy brûuwt)mi tu)th)fêeh'stin
âaws, un)iz)flâ'g ôar mi wur lûuv.

5. St'raengthu)mi wi)sôa'mut'
d'ringk, kûumfurt)mi wi)âapplz: fur
âu)m lûuv-sik.

6. Iz lift ônt)s ôa'nd'ur mi)yâed,
un)iz)riyt ônt tlips)mi.

7. Aú châarj)yu, ôa dûuwt't'rz u)Ji-
rûi'wslum, bi)th)rôaz, un)bi)th)stâ'gz
u)th)ffylt, uz yôa mun nôadhur stûur,
nur wâ'kn mi)lûuv, til)iy)plêeh'zuz.

8. Th)vâ'ys u)mi)bilûuvd! Lû:wk,
iy kûumz lêeh'pin ôa'pu)th)mâawntinz,
sky'ippin ôa'pu)th ilz.

9. Mi)bilûuvd)z làhyk u)rôa, ur')u)-
yôa'ng stâ'g: lûi'wk, iy stôndz ut)-
bâ'k'u âar)wâu, iy lûi'wks âawt ut)-
th)windus, un)shôaz issâel thrûi'w)-
th)lâatiz.

10. Mi)bilûuvd spâuk, un)sâed
tûi'w)mi, Gy'âet ôa'p, mi)lûuv, mi)-
fâer')un, un)kûum uwâi.

11. Fur, lûi'wk, th)wint'ur)z pâast,
un)th)râin)z ôar un)gâum.

12. Th)flâawurz ur)kûumin ôa'pu)-
th)grâawnd, th)tâhym)z kûumn us)th)-
bridz singn, un)th)vâ'ys u)th)tûurtl)z
êerd i)âar)kôa'n'tri.

13. Th)fig t'riyz ur) gy'âetin griyn
figz ôn, un)th)vâhynz gy'in u)nâhys
smâel wi)th)yôa'ng grâips. Gy'âet
ôa'p, mi)lûuv, mi)fâer')un, un)kûum
uwâi.

14. Oâ màhy dôav, uz)urt)i)th)tlifs
u)th)rôk, i)th)sâikrit spôts u)th)stâerz,
lâe)mi siy dhi)fâis, lâe)mi êer dhi)-
vâ'ys; fur)dhi) vâ'ys is swiwt, un)dhi)-
fâis iz vâerri prâati.

TADDINGTON VARIETY.

Th)Sôa'ngg u)Sôlumun, Châaptur th)-
sâekund.

1. Aú)m th)rôaz u)Shâerun un)th)-
lilli u)th vâalliz.

2. Us th)lilli umôa'ng thâurnz, sôo
iz mâu lûuv umôa'ng th)dûuwtur.

3. Us th)âappl tràey umôa'ng th)-
trâeyz u)th wôa'd, sôo)z mâu bilûuvd
umôa'ng th)sôa'nz. Aú sit dâawn wi
grêet dlâey ôa'ndur'iz shâadu, un)iz)-
fri'wt wur)swâeyt tu)mi)tâist.

4. Aey brûuwt)mi tu)th)fêestinnâaws,
un)iz)flâ'g ôar)mi wur lûuv.

5. Ky'âeypp mi ôa'p wi' sôa'mut'
dringk, kûumfurt)mi wi)âapplz; fur
âu)m lûuv-sik.

6. Iz lift ônd)z ôa'ndur mi)yâed, un)-
iz râeyt ônd tlips)mi.

7. Aú tâel)yu, ôa dûuwtur u)Ji-
rûuwslum, bi)th)rôaz, un)bi)th)stâ'gz
u)th)fâeylt, dhut yôa mun nôadhur stûur
nur wâakn mau lûuv, til aey làhyks.

8. Th)vâ'ys u)mi)bilûuvd! Lûuwk,
aey kûumz lêeppin ôa'pu)th)mâawn-
tinz, sky'ippin ôa'pu)th ilz.

9. Mi)bilûuvd)z làhyk u)rôa, ur')u)-
yôa'ng stâ'g: lûuwk, aey stôndz ut)-
th)bâak'n âar)wâu, aey lûuwks âawt
ut)th)windus, un)shôaz issâel thrûuw)-
th)lâatiz.

10. Mi)bilûuvd spâuk. un)sâed
tûuw)mi, Gy'âer')ôa'p, mi)lûuv, mi)-
fâer')un, un)kûum uwêe.

11. Fur, lûuwk, th)wintur)z pâast,
un)th)rêen)z ôar un)gâum.

12. Th)flâawurz ur)kûumin ôa'pu)-
th)grâawnd, th)tâhym)z kûumn us)th)-
bridz singn, un)th)vâhys u)th)tûurtl)z
êerd i)âar)kôa'n'tri.

13. Th)fig tràeyz ur)gy'âetin grâeyn
figz ôn, un)th)vâhynz gy'in u)nâhys
smâel wi)th)yôa'ng grâips. Gy'âer')-
ôa'p, mi)lûuv, mi)fâer')un, un)kûum
uwêe.

14. Oâ mâu dôav, uz)urt)i)th)niks
u)th)rôk, i)th)sêekrit spôts u)th)stâerz,
lâe)mi sâey dhi)fâis, lâe)mi êer dhi)-
vâhys; fur)dhi)vâhys is swâeyt, un)-
dhi)fâis iz vâerri prâati.

* * Separate Copies of this Notice and Appendix on Glossic will be
sent on application to the Author.

CHAPTER VII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.§ 1. *Chaucer.*

CRITICAL TEXT OF PROLOGUE.

IN accordance with the intimation on p. 398, the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* is here given as an illustration of the conclusions arrived at in Chap. IV., for the pronunciation of English in the XIVth century. But it has been necessary to abandon the intention there expressed, of following the Harl. MS. 7334 as closely as possible, for since the passage referred to was printed, the Chaucer Society has issued its magnificent Six-Text Edition of the Prologue and Knight's Tale, and it was therefore necessary to study those MSS. with a view to arriving at a satisfactory text to pronounce, that is, one which satisfied the laws of grammar and the laws of metre better than the reading of any one single MS. which we possess. For this purpose the systematic orthography proposed on p. 401, became of importance. The value of exact diplomatic reprints of the MSS. on which we rely, cannot be overrated. But when we possess these, and endeavour to divine an original text whence they may have all arisen, we ought not to attempt to do so by the patch-work process of fitting together words taken from different MSS., each retaining the peculiar and often provincial orthography of the originals. The result of such a process could not but be more unlike what Chaucer wrote than any systematic orthography. Chaucer no doubt did not spell uniformly. It is very difficult to do so, as I can attest, after making the following attempt, and probably not succeeding. But a modern should not venture to vary his orthography according to his own feelings at the moment, as they would be almost sure to lead him astray. Whenever, therefore, a text is made out of other texts some sort of systematic orthography is inevitable, and hence, notwithstanding the vehe-

ment denunciation of the editor of the Six-Text Edition,¹ I have made trial of that one proposed on p. 401, in all its strictness. The result is on the whole, better than could have been expected. Notwithstanding the substantial agreement of the Harleian 7334, and the Six New Texts, there is just sufficient discrepancy to assist in removing almost every difficulty of language and metre, so far as the prologue is concerned, and to render conjecture almost unnecessary. The details are briefly given in the footnotes to the following composite text.

PRONUNCIATION OF LONG U AND OF AY, EY AS DEDUCED FROM A COMPARISON
OF THE ORTHOGRAPHIES OF SEVEN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CANTERBURY
TALES.

The investigations in Chap. IV. for the determination of the pronunciation of the xivth century, were avowedly founded upon the single MS. Harl. 7334 (*suprà* p. 244). Now that large portions of six other MSS. have been diplomatically printed, it is satisfactory to see that this determination is practically unaffected by the new orthographies introduced. The Cambridge and the Lansdowne MSS., indeed, present us at first sight with what appears to be great vagaries, but when we have once recognized these as being, not indeterminate spellings of southern sounds, but sufficiently determinate representations of provincial, northern, or west midland, utterances, mixed with some attempts to give southern pronunciation, they at once corroborate, instead of invalidating, the conclusions already obtained. That this is the proper view has been sufficiently shewn in the Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition, p. 51 and p. 62, and there is no need to discuss it further.

¹ Temporary Preface to the Six-Text Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Part I., by *F. J. Furnivall*, pp. 113-115. A uniform system of spelling did not prevail in the xivth century, and as we have seen, can scarcely be said to prevail in the xixth, but variations were not intentional, and the plan I advocate is, from the varied spellings which prevail, to discover the system aimed at, but missed, by the old writer, and adopt it. All varieties of grammar, dialect, and pronunciation, when belonging to the author, and not his scribe, who was often ignorant, and still oftener careless (p. 249), should be preserved, and autographs, such as Orrmin's and Dan Michel's, must be followed implicitly and *litteratim*. In such diplomatic printing, I even object to insertions between brackets. They destroy the appearance of the original, and hence throw the investigator into

the editor's track, and often stand in the way of an independent conjecture. At the same time they do not present the text as the editor would shew it, for the attention is distracted by the brackets. The plan pursued for the Prisoner's Prayer, *suprà* pp. 434-437, of giving the original and amended texts in parallel columns, is the only one which fully answers both purposes. Where this is not possible, it appears to me that the best course to pursue is to leave the text pure, and submit the correction in a note. This serves the purpose of the [] or *sic*, much more effectually than such disturbances of the text, which are only indispensable when notes are inconvenient. The division of words and capitals of the original should for the same reason be retained. See the Temp. Pref. p. 88.

These MSS. may be looked upon as authorities for the words, but not for the southern pronunciation of the words, and they shew their writers' own pronunciation by using letters in precisely the same sense as was assigned from the Harl. MS. on p. 398 above. Two points may be particularly noticed because they are both points of difference between Mr. Payne and myself, (*suprà* pp. 582, 583) and in one of them I seem to differ from many of those who have formed an opinion on the subject.

Long *u* after an examination of all the authorities I could find, was stated on p. 171 to have been (*yy*) during the *xv*th century. There did not appear to be any ground for supposing it to be different in the *xiv*th century, and hence it was assumed on p. 298 to have had that value at that time. This was strengthened by the proof that (*uu*), the only other sound which it could have represented, was written *ou*, p. 305. A further though a negative proof seems to be furnished by the fact that I have not observed any case of long *u* and *ou* rhyming together, or being substituted one for the other in the old or any one of the six newly published texts.¹ I cannot pretend to have carefully examined them for that purpose, but it is not likely that in my frequent references to them for other purposes, such a marked peculiarity should have escaped me. It has however been already pointed out that in the first half of the *xiii*th century (*uu*) was represented by *u*, and not by *ou*, and for about thirty years, including the end of the *xiii*th and beginning of the *xiv*th century, both signs were employed indiscriminately for (*uu*), and that this use of *ou* seemed to have arisen from a growing use of *u* as (*yy*), pp. 424, 470, 471 note 2, etc.² Hence the predominance of *ou* in the be-

¹ Compare *fortune*, *buke* in Hampole (*suprà* p. 410, n. 2). The two orthographies *boke*, *buke*, struggle with each other in Hampole. In the *Towneley Mysteries*, I have also observed the rhyme, *goode infude*, which however, may be simply a bad rhyme, the spelling is Northern and of the latter part of the *xv*th century. On examining the Harl. MS. 2253 for the rhymes: *bur mesaventur*, *bure couverture*, quoted from the Cam. MS. of King Horn on p. 480, I find that the first rhyme disappears. Thus v. 325, Lumby's edition of the Cam. MSS. has

Went ut of my bur
Wiþ muchel mefaventur
and the Harl. reads fo. 85,
Went out of my boure,
flame þe mott byþoure;
and v. 649, the Cam. MS. has
heo ferde in to bure
to sen auenture,
and the Harl. has, fo. 87,
Horn ne þohte nout him on
ant to boure wes ygon.

Judging however by the collation in F. Michel's edn. the Oxf. MS. agrees with the Cam. The text is clearly doubtful.

But v. 691, which in the Cam. MS. runs

he liþ in bure
under couerture
becomes in the Harl. fo. 87,
he byht nou in boure,
vnder couertoure,

where the scribe by adopting the orthography *ou* has clearly committed himself to the pronunciation (*uu*) and not (*yy*). It would, however, not be safe to draw a general conclusion from these examples in evidently very untrustworthy texts, which have yet to be properly studied in connection with dialectic and individual pronunciation, *suprà* p. 481.

² On p. 301, note, col. 1, a few instances of the Devonshire substitutes for (*uu*) are given, on the authority of Mr. Shelly's pronunciation of Nathan Hogg's Letters. The new series of

ginning of the xivth century and the subsequent strict severance of long *u* and *ou*, which seem so far as I have observed, to have been never confused, as short *u* and *ou* certainly were (p. 304). The conclusion seems to be inevitable, that long *u* and *ou* represented different sounds, and that the long *u* must have had in the xivth, what Bullokar in the xvith century called its "olde and continued" sound, namely (yy). This, however, is directly opposed to Mr. Payne's opinions given on p. 583.

those letters there named, having an improved orthography, using *u*, *a*, for (y, æ),—not (a), as there misprinted,—has allowed me to make some collections of words, which are curious in connection with the very ancient western confusion of *u*, *e*, *i*, and the pronunciation of long *u* as (yy). It may be stated that the sound is not always exactly (yy). In various mouths, and even in the same mouth, it varies considerably, inclining towards (uu), through (uv?), or towards (æ) the labialised (æe). The short sound in *did* seemed truly (dæd). But in *could*, *good*, I heard very distinctly (kyd, gyd) with a clear, but extremely short (y), from South Devon peasants in the neighbourhood of Totnes. Nor is the use of (yy) or (uu, æ) for (uu) due to any incapacity on the part of the speaker to say (uu). The same peasant who called *Combs*, (Kyyms) or (Kæms), [it is difficult to say which, and apparently the sound was not determinate], and even echoed the name thus when put to him as (Kuums), and called *brook* (bryk), with a very short (y), talked of (muur, stuunz, ruud) for *more, stones, road*. Mr. Murray, in his paper on the Scotch dialect in the Philological Transactions, has some interesting speculations on similar confusions in Scotch, and on the transition of (u) or (v) through (æ) into (æ) and finally (æ). On referring to pp. 160-3, *suprà*, the close connection of (uu, yy) will be seen to be due to the fact that both are labial, and that in both the tongue is raised, the back for (uu) and front for (yy). The passage from (uu) to (yy) may therefore be made almost imperceptibly, and if the front is slightly lowered, the result becomes (æ). The two sounds (yy, æ) are consequently greatly confused by speakers in Scotland, Norfolk, and Devonshire. Mr. Murray notes the resemblance between (æ, æ),—which indeed led to the similarity of their nota-

tion in palaeotype—as shewn by Mr. M. Bell's assigning (æ) and my giving (æ) to the French mute *e*, which others again make (æh). If then (uu) travels through (y, æ) to (æ), its change to (æ) is almost imperceptible, and the slightest labialisation of the latter sound gives (o). Whatever be the reason, there can be no doubt of the fact that (u, y, æ, æ, æ, o) do interchange provincially *now*, and hence we must not be surprised at finding that they did so in ancient times, when the circumstances were only more favourable to varieties of speech. These observations will serve in some degree to explain the phenomena alluded to in the text, and also the following lists from Nathan Hogg's second series, in which I retain the orthography of the author (Mr. H. Baird), where we should read *u*, *a* as (y, æ) short or long, and other letters nearly as in glossotype.

EW and long U become (yy), as: *blu*, buty, cruel, curiyss curious, cut, acute, duce deuce, duty, hu, hue yew, humin human, kinklud conclude, muzic, nu new, pur pure, ruin'd, stu stew, stupid, tru, truth, tun, vlut flute, vu view few, rum fume, vutur future, yuz'd used, zuant suant.

Long and short OO, OU, O, U, usually called (uu, u) become (yy, y) or (æ, æ), as: *balu* hullahbaloo, blum bloom, bruk brook, buk book, chuz choose, cruk crook, cud could, curt court, cus course coarse, dru through, drupin drooping, du do, gud good, gulden golden, intu, kushin cushion, luk look, lus'nd loosened, minuver manoeuvre, muv move, num noon, pul'd pulled, pruv prove, puk pook, rum room, shu shoe, shud should, skule school, stud stood, trupin trooping, tu too two to [emphatic, unemphatic ta = (tæ)], tuk took, tum tomb, u who, vul full fool, vut foot, yu you, zmuthe smooth, zun soon.

Short U, OO, O usually called (æ) become (i), as: *blid* blood, *dist* do'st, *honjist*, unjust, *jist* just adv., *rin* run

The second point is extremely difficult, and cannot be so cursorily dismissed. What was the sound attributed to *ai ay, ei ey* in Chaucer? The constant confusion of all four spellings shews that it was one and the same.¹ Here again the voice of the xvth century was all but unanimous for (ai), but there is one remarkable exception, Hart, who as early as 1551 (in his MS. cited below Chap. VIII, § 3, note 1), distinctly asserts the identity of the sounds of these combinations with that of *e, ea*, that is (ee). For printing this assertion in 1569 he was strictly called to order by Gill in 1621, *suprà* p. 122. All the other writers of the xvth century, especially Salesbury and Smith distinctly assert that (ai) was the sound. Hence on p. 263, (ai) was taken without hesitation to be the sound of *ay, ey*, in Chaucer. We are familiar with the change of (ai) into (ee), p. 238, and with the change of (ii) into (æi, ai), p. 295, but the change of (ee) into (ai), although possible, and in actual living English progress (p. 454, n. 1), is not usual. There was no reason at all to suppose that *ay* could have been (ii), and little reason to suppose that it would have been (ee) before it became (ai). On examining the origin of *ay, ey*, in English words derived from ags. sources, the *y* or *i* appears as the relic of a former *g* = (gh, gh, *ɣ*) and then (i), which leads irresistibly to the notion of the diphthong (ai), p. 440, l. 14, p. 489. But it certainly does not always so arise, and we have seen in Orrmin (ib.) that the *ꝛꝛ* = (*ɣ*) was sometimes as pure an insertion as we occasionally find in romance words derived from the Latin,² and as we now find

[also to *urn*], *rish'd rushed, tich'd touched, vlid flood, wid'n would not, winder wonder, wisser worser, zich such, zin sun son, zmitch smutch.*

Short E, I, usually called (e, i) are frequently replaced by (ə) or (æ), as: *bevil befell, bul bell, bulch'd belched, burry'd buried, churish cherish, eszul himself, etszul itself, mezul myself, mulkin milking, muller miller, purish perish, shullins shillings, spul spell, spurrit spirit* [common even in London, and compare *syrop, stirrup*], *tullee tell you, turrabul terrible, ulbaw'd elbowed, vuller fellow* [no *r* pronounced, final or pre-consonantal trilled (*r*) seems unknown in Devonshire], *vullidge village, vulty filthy, vurrit ferret, vury very, vust first, wul well, wulvare welfare, yul yell, yur'd heard, zmul smell, zulf self.*

The words *zap'd swept, indad indeed, dud did done, humman hummen woman* do not exactly belong to any of these categories.

The above lists, which, being only derived from one small book, are necessarily very incomplete, serve to shew the importance of modern dialectic study in the appreciation of ancient and therefore dialectic English (p. 581).

¹ Not in Scotch, where the spellings *ai, ei* seem to have been developed independently in the xvth century, for the Scotch long *a, e*, and perhaps meant (ae, ev), compare Sir T. Smith, *suprà* p. 121, l. 18. These spellings were accompanied by the similar forms *oi, ui, oui* for the long *o, u, ou*, perhaps = (oe, ye, ue), though the first was not much used. We must recollect that in Scotch short *i* was not (i) or (ɪ), but (e), and hence might easily be used for (v) or (ə) into which unaccented (e) readily degenerates. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Murray's paper on Scotch (referred to in the last note), which was kindly shewn to me in the MS. The notes there furnished on the development of Scotch orthography are highly interesting, and tend to establish an intentional phonetic reformation at this early period, removing Scotch spelling from the historical affiliation which marks the English.

² "In Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal, Latin *A* remains unaltered. Some deviations into *ai* or *e* must be admitted. . . . The most important and frequent case is when *a* by

in English after the sound of (*ee*) in what many persons recognize as the "standard" pronunciation of our language, for instance (*neeim*) for *name*. There are a few straggling instances in even XIIIth century MSS. where *ay* appears to rhyme to *e*, the chief of which turn on apparently a dialectic pronunciation of *saide* as *sede*, which is also an orthography occasionally employed (p. 484, l. 15, p. 481, l. 33). Dr. Gill, 1621 (*Logonomia* p. 17), cites (*sed*) as a northern pronunciation for (*said*), and classes it with (*saa*) for (*sai*). Mr. Payne has pointed out similar cases in the Owl and Nightingale, v. 349, 707, 835, 1779. The orthography *sede* occurs also, v. 472, 548, 1293, and probably elsewhere.¹ Mr. Payne also notes the less usual rhymes: *bigrede upbreide* 1411, *misrede maide* 1061, *grede maide* 1335. These rhymes are certainly faulty, because in each case the ags. has a *g* in the second word but not in the first, and we cannot suppose them to have rhymed at this early period.² In Floris and

the action of an inserted coalescing *i* or *e*, according to the individual tendency of the language, passes into *ai*, or *ei*, or *e* and *ie*: prov. *air*, sp. *aire* from *aer*: prov. *primairan* (otherwise only *primer primer*), port. *primeiro*, span. *primero*, it. *primiero*, from *primarius*; prov. *esclairar* from *esclariar* which also exists; prov. *bais*, port. *beijo*. span. *beso* from *basium*; prov. *fait*, port. *feito*, span. *hecho* from *factus* *e* being palatalised into *i*. . . . This vowel has suffered most in French, where its pure sound is often obscured into *ai*, *e* and *ie*. We must first put aside the common romance process, just noticed, by which this obscuration is effected by an inserted *i* as in *air*, *premier*, *baiser*, *fait*." Translated from *Diez*, Gr. der rom. Spr. 2nd. ed. i. 135.

¹ The Jesus Coll. Oxf. MS. reads *seyde* in each case.

² The orthography and rhymes of the Owl and Nightingale as exhibited in the Cott. MS. Calig. A. ix., followed by Wright, in his edition for the Percy Society, 1843, are by no means immaculate. The MS. is certainly of the XIIIth century, before the introduction of *ou* for (*uu*), that is, before 1280 or probably before the death of Henry III., 1272, (so that, as has been conjectured on other grounds, Henry II. was the king whose death is alluded to in the poem), and is contained in the same volume with the elder text of *Lazamon*, though it is apparently not by the same scribe. Nor should I be inclined to think that the scribe was a Dorsetshire man, although the poem is usually ascribed to Nicholas de Guildford, of Portisham, Dorsetshire.

The confusions of *e i*, *o e*, *e a*, recall the later scribe of Havelok. Dreim 21, cleine 301, are obvious scribal errors, corrected to *drem cleine* in the Oxf. MS., and: *crei* 334, in Oxf. MS. *crey*, although put in to rhyme with *dai*, must be an error for *cri*. We have cases of omitted letters in: rise wse 53, wrste toberste 121, wlite wte 439, for *wise*, *verste* (?), *wite*. There are many suspicious rhymes, and the following are chiefly assonances: worse mershe 303, heisugge stubbe 505, worde forworthe 547, igremet of-chamed 931, wise ire 1027, oreve idorve 1151, flesche cwesse 1385, fliste virst 405, and, in addition to the *ei*, *e* rhymes cited in the text, we have: forbredeth nawedeth 1381, in Oxf. MS. *ne awedeth*. As to the present pronunciation of *ay*, *ey* in Dorsetshire, the presumed home of the poet, Mr. Barnes gives us very precise information: "The diphthongs *ai* or *ay*, and *ei* or *ey*, the third close long sound [that is, which usually have the the sound of *a* in *mate*], as in May, hay, maid, paid, rein, neighbour, prey, are sounded—like the Greek *ai*,—the *a* or *e*, the first open sound, as *a* in father, and the *i* or *y* as *ee*, the first close sound. The author has marked th *a* of diphthongs so sounded with a circumflex: as *mây*, *hây*, *mâid*, *pâid*, *vâin*, *nâighbour*, *prây*." *Poems of Rural Life*, 2nd ed., p. 27.—That is, in Dorsetshire the sound (*ai*), which we have recognized as ancient, is still prevalent. This is a remarkable comment upon the false rhymes of the MSS. Stratmann's edition, 1868, is of no use for the present investigation, on account of its critical orthography.

Blancheflur, Lumby's ed. occurs the rhyme: muchelhede maide 51, which is similarly faulty.¹ See also p. 473 and notes there. We have likewise seen in some faulty west midland MSS. belonging to the latter part of the xvth century, (suprà p. 450, n. 2), that *ey* was regarded as equivalent to *e*. In the *Towneley Mysteries* we also find *ay*, *ey*, tending to rhyme either with *a* or *e*. In fact we have a right to suppose that in the xvth century, at least, the pronunciation of *ey*, *ay* as (ee) was gaining ground, for we could not otherwise account for the MSS. mentioned, for the adoption of the spelling in Scotch in 1500, p. 410, n. 3, and for the fact that Hart, —who from various other circumstances appears to have been a West Midland man—seemed to know absolutely no other pronunciation of *ay* than (ee) in 1551.² We have thus direct evidence of the coexistence of (ee, ai) in the xvth century, each perhaps limited in area, just as we have direct evidence of the present coexistence of both sounds in high German (p. 238), and Dyak (p. 474, note, col. 2). Such changes do not generally affect a whole body of words suddenly. They begin with a few of them, concerning which a difference prevails for a very long while, then the area is extended, till perhaps the new sounds prevail. We have an instance of this in the present coexistence of the two sounds (ə, u) for short *u*, p. 175 and notes. It is possible that although Gill in 1621 was highly annoyed at *maids* being called (meedz) in place of (maidz) by gentlewomen of his day (suprà, p. 91, l. 8), this very pronunciation might have been the remnant of an old tradition, preserved by the three rhymes just cited from the xiii th century to the present day, although this hypothesis is not so probable as that of scribal error. And if it were correct, it would by no means

¹ On consulting the Auchinleck MS. text of Floris et Blancheflur, the difficulty vanishes. Lumby's edition of the Cam. MS. reads, v. 49:

þu art hire ilich of alle þinge,
Both of semblaunt and of murninge,
Of fairneffe and of muchelhede,
But þu ert a man and heo a maide;
where the *both* of the second line makes the third line altogether suspiciously like an insertion. The Auchinleck MS., according to the transcription kindly furnished me by Mr. Halkett, the librarian of the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, reads, v. 53:

Pou art ilich here of alle þinge
Of semblant and of mourning
But þu art a man and þe is a maide
Pous þe wif to Florice faide.
Another bad rhyme in the Cam. MS. is v. 533.

Hele ihe wulle and noþing wreie
Ower beire compaignie
which in the Abbotsford Club edition

of the text in the Auch. MS. runs thus, v. 518:

To the king that þe hem nowt
biwreie

Where though thai were fiker to
dethe.

The editor suggests *biwreipe*, which would not be a rhyme. The real reading is manifestly to *deye*, arising, as Mr. Murray suggests, from the common MS. confusion of *y*, *p*. *Admiral* is both in the Auch. and Cott. MSS. constantly spelled *-ayl*, and hence we must not be offended with the rhyme, *Admiral* confail 799, for there was evidently an uncertain pronunciation of this strange word.

² This day (9 July, 1869) a workman, who spoke excellent English to me, called *specially* (spi:ʃəli). Had he any idea that others said (spe:ʃəli)? The facts in the text are perhaps partly accounted for by the influence of the Scotch orthography and pronunciation, referred to on p. 637, n. 1.

prove that the general pronunciation of *ay* in all words from ags. was not distinctly (ai) and that the (ee) pronunciation was not extremely rare.

In a former investigation it was attempted to shew that Norman French *ei*, *ai*, had at least frequently the same sound (ai), *suprà* pp. 453-459. Mr. Payne on the contrary believes that the sound was always pure (ee), and that the Norman words were taken into English, spellings and all, retaining their old sounds. He then seems to conclude that all the English *ay*, *ey*, were also pronounced with pure (ee), and maintains that this view agrees with all the observed facts of the case (p. 582). Prof. Rapp also, as we shall see, lays down that Early English Orthography was Norman, and as he only recognizes (ee) or (EE) as the sound of Norman *ai*, of course he agrees practically with Mr. Payne. Modern habits have induced perhaps most readers to take the same view, which nothing but the positive evidence of the practice of the XVIth century could easily shake.¹ But it would seem strange if various scribes, writing by ear, and having the signs *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *ie*, at hand to express the sound (ee), should persist in a certain number of words, in always using *ey*, *ay*, but never one of the four former signs, although the sounds were identical. This is quite opposed to all we know of cacographers of all ages, and seems to be only explicable on the theory of a real difference of sound, more marked than that of (EE, ee). Nay, more, some occasional blunders of *e* for *ey*, etc., would not render this less strange to any one who knows by painful experience (and what author does not know it?) that he does not invariably write the letters he intends, and does not invariably see his error or his printer's or transcriber's errors when he revises the work. The mistake of *e* for *ey* we might expect to be more frequent than that of *ay* for *e*. When the writer is not a cacographer, or common scribe, but a careful theoretical orthographer as Orrmin or Dan Michel, the absolute separation of the spellings *e*, *ey* becomes evidence. We cannot suppose that Dutchmen when they adopted *pais* called it anything but (*pais*), why then should we suppose Dan Michel, who constantly employs the spelling *pais*,² pronounced

¹ I was glad to learn lately from so distinguished an English scholar as Prof. H. Morley that he was always of opinion that *ay*, *ey*, were (ai) and not (ee).

² Mr. Morris's index to Dan Michel's *Ayenbite* refers to p. 261, as containing *pese* for *peace*. I looked through that page without discovering any instance of *pese*, but I found in it 11 instances of *pais*, *pays* and 3 of *paysible*. Thinking Dan Michel's usages important, I have extracted those words given in the index, which of course does not refer to the commonest ags. words of constant occurrence. This is the list, the completeness of which is not guaranteed, though probable: adreynt,

adraynkþ, agraypi, etc., anpayri, aparceyueþ, apayreþ, asayd, asayled, atrayt, bargayn, batayle, baylif, baylyes, bayþ, contraye, cortays, cortaysie, couaitise, dayes, defayled, despayred, eyder *either*, eyr = *air*, eyren = *eggs*, eyse = *ease*, faili, fayntise, fornayce, germalyn, graynes, greynere, longaynes, maimes, maine = *retinue*, maister, mayden, maystrie, meseyse, meyster, neþbores, neþen, ordayni ordenliche, oreysounne, paye = *please*, payenes = *pagans*, pays, paysible, plait, playneres, playni, playty, poruayep, porueyonce prayssy, quaynte, queayntese, queyntise, rayni, [ags. *reomian hryman*, to cry out.] strait, strayni, tuay, uileynie, uorlay, wayn = *gain*, wayt, weyuerindemen, yfayled, zaynt.

otherwise? And when we see some French words in Chaucer always or generally spelled with *e* which had an *ai* in French, as: resoun 276, sesoun 348, pees 2929, plesant 138, ese 223, 2672, why should we not suppose that in these words the (ee) sound was general, but that in others, at least in England, the (ai) sound prevailed? Nay more, when we find *ese* occasionally written *eyse* for the rhyme in Chaucer (suprà p. 250 and note 1, and p. 265), as it is in Dan Michel's prose, why should we not suppose that two sounds were prevalent, just as our own (niidh'ɪ, noidh'ɪ) for *neither*, and that the poet took the sound which best suited him? This appears to me to be the theory which best represents all the facts of the case. It is also the theory which best accords with the existing diversities of pronunciation within very narrow limits in the English provinces. It remains to be seen how it is borne out by the orthography of the Ha. Harleian 7334, and the six newly published MS. texts, E. Ellesmere, He. Hengwrt, Ca. Cambridge, Co. Corpus, P. Petworth, and L. Lansdowne of the Canterbury Tales. For this purpose I have looked over the prologue and Knightes Tale, and examined a large number, probably the great majority of the cases, with the following results. The initial italic words, by which the lists are arranged, are in modern spelling, and where they are absent the words are obsolete. Where no initials are put, all the MSS. unnamed agree in the preceding spelling so far as having one of the combinations *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* is concerned, small deviations in other respects are not noted, but if any other letter is used for one of the above four it is named. The numbers refer to the lines of the Six Text edition, and they have frequently to be increased by 2 for Wright's edition of the Harleian MS.

LIST OF WORDS CONTAINING AY, EY IN THE PROLOGUE AND KNIGHTES TALE.

ANGLOSAXON AND SCANDINAVIAN
WORDS.

again, agayn 991
against, aȝens Ca., ageyns 1787
ailleth, eyleth 1081
ashes, aisshes Co., asshen 2957
bewray, bewreye 2229
day, day, 19 and frequently
die, deyen Ca., Co., dyen E. He. P.
 dyȝen L. 1109, deyde 2846
dry, dreȝe Ca., drye 420, 1362, dreȝe
 [rh. weȝe] 3024
dyer, deȝer Ha., dyere 362
eye, eye E. Ca., eyȝhe P., yhe Ha. L.,
 iȝhe He. 10, eyen E. He., eyȝhen
 Ha. P., eyȝȝyn Ca., yȝhen Co.,
 yȝhen L. 267 and frequently
fain, fayn 2437
fair, faire 1685. 1941
flesh, fleissch Ha. Co., flessch 147
height, heȝht P., heȝhte 1890
laid, leyde 1384 and frequently
lay, lay 20 and frequently

maidens, maydens 2300
nails, nayles 2141
neighbour, nyȝhebour Ca., neȝheboȝre
 535
neither, neither 1135
nigh, neȝh H. He., neȝh Co., nyȝhe
 P., nyȝhe L., nyȝh Ca., ny E., 732
said, seyde 219, 1356, and frequently
say, seȝn 1463
seen, seȝn E. He. Ca. Co. L., seen Ha.,
 sene P. 2840
slain, slayn 992, 2038, 2552, 2708;
 slayn P. L., sleen 1556, sle sleen
 1859
sleight, sleȝht 604
spreynd Ha. E. He. Co. P., spreȝnd Ca.,
 sprined L. 2169
two, tweȝe 704
waileth, wayleth 1221
way, way 34, 1264, and often.
weighed, weȝheden 454
whether, whetheȝr E. He., whethȝr Ha.,
 wheȝer Ca. Co. L., whedere P.,
 1857

FRENCH WORDS.

- acquaintance*, aqueyntaunce 245
aioul, aiel E. He. Ca. ayel Ha., ayell
 Co. L. eile P. 2477
air, eir 1246
apayd [rh. ysaid] 1868
apparelling, apparaillynge 2913
array, array 41 73, and often.
attain, atteyne 1243
availeth, auailleth 3040
bargains, bargaynes 282
barren, barayne 1244, baran L., bareyn
 1977
battle, bataille 988, 2540
braided, breided P., broyded E. He.
 Ca. Co., browded Ha. L. 1049
caitiff, catiff P., caytyf 1552, 1717, 1946
certain, certeyn 204 and often.
chain, cheyne 2988
châtaigne, chasteyn 2922
chieftain, chevetan Ha., chieftayn 2555
company, compaignye E. He. Co. P.,
 cumpanye Ca., companye Ha. L.
 331, compaignye E. He. L., cum-
 panye Ca. Co. P., company Ha.
 2105, 2411
complain, compleyn 908
conveyed, conuoyed E., conveyed 2737
counsel, conseil Ha. E. He. Co. P.,
 counsel L., cuntre Ca. 3096
courtesy, curteisie E. He. Ca., curtesie
 Ha. Co. P. L. 46, 132
dais, deys Ha. E. He. Ca. Co. P. dese
 [rh. burgeise] L. 370
darreyne, 1609, 2097
debonnair, debonnaire [rh. faire] 2282
despair, despeir 1245
dice, deys Ca., dys 1238
disdain, disdeyn 789
displayeth, desplayeth 966
distraineth, destreyneth 1455, 1816
dozen, doseyne 578
fail, faille 1854, 2798
finest, feynest Ca., fynest 194
florin, floreyn Ca. Co. P., floren Ha.
 L., floryn E. He. 2088
franklins, frankeleyns 216
fresh, freshe Ha. E. He. P. L., frossche
 Ca., freische Co., 92, [freisch Ha.]
 2176, 2622
furnace, forneys 202, 559
gaineth, gayneth 1176, 2755
gay, gay 73
golyardeys 560
harnessed, harneysed 114, 1006, 1634,
 2140
kerchiefs, kevercheys Ha., couercheis
 Ca. [the proper Norman plural,
 according to Mr. Payne], couer-
 chiefs E. He. Co. L., couerchefes
 P. 453
leisure, leyser 1188
Magdalen, Maudelayne 410
maintain, maynteyne H. E., mayntene
 He. Ca. Co. P., maiten L. 1778
master, mystir Ca., maister 261
mastery, maistrie 165
meyned 2170
money, moneye 703
ordained, ordeyned 2553
paid, ypayed 1802
pain-ed, peyned 139, peyne 1133
painted, peyntid 1934, 1975
palace, paleys 2513
palfrey, palfrey 207, 2495
plain, pleyn 790, 1464
plein, pleyn 315
portraiture, portreiture Ha. E. He. Ca.
 Co., pourtrature P. L. 1968, [pur-
 treture Ha.] 2036
portray, portray 96
portraye, portreyor Ha., portreitour
 E., purtreyour He., purtreiour
 Co., purtraour P., portretour Ca.,
 purtreoure L., 1899
portraying, portraying Ha., portreying
 Ca. Co., purtraiynge P., por-
 treyyng E. He., purtreinge L.
 1938
pray, preyn 1260
prayer, prayer 2226
purveyance, purveiance E. He., pur-
 ueance Ha. Co. P. L. puruyance
 Ca. 1665, purueiance E. H., pur-
 ueance Ha. Co. P. L., puruyance
 Ca. 3011
quaint 1531, 2321, 2333, 2334
raineth, reynith 1535
reins, reynes 904
sovereign, souereyn 1974
straight, streite 457, sryt Ca., streyt
 1984
suddenly, sodanly L., sodeynly 1530,
 sodeinliche 1575
sustain, susteyne Ca. L., sustene 1993
trace, trays 2141
turkish, turkeys 2895
turneyng E. He. Co. turneynge Ha.,
 turnyng Ca. tornyng L., tor-
 namente P. 2557
vain, veyn 1094
vasselage Ha. E. He. Co. L., vassalage
 P., wasseyllage Ca. 3054
vein, veyne 3, 2747
verily, verrailly E. He. Ca. Co. verrelly
 P. L., verrily Ha. 1174.
very, verray 422
villany, vileynye E. He., velany Ca.,
 L., vilonye Ha. Co. P. 70, [vilanye
 Ha.] 740
waiting, waytinge 929

The general unanimity of these seven MSS. is certainly remarkable. It seems almost enough to lead the reader to suppose that when he finds the usual *ay*, *ey* replaced by *a*, *e*, *i* in any other MSS., the scribe has accidentally omitted one of the letters of the diphthong, which being supplied converts *a*, *e*, *i* into *ay*, *ey*, *ai* or *ei* respectively. Thus when in v. 1530 all but L. use *ey* or *ay*, and in v. 1575 all, including L., use *ey* in *sodeynly*, *sodeynliche*, we cannot but conclude that *sodanly* in L. 1530, is a clerical error for *sodaynly*. We have certainly no right to conclude that the *a* was designed to indicate a peculiar pronunciation of *a* as *ay* or conversely. But it will be best to consider the variants seriatim as they are not many in number.

CONSIDERATION OF VARIANTS IN THE LAST LIST.

ANGLOSAXON AND SCANDINAVIAN WORDS.

Against 1787 has still two sounds (*vegenst*, *egenst*) which seem to correspond to two such original sounds as (*again*, *agen*).

Ashes, *aisses* Co. 2957 represented really a duplicate form, as appears from its having been preserved into the xvith century, p. 120, l. 6.

Die 1109, see variants on p. 284.

Dry 420, see variants on p. 285.

Dyer, the general orthography *dyer* 362 is curious, for the ags. *deagan* would naturally give *deyer*, which however is only preserved in Ha., the rest giving *dyere*, and the Promptorium having *dyyn*; Ha. has *deye* in 11037. It would almost seem as if habit had confused the two words *dye*, *die*, and hence given the first the same double sound as the second. There is no room for supposing the sound (*dee*) in either case.

Eye 10, see variants on p. 285.

Flesh, 147 is one of the words mentioned on p. 265, as having two spellings in Ha. see also p. 473 note 1, for a possible origin of the double pronunciation.

Height, *heght* P. 1890 is of course a clerical error for *heighte*.

Neighbour 535, follows *nigh* in its variants.

Nigh 732, 535. The variants here seem to shew that this word should be added to the list given on pp. 284-6, as having a double pronunciation, especially as we have seen that the (ii) sound is preserved in Devon, p. 291, as it is in Lonsdale.

Seen. The orthography *seyn* 2840 for *seen* is supported by too many MSS. to be an error, it must be a du-

plicate form, retaining in the infinitive the expression of the lost guttural, which crops up so often in different parts of this verb, Gothic *saihwān*, compare the forms on p. 279.

Slay 992, see p. 265; the double sound (*ee*, *ai*) may have arisen from the double ags. form, without and with the guttural, the latter being represented by (*ai*) and the former by (*ee*), which is more common.

Spreind, *isprend*, *isprind* 2169 must be merely clerical errors for *ispreined*, as in most MSS., because both words rhyme with *ymeynd*, which retains its orthography in each case.

Whether, 1857, has certainly no more title to (*ai*) than *beat* or *them*, but nevertheless we have seen Orrmin introduce the (*i*) or (*j*) into these words, p. 489, hence it is not impossible that there may have been some provincials who said *wheider*, but still it is more probable that the *ei* of E. and He. in 1857 are clerical errors. The word is not common and I have not noted another example of it in E. He.

FRENCH WORDS.

Barren, *baran* L. 1977, must be a clerical error for *barayn*.

Braid 1049, seems to have had various sounds, corresponding to the ags. *bregdan*, icel. *bregda*, and to the French *broder*, which would give the forms *breyde*, *browde*. while *broyde* would seem to be an uncertain, or mistaken mixture of the two (*braid*-e, *bruud*-e, *bruid*-e). We do not find *brede* (*breed*-e). but as the *g* was sometimes omitted even in ags. it would have been less curious than *brayde*.

Caitiff. The orthography *catiff* P. 1552, 1717, 1946, being repeated in

three places. although opposed to the other six MSS. which determine *caytif* to be the usual form, may imply a different pronunciation rather than be a clerical error. The French forms of this derivative of the Latin *captivus*, as given by Roquefort are very numerous, but all of them contain *i*, or an *e* derived from *ai*, thus: *caitif*, *caiptif*, *caitieu*, *caitis*, *caitiu*, *caitivié*, *cetif*, *cetis*, *chaitieu*, *chaitif*, *chaitis*, *chaitiu*, *cheitif*, *chetif*, *chety*, *quaitif*, *quetif*. Roquefort gives as Provençal and Languedoc forms: *caitiou*, *caitious*, *caitiuis*, *caitivo*. The Spanish *cautivo* has introduced the labial instead of the palatal modification, while the Italian only has preserved the *a* pure by assimilating *p*, thus, *cattivo*. If then the *a* in P. was intentional, it was very peculiar.

Chieftain, *cheveten* Ha. 2555, should according to the general analogy of such terminations be *cheveteyn*, and it will then agree with the other MSS.

Company. In *compaignye* 331, 2105, 2411, the *i* is conceived by M. Francisque Michel to have been merely orthographical in French, introduced to make *gn mouillé*, just as *i* was introduced before *ll* to make it *mouillé*. Compare also p. 309, n. 1, at end. It is very possible that both pronunciations prevailed (*kumpaini'e*, *kumpaini'e*) and that the first was considered as French, the latter as English. There is no room for supposing such a pronunciation as (*kumpeeni'e*) with (*ee*).

Conveyed. *Conuoyed* E. 2737 is not a variant of the usual *conveyed*, but another word altogether, a correction of the scribes.

Counsel, *counsel* L. 3096, is probably a clerical error for *counseil* as in the other MSS.

Courtesy. *Curteisye* 46, *vileynye* 70, may be considered together. They were common words, and the second syllable was usually unaccented, whereas in *curteis*, *vileyn*, it was frequently accented. Hence we cannot be surprised at finding *ey* strictly preserved in the latter, but occasional deviations into non-diphthongal sounds occurring in the former. Careful scribes or speakers seem, however, to have preserved the *ey* of the primitive in the derivative. The *vilonye* of Ha. Co. P. 70, which is replaced by *vilynye* in Ha.

740, serves to corroborate this view, as evidently the scribe did not know how to write the indistinct sound he heard, a difficulty well known to all who have attempted to write down living sounds. See also Mr. Payne's remarks, *suprà* p. 585. To the same category belong the variants of *portraiture*, *purveyance*, *verily*.

Dais, *dese* L. for *deys* = *dais* 370, in opposition to the six other MS. is probably a clerical error for *deyse* the final *e* being added also to the rhyming word *burgeise* in L. which retains the *i*.

Dice. *Deys* Ca. 1238 for *dys* is clearly an error as shewn by the rhyming word *paradys*, but *dys* itself seems to have been accommodated to the rhyme for *dees*, which occurs in Ha. 13882, and is the natural representative of the French *dés*.

Finest. The orthography *feynest* Ca. 194, must be a clerical error.

Florin. The *floren*, *florin*, *floreyn* 2088 may be concurrent forms of a strange word, and the last seems more likely to have been erroneous.

Fresh 92, had no doubt regularly (*ee*), but the older (*ai*) seems to have been usual to some, the *frosshe* of Ca. is a provincialism of the order noted on p. 476

Kerchiefs. *Couercheis* Ca. 453, is probably a mere clerical error for *couercheys*, *i* having been written for *f*, as we can hardly suppose the provincial scribe of Ca., to have selected a Norman form by design.

Maintain. *Maynteyne* 1778, *susteyne* 1993, belong to the series of words derived from *tenere*. There is no disagreement respecting the *ay* in the first syllable of *maynteyne*; *sustene* is fully supported by the rhyme, p. 265, l. 1, and hence *mayntene*, *sustene* are probably the proper forms. I have unfortunately no note of the Chaucerian forms of *obtain*, *detain*, *retain*, *contain*, *appertain*, *entertain*, *abstain*, but probably *-tene* would be found the right form. The spelling *ey* and pronunciation (*ai*) may have crept in through a confusion with the form *-teyne* = Lat. *-tingere*, of which I have also accidentally been guilty p. 265, l. 25, as: *atteyne*, *bareyne*, must rhyme, 1243, 8323, and as *-stringere* produces *-streyn* 1455, 1816 in all MSS.

Master, *mystir* Ca. 261 for *master* is probably a clerical error.

Portraiture 1968, *portrayer* 1899; the variants may be explained as in *Courtesy*, which see.

Portraying. In *portreyyng*, *portreyng* 1938 there is an omission of one *y* on account of the inconvenience of the *yy* in the first form, overcome by changing the first *y* into *i* in *P*.

Purveyance 1165, the variants may be explained as in *Courtesy*, which see.

Straight. Stryt Ca. 1984, must be a clerical error for *streyt*, as the absence of *e* is quite unaccountable.

Suddenly. Sodanly L. 1530 must, as we have seen p. 643, be an error for *sodainly*.

Sustain 1993 see *Maintain*.

Turneynge Ha. 2557; the variants are to be explained as those of *portraying*, which see.

Verily 1174, the variants may be explained as in *Courtesy*, which see.

Villany 70, see *Courtesy*.

Wasseyllage Ca. 3054, certainly arose from a confusion in the scribe's mind, *vasselage* valour being unusual, he reverted to the usual *wasseyl* for an explanation, and in *wasseyl* we have an *ey* for an *ags*. *æ*, which may be compared with *ey* for *ea* in *Orrmin*, *suprà* p. 489.

The natural effect of this examination has been to place the variants rather than the constants strongly before the reader's mind. He must therefore recollect that out of the total of 111 words the following 73, many of which occur very frequently, are invariably spelt with one of the phonetically identical forms *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, in each of the seven MSS. every time they occur:—

again, aileth, bewray, day, fain, fair, laid, lay, maidens, nails, neither, said, say, sleight, two *tweye*, waileth, way, weighed.—acquaintance, *aioul*, air, *apayd*, apparelling *apparaillynge*, array, attain, availeth, bargains, battle *bataille*, certain, chain, *châtaigne*, complaint, *darreyne*, debonnair, despair, dice, disdain, displayeth, distraineth,

dozen, fail, franklins *frankeleyns*, furnace *forneys*, gaineth, gay, *golyardeys*, harnessed *harneysed*, leisure, Magdalen *Maudelayne*, mastery, *meyned*, money, ordained, paid, pained, painted, palace *paleys*, palfrey, plain, *plein*, portray, pray, prayer, quaint, raineth, reins, sovereign, trace *trays*, turkish *turkeys*, vain, vein, very, wailing.

On the other hand, the variants only affect 38 words, of which few, except those already recognized to have two forms in use, occur more than once, while the variants confined to one or two MSS. display no manner of rule or order, and are far from shewing a decided *e* form as the substitute for *ay*, *ey*. They may be classified as follows:

15 CLERICAL ERRORS: *height* heght, *spreyned* sprend sprined, *whether* wheither,—barren *baran*, chieftain, chevetan, counsel *counsel*, dice *deys*, *finest* feynest, *kerchiefs* couercheis, *maintain* maynteyne mayntene, *master* mystir, straight *stryt*, *suddenly* sodanly, *sustain* susteyne, *turneynge* turnyngte *turnynge*.

12 DOUBLE FORMS: *ashes* aisshe asshen, *die* *deyen* *dyen*, *dry* *dreye* *drye*, *dyer* *dyere* *deyer*, *eye* *eighe* *yhe*, *flesh* *fleish* *flessh*, *neighbour* *neighebo* *nyhebo* *nygh* *neigh* *nyghe*, *seen* *seyn* *seen*, *slain* *slayn* *sleen*,—braided *breided* *browdid*, *fresh* *fresshe* *freisshe*.

6 INDISTINCT UNACCENTED SYLLA-

BLES: *courtesy* *courteisie* *curtesie*, *portraiture* *portreiture* *pourtrature*, *portrayer* *portreyor* *purtreoure*, *purveyance* *purveiance* *purueance* *puruyance*, *verily* *verailly* *verrely* *verrily*, *villany* *vileynye* *velany* *vilonye*.

5 MISCELLANEOUS: *cattiff* may have been occasionally *catiff* as well as *caytif*—*convoeyed* was a different reading, not an error for *conveyed*—*florin* being a foreign coin may have been occasionally mispronounced *foreyn*,—*portreing* was an orthographical abbreviation of *portreyng*—*wasseyllage* was a manifest error for the unusual *vasselage*, the usual *wasseyl* occurring to the scribe.

The variants, therefore, furnish almost as convincing a proof as the constants, that *ay*, *ey* represented some sound distinct from *e*

(ee). But if there was a distinct sound attachable to these combinations *ay*, *ey*, in Chaucer's time, what could it have possibly been but that (ai) sound, which as we know by direct evidence, subsisted in the pronunciation of learned men and courtiers (Sir T. Smith was secretary of state) during the xvith century, and which the spelling used, and no other, was calculated to express, and was apparently gradually introduced to express. The inference is therefore, that Chaucer's scribes pronounced *ay*, *ey* as (ai) and not as (ee), and where they wished to signify the sound of (ee), in certain well-known and common Norman words, they rejected the Norman orthography and introduced the truly English spelling *e*. The inference again from this result is that there was a traditional English pronunciation of Norman *ai*, *ei*, as (ai), which may have lasted long after the custom had died out in Normandy, on the principle already adduced (p. 20), that emigrants preserve an older pronunciation.

TREATMENT OF FINAL E IN THE CRITICAL TEXT.

As the following text of the Prologue is intended solely for the use of students, it has been accommodated to their wants in various ways. First the question of final *e* demanded strict investigation. The helplessness of scribes during the period that it was dying out of use in the South, and had already died out in the North, makes the new MSS. of little value for its determination, the Cambridge and Lansdowne being evidently written by Northern scribes to whom a final *e* had become little more than a picturesque addition. It was necessary therefore to examine every word in connection with its etymology, constructional use, and metrical value. In every case where theory would require the use of a final *e*, or other elided letter, but the metre requires its elision, it has been replaced by an apostrophe. The results on p. 341 were deduced from the text adopted before it had been revised by help of the Six-Text Edition, and therefore the numbers there given will be slightly erroneous¹, but the reader will by this means understand at a glance the bearing of the rules on p. 342.

The treatment of the verbal termination *-ede*, required particular attention. There are many cases in which, coming before a consonant, it might be *-ed'* or *-'de*, and it was natural to think that the latter should be chosen, because in the contracted forms of two syllables, we practically find this form; thus: *fedde* 146, *bledde* 145, *wente* 255, *wiste* 280, *spente* 300, *coude* 326, 346, 383, *kepte* 442, *dide* 451, *couthe* 467, *tawghte* 497, *cawghte* 498, *kepte* 512, *wolde* 536, *mighte* 585, *scholde* 648, *seyde* 695, *moste* 712 and

¹ The number of elisions of essential *e*, stated at 13 on p. 341, has been reduced. The only important one left is *meer'* 541, and that is doubtful on account of the double form of the rhyming word *milleer*. see p. 389. The number of plural *-es* treated as *-s* has been somewhat increased. The fol-

lowing are examples: *palmer's* 13, *servawnt's* 101, *fether's* 107, *finger's* 129, *hunter's* 178, *grayhound's* 190, *sleeve's* 193, *tavern's* 240, *haven's* 407, *housbond's* 460, *aventur's* 795. Of course (') is not used as the mark of the genitive cases, but only to shew a real elision.

many others. But even here it is occasionally elided. Mr. Morris observes that in the Cambridge MS. of Boethius, and in the elder Wycliffite Version (see below § 3), the *-ede* is very regularly written. This however does not prove that the final *e* was pronounced, because the orthography *hire*, *here*, *oure*, *youre*, is uniform, and the elision of the final *-e* almost as uniform. The final *e* in *-ede* might therefore have been written, and never or rarely pronounced. It is certain that the first *e* is sometimes elided, when the second also vanishes, as before a vowel or *h* in: lov'd' 206, 533, gam'd' 534, etc. But it is also certain that *-ed'* was pronounced in many cases without the *e*, *suprà* p. 355, art. 53, Ex. Throughout the prologue I have not found one instance in which *-ede*, or *-de*, was necessary to the metre,¹ but there are several in which *-ed'*, before a vowel, is necessary. If we add to this, that in point of fact *-ed'* remained in the xvth century, and has scarcely yet died out of our biblical pronunciation, the presumption in favour of *-ed'* is very strong.² On adopting this orthography, I have not found a single case in the prologue where it failed, but possibly such cases occur elsewhere, and if so, they must be compared to the rare use of *hadde*, and still rarer use of *were*, *here* for the ordinary *hadd'*, *wer'*, *her'*.

The infinitive *-e* is perhaps occasionally lost. It is only saved by a trisyllabic measure in: yeve penawnce 223. If it is not elided in *help'* 259, then we must read *whelpe* 258, with most MSS. but unhistorically. On the other hand the subjunctive *-e* remains as: ruste 500, take 503, were 582, spede 769, quyte 770.

Medial elisions must have been common, and are fully borne out by the Cuckoo Song, p. 423. Such elisions are: ev'ry 15, 327, ev'ne 83, ov'r'al 249, ov'rest 290, rem'nawnt 724, and: mon'th 92, tak'th 789, com'th 839. The terminations *-er*, *-el*, *-en*, when run on to the following vowel, should also probably be treated as elisions. As respects *-er*, *-re*, I have sometimes hesitated whether to consider the termination as French *-re*, or as assimilated into English, under the form *-er*, but I believe the last is the right view, and in that case such elisions as: ord'r he 214, are precisely similar to: ev'ry 15, and occasion no difficulty. Similarly, *-el*, *-le*, are both found in MSS., but I have adopted *-el*, as more consonant with the treatment of strictly English words, and regarded the cases in which the *l* is run on to the following word, as elisions, thus: simp'l and 119. Such elisions are common in modern English, and in the case of *-le*, they form the rule when syllables are added, *suprà* p. 52. In: to fest'n' his hood 195, we have an elision of *e* in *en*, and a final *e* elided, the full gerundial form being *to festene*, as it would be written in prose.

¹ The plural *weygheden* 454, is not in point.

² Mr. Murray observes that *lovde* would be an older form than *loved* for *lovede*, and grounds his observation on the fact of the similar suppression of the *y* before *l* in *tabyll*, *sadyll*, *fadyr*, *modyr*, in the old Scotch plurals

tabylys, *sadylys*, *fadyrys*, *modrys*, but its subsequent restoration, accompanied by a suppression of the *y* before the *s*, in the more recent forms *tabylls*, *sadylls*, *fadyrs*, *modys*. These analogies are valuable. All that is implied in the text is that the form *-ed* seems to have prevailed in Chaucer.

As the text now stands there is no instance of an open *e*, that is, of final *e* preserved before a vowel (suprà p. 341, l. 2. p. 363, art. 82, and infà note on v. 429), but there is one instance of final *e* preserved before *he*, (infà note on v. 386).

METRICAL PECULIARITIES OF CHAUCER.

The second point to which particular attention is paid in this text is the metre. Pains have been taken to choose such a text as would preserve the rhythm without violating the laws of final *e*, and without having recourse to modern conjecture. For this purpose a considerable number of trisyllabic measures (suprà p. 334) have been admitted, and their occurrence is pointed out by the sign *iii* in the margin. The 69 examples noted may be classified thus:

<i>i</i> -, arising from the running on of <i>i</i> to a following vowel, either in two words as: many a 60, 212, 229, etc., bisy a 321, cari' a 130, studi' and 184, or in the same word, as: luvieer 80, curious 196, bisier 321, which may be considered the rule in modern poetry, see 60, 80, 130, 184, 196, 212, 229, 303, 321, 322, 349, 350, 396, 438, 464, 530, 560, 764, 782, 840, instances	20
- <i>er</i> , arising from running this unaccented syllable on to a following vowel, in cases where the assumption and pronunciation of -'r would be harsh, as: deliver, and 84, sommer hadd' 394, water he 400; and in the middle of a word, as: colerik 587, lecherous 626; instances	5
- <i>el</i> , not before a preceding vowel, as: mesurabel was 435, mawncipel was 567, mawncipel sett' 586, instances	3
- <i>en</i> , not before a preceding vowel, as: ycomen from 77; or before a preceding vowel or <i>h</i> , where the elision 'n would be harsh, as: written a 161, geten him 291, instances	3
- <i>e</i> , arising from the pronunciation of final <i>e</i> , where it seems unnecessary, or harsh, to assume its suppression, as 88, 123, 132, 136, 197, 208, 223, 224, 276, 320, 341, 343, 451, 454, 475, 507, 510, 524, 537, 550, 630, 648, 650, 706, 777, 792, 806, 834, 853, instances.	29
<i>Miscellaneous</i> , in the following lines, where the trisyllabic measures are italicised for convenience.	
Of Engelond', to Cawnterbery <i>they wende</i> .	16
To Cawnterbery <i>with ful</i> devout corage.	22
His heed was balled, <i>and schoon</i> as any glas.	198
And thryes hadd' <i>she been</i> at Jerusalem.	463
Wyd was his <i>parisch</i> and houses fer asonder.	491
He was a <i>schepperd</i> , and not a mercenarie.	514
He waited after <i>no pomp</i> and reverence.	525
Ther coude no man bring' <i>him in</i> arrearage.	602
And also war' <i>him of</i> a significavit.	662
instances	9
Total	69

It would have been easy in many cases by elisions or slight changes to have avoided these trisyllabic measures, but after considering each case carefully, and comparing the different manuscripts, there did not appear to be any sufficient ground for so doing.

Allied to trisyllabic measures are the lines containing a superfluous unaccented syllable at the end, but to this point, which was a matter of importance in old Italian and Spanish versification, and has become a matter of stringent rule in classical French poetry, no attention seems to have been paid by older writers, whether French or English, and Chaucer is in this respect as free as Shakspeare.

There are a few cases of two superfluous unaccented syllables, comparable to the Italian *versi sdruccioli*, and these have been indicated by (+) in the margin. There are only 6 instances: *berye merye* 207, 208, *apotecaryes letuaryes* 425, 426, *miscarye mercenarye* 513, 514, all of which belong to the class *i-*, so that the two syllables practically strike the ear as one.

But there are also real Alexandrines, or lines of six measures, which do not appear to have been previously noticed, and which I have been very loth to admit. These are marked *vi* in the margin. There are four instances. In :

But sore wepte sche if oon of hem wer' deed. 148

the perfect unanimity of the MSS., and the harsh and unusual elision of the adverbial *-e* in *sore*, and the not common elision of the imperfect *e* in *wepte*, which would be necessary to reduce the line to one of five measures, render the acceptance of an Alexandrine imperative, and certainly it is effective in expressing the feeling of the Prioress. In :

Men mote yeve silver to the pore freres. 232

the Alexandrine is not pure because the cæsure does not fall after the third measure. But the MSS. are unanimous, the elisions *mot' yev'* undesirable, and the lengthening out of the line with the tag of "the *pore* freres," seems to indicate the very whine of the begging friar. In

With a thredbare cop', as a pore scoleer. 260

the *pore* which lengthens the line out in all MSS., seems introduced for a similar purpose. The last instance

I ne sawgh not this yeer so mery a companye. 764

is conjectural, since no MS. gives the reading complete, but: I ne sawgh, or: I sawgh not, are both unmetrical, and by using both we obtain a passable Alexandrine, which may be taken for what it is worth, because no MS. reading can be accepted.

The defective first measures to which attention was directed by Mr. Skeat, *suprà* p. 333, have been noted by (—), and a careful consideration of the MSS. induces me to accept 13 instances, 1, 76, 131, 170, 247, 271, 294, 371, 391, 417, 429, 733, 778, though they are not all satisfactory, as several of them (131, 247, 271, 391, 778) offend against the principle of having a strong accent on the first syllable, and two (417, 429) throw the emphasis in rather an unusual manner, as: *weel coud' he*, *weel knew he*, where: *weel coud' he*, *well knew he*, would have rather been expected, but there is no MS. authority for improving them.

Three instances have been noted of *saynt* forming a dissyllable, as already suggested, (*suprà* pp. 264, 476), one of which (697), might be escaped by assuming a bad instance of a defective first measure, but the other two (120, 509,) seem clearly indicated by MS. authority. See the notes on these passages. They are indicated by *ai* in the margin.¹

¹ Mr. Murray has observed cases in Scotch in which *ai* was dissyllabic, but then it had its Scotch value (*æ*), *suprà* p. 637, n. 1. He cites from Wyn-

CHAUCER'S TREATMENT OF FRENCH WORDS.

The third point to which attention is directed in printing the text of the prologue, is linguistic rather than phonetic, but seemed of sufficient interest to introduce in a work intended for the use of the Chaucer Society, namely, the amount of French which Chaucer admitted into his English. "Thank God! I may now, if I like, turn Protestant!" exclaims Moore's Irish Gentleman on the evening of 16th April, 1829, when the news of the royal assent to the Catholic Relief Bill reached Dublin.¹ And in the same way it would appear that the removal of the blockade on the English language, when after "*þe furste moreyn*," 1348, "*John Cornwal, a maystere of grammere, chaungede þe lore in gramere scole*,"² and Edward III. enacted in the 36th year of his reign, 1362-3, that all pleas should be pleaded and judged in the English tongue, the jealous exclusion of French terms from English works, which marks the former period, seemed to cease, and English having become the victor did not disdain to make free use of the more "gentle" tongue, in which so many treasures of literature were locked up. Even our older poems are more or less translations from the French, though couched in unmistakable English. But in the XIVth century we have Gower writing long poems in both languages, and Chaucer familiar with both, and often seeking his originals in French. The people for whom he principally wrote must have been also more or less familiar with the tongue of the nobles, and large numbers of French words must have passed into common use among Englishmen, before they could have assumed English inflectional terminations. We have numerous instances of this in Chaucer. Whenever a French verb was employed, the French termination was rejected, and an English inflectional system substituted. Thus using italics for the French part, we have in the prologue: *perced* 2, *engend'red* 4, 421, *inspired* 6, *esed* 29, *honour'd* 50, *embrouded* 89, *harneysed* 114, *entuned* 123, *peyned* 139, *rosted* 147, *ypinched* 151, *gawded* 159, *crouned* 161, *purfyled* 193, *farsed* 233, *accorded* 244, *envyned* 342, *chawnged* 348, *passed* 464, *encombred* 508, *spyced* 526, *ypunish'd* 657, *trussed* 681, *seyned* 705, *assembled* 717, *served* 749, *gawnted* 810, *pray'den* 811, *reuled* 816, *studieth* 841.—*flouting'* 91, *harping'* 266, *offring'* 450, 489, *assoyling* 661, —*cry'* 636, *rost'*, *broyll'*, *frye* 383, *rehers'* 732, *seyne* 736. Again we have an English adjective or adverbial termination affixed to French words, as: *specially* 15, *fetisly* 124, 273, *certainly* 235, *solemnely* 274, *staatly* 281, *estaatlich* 140, *verrayly* 338, *really*

town's Orygynal Cronykil of Scotland, circa 1419-30, in reference to Malcolm Ceanmór,

Malcolm kyng, be lawchful get,
Had on his wyf Saynt Margret.
Where, however, Margret might rather
have been trissyllabic.

¹ Travels of an Irish gentleman in

search of a religion, by Thomas Moore, chap. i.

² See the whole noteworthy passage from Trenisa's translation of Higden, printed from the Cott. MS. Tiberius D. VII., by Mr. R. Morris, in his Specimens of Early English, 1867, p. 339.

=royally 378, *devoutly* 482, *scarsly* 583, *prively* 609, *subtily* 610, *prively* 652, *playnly* 727, *properly* 729, *rudely* 734.—*dett*'lees 582.—In *esy* 441, *pomely* 616, we have rather the change of the French *-e* into *-y*, which subsequently became general, but the *ese* remains in: *esely* 469. In: *daggeer* 113, 392, we have a substantiv with an English termination to a French root. *Footmantel* 472, is compounded of an English and French word. In: *daliaunce* 211, *loodmannage* 403, *deyerye* 577, French terminations only are assumed. A language must have long been in familiar use to admit of such treatment as this. What then more likely than the introduction of complete words, which did not require to have their terminations changed? The modern cookery book and fashion magazines are full of French words introduced bodily for a similar reason. Of course the subject matter and the audience greatly influence the choice of words, and we find Chaucer sensibly changing his manner with his matter—see the quantity of unmixed English in the characters of the Yeman, the Ploughman, and the Miller. To make this admixture of French and English evident to the eye, all words or parts of words which may be fairly attributed to French influence, including proper names, have been italicised, but some older Latin words of ecclesiastical origin and older Norman words have not been marked and purely Latin words have been put in small capitals.¹ The result could then be subjected to a numerical test, and comes out as follows:

Lines containing no French word . .	325,	per cent.	37·9
" only one " " "	343,	"	40·0
" two French words .	157,	"	18·2
" three " " "	87,	"	3·4
" four " " "	12,	"	0·4
" five ² " " "	1,	"	0·1

Lines in the Prologue .	858	100·0
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If the total number of French words in the prologue be reckoned from the above data, they will be found to be 761, or *not quite one word in a line on an average*. The overpoweringly English character of the work could not be more clearly demonstrated.

Chaucer's language may then be described as a degraded Anglo-Saxon, into which French words had been interwoven, without interfering with such grammatical forms as had been left, to the extent of about 20 per cent., and containing occasionally complete French phrases, of which, however, none occur in the prologue. To understand the formation of such a dead dialect, we have only to watch the formation of a similarly-constructed living dialect. Such a one really exists, although it must rapidly die out, as there are not only not the same causes at work which made the language of Chaucer develop into the language of England, but there are other and directly contrary influences which must rapidly lead to the extinction of its modern analogue.

¹ These are very few in number, see *Mawr'* or of *Saynt Beneyt*. 173, in which the French words were indispensable.

² The line is: The *reul'* of *Saynt*

PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN THE ANALOGUE OF CHAUCER'S ENGLISH.

Fully one half of the people of Pennsylvania and Ohio in the United States of America understand the dialect known as Pennsylvania German. This neighbourhood was the seat of a great German immigration from the Palatinate of the Rhine¹ and Switzerland. Here they kept up their language, and established schools, which are now almost entirely extinct. Surrounded by English of the XVIIth century they naturally grafted some of its words on their own, either as distinct phrases, or as the roots of inflections; and, perhaps, in more recent times, when fully nine-tenths of the present generation are educated in English, the amount of introduced English has increased.² The result is a living dialect which may be described as a degraded³ High German, into which English

¹ See *supra*, p. 47, lines 5 to 15.

² Some of these particulars have been taken from the preface to Mr. E. H. Rauch's *Pennsylvanish Deutsch! De Breefa fum Pit Schwefflebreuner un de Bevv, si Fraw, fun Schliffletown on der Drucker fum "Father Abraham,"* Lancaster, Pa., 1868, and others from information kindly furnished me by Rev. Dr. Mombert, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, U.S., in April, 1869.

³ This does not mean that it is a degraded form of the present literary high German, but merely of the high German group of Germanic dialects. On 19 Aug. 1869, the 14th meeting of the German Press Union, of Pennsylvania, U.S., was held at Bethlehem, when an interesting discussion took place on Pennsylvania German, or *das Deutsch-Pennsylvanische*, as it is termed in the *Reading Adler* of 31 Aug. 1869, a German newspaper published at Reading, Berks County, Pa., U.S., from which the following account is translated and condensed. Prof. Notz, of Allentown, who is preparing a Pennsylvania German grammar, drew attention to the recent German publications on Frankish, Upper-Bavarian, Palatine, Swabian, and Swiss dialects, and asserted that the Penn. Germ. had an equally tough existence (*zähes Leben*) and deserved as much study. Mr. Dan E. Schödler declared that the Germans of Pennsylvania could only be taught literary high German, in which their divine service had always been conducted, by means of their own dialect. Dr. G. Kellner justified dialects. He considered that linguists, including J. Grimm, had not sufficiently comprehended the importance of dialects. Speech was as natural to man as walk-

ing, eating, and drinking, and the original language of a people was dialectic, not literary, which last only finally prevailed, to use Max Müller's expression as the high language, (*Hochsprache*). The roots of a literary language were planted in its dialects, whence it drew its strength and wealth, and which it in turn modified, polished and ennobled. Was Penn. Germ. such a dialect? Many English speakers, who knew nothing of German dialects, might deny it, and so might even many educated north Germans, who were unacquainted with the south German dialects, and regarded all the genuine southern forms of Penn. Germ. as a corrupted high German or as idioms borrowed from the English. They would therefore style it a jargon, not a dialect. Certainly, the incorporation of English words and phrases had given it some such appearance, but on removing these foreign elements it remained as good a dialect as the Alsatian after being stripped of its Gallicisms, in which dialect beautiful poems and tales had been written, taking an honourable position in German literature. Penn. Germ., apart from its English additions, was a south German dialect, composed of Frankish, Swabian, Palatine, and Allemanic, which was interlarded with more or less English, according to the counties in which the settlements had occurred; in some places English was entirely absent. All that marked a dialect in Germany was present in Penn. Germ., and since new immigration was perpetually introducing fresh high German, the task would be to purify the old dialect of its English jargon, and use the result for the benefit of the people

words have been interwoven, without interfering with such grammatical forms as had been left, and containing occasionally complete English phrases. On referring to the first sentence of the last paragraph, the exact analogy of Pennsylvania Dutch to Chaucer's English will be at once apprehended. The dialect is said to possess a somewhat copious literature, and it is certainly an interesting study, which well deserves to be philologically conducted.¹ For the present work it has an additional special value, as it continually exhibits varieties of sound as compared with the received high German, which are identical with those which we have been led to suppose actually took place in the development of received English, as (*oo, ee, aa*) for (*aa, ai, au*).

The orthographical systems pursued in writing it have been two, and might obviously have been three or more. The first and most natural was to adopt such a German orthography as is usually employed for the representation of German dialects, and to spell the introduced English words chiefly after a German fashion. This is the plan pursued, but not quite consistently,² in the following extract, for which I am indebted to Dr. Mombert. The English constituents are italicised as the French are in the following edition of the prologue. A few words are explained in brackets [], but any one familiar with German will understand the original, which seems to have been written by an educated German, familiar with good English.

of Pennsylvania. The Penn. Germ. press was the champion of this movement, by which an entire German family would be more and more imbued with modern German culture. As a striking proof of the identity of Palatine with Pennsylvanian German, he referred to Nadler's poems called *Fröhlich Pfalz, Gott erhalt's*, which, written in the Palatine dialect, were, when read out to the meeting by Dr. Leisenring, a born Penn. German, as readily intelligible to the audience as if they had been written in Penn. German. Prof. Notz also observed that in Germany the people still spoke among one another in dialects, and only exceptionally in high German when they spoke with those who had received a superior education—and that even the latter were wont to speak with the people in their own dialect. This was corroborated by Messrs. Rosenthal, Hesse, and others. On the motion of Prof. Notz, it was resolved to prosecute an inquiry into the Germanic forms of expression in use in Pennsylvania, and to report thereon, in order to obtain materials for a complete characterisation of the dialect.

¹ Prof. S. S. Haldeman, of Columbia, Pennsylvania, to whom I have been

under great phonetic obligations, and who has been familiar with the dialect from childhood, has promised to furnish the Philological Society with some systematic account of this peculiar hybrid language, the living representation not only of the marriage of English with Norman, but of the breaking up of Latin into the Romance dialects. The Rev. Dr. Mombert, formerly of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but now of Dresden, Saxony, who has long been engaged in collecting specimens, has also promised to furnish some additions. The preceding note shews the interest which it is now exciting in its native country. In this place it is only used as a passing illustration, but through the kindness of these competent guides, I am enabled to give the reader a trustworthy account so far as it goes.

² Thus *ēy* is used for *ee* in *kēyn* = (keen), or rather (*keen*) according to Dr. Mombert, and *ee* for *ih* (ii) in *Teer*, which are accommodations to English habits. *Cowskin* retains its English form. A more strictly German orthography is followed in *L. A. Wollensueber's* *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben*, Philadelphia und Leipzig, 1869, p. 76.

Ein Gespräch.

1. Ah, *Dävee*, was hot Dich gestern Owent [Abend] so vertollt *schmärt* aus *Squeier* Essebeises kumme mache? War ebbes [etwas] letz¹?

2. Nix apartiges! ich hab jusht a bissel mit der *Pally* *gespärkt* [played the spark], als Dir ganz unvermüth der olte Mann derzu kummt, ummer [und mir] zu vershte' gibt, er dät des net *gleiche*.²

1. Awer [aber] wie hot er's dir zu vershteh' gegewe' (gegeben)? Grob oder höflich?

2. Ach net [nicht], er hat *kēyn* [kein] wort geschwätzt.

1. *Well*, wie hot er's dann g'mocht?

2. Er hat jusht de Teer

[Thüre] ufg'mocht, mir mei' Hūth in de Hand 'gewe' un' de *Cowskin* von der Wand g'kricht [gekriegt]. Do hob' ich g'denkt, er thät's net *gleiche*, dass ich die *Pally* *shpärke* thät un bin grod fortgange; des wer alles, *Säm*.

1. Ja, geleddert hot er Dich, *Dävee*, dann du bist net gange,— g'shrunge bischt Du als wenn a dutzend Hund hinnig [hinter] Dich her wären. Ich hab dich wohl gesēyhne [gesehen].

2. *Well*, sei nur shtill drfon [davon], und sags Niemand, sonst werd' ich ausgelacht.

Säm versprach's; awer *som-how* muss er sich doch verschnappt hawe [haben], sonst hätt's net g'druckt werde könne.

The second style of orthography is to treat the whole as English and spell the German as well as the English words, after English analogies. This apparently hopeless task,³ was undertaken by Mr. Rauch, who in his weekly newspaper, *Father Abraham*, has weekly furnished a letter from an imaginary Pit i.e. Peter Schweflebbrenner, without any interpretation, and in a spelling "peculiarly his own."⁴ Perhaps some of the popularity of these satirical letters is due, as

¹ South German *letz*, *letsch*, *lätsch*, wrong, left-handed, as in high German *links*, for which Prof. Haldeman refers to Stalder, and to Ziemann, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterb.* 217. See also Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterb.* 2, 530, "(Mir is *letz*) mir ist nicht recht, d. h. übel." Compare high German *verletzen*, to injure.

² Dr. Mombert considers *gleichen* in this sense of "like, approve of," to be the English word *like* Germanized. But Dr. Stratmann, on seeing the passage, considered the word might be from the old high German *lichen*, to please. This verb, however, was intransitive in all the Germanic dialects, and in old English (see Prol. 777 below: if you liketh, where *you* is of course dative). The present active use seems to be modern English, and I have therefore marked it accordingly.

³ An attempt of Chaucer's scribes to write his language after Norman analogies, as Rapp supposes to have been the case, would have been precisely analogous. Fortunately this was not possible, *suprà* p. 588, n. 4, or we might have never been able to recover his pronunciation.

⁴ In the prospectus of his newspaper, Mr. Rauch says: "So weit das mer wissa, is der Pit Schweflebbrenner der eantsich monn in der United States dærs Pennsylvanish Deitsch recht shreibt un bushtaweert exactly we's g'shwetzt un ous g'shprocha wærd," i.e., as far as we know, Pit Schweflebbrenner is the only man in the United States who writes and spells Pennsylvania German correctly, exactly as it is gossipped and pronounced.

some of the fun of Hans Breitmann's Ballads¹ certainly is, to the drollness of the orthography, which however furnishes endless difficulties to one who has not a previous knowledge of the dialect.²

The third orthography would be the usual high German and

¹ Hans Breitmann's "poems are written in the droll broken English (not to be confounded with the Pennsylvania German) spoken by millions—mostly uneducated—Germans in America, immigrants to a great extent from southern Germany. Their English has not yet become a district dialect; and it would even be difficult to fix at present the varieties in which it occurs."—Preface to the 8th edition of Hans Breitmann's Party, with other Ballads, by Charles G. Leland, London, 1869, p. xiii. In fact Mr. Leland has played with his dialect, and in its unfixed condition has made the greatest possible fun out of the confusion of *p* with *b*, *t* with *d*, and *g* with *k*, without stopping to consider whether he was giving an organically correct representation of any one German's pronunciation. He has consequently often written combinations which no German would naturally say, and which few could, even after many trials, succeed in pronouncing, and some which are scarcely attackable by any organs of speech. The book has, therefore, plenty of *vis comica*, but no linguistic value.

² The following inconsistencies pointed out by Prof. S. S. Haldeman, are worth notice, because similar absurdities constantly occur in attempts to reduce our English dialects, or barbaric utterances, to English analogies, by persons who have not fixed upon any phonetic orthography, such as the Glosstotype of Chap. VI., § 3, and imagine that the kaleidoscopic character of our own orthography is not a mere "shewing the eyes and grieving the heart." Prof. H. says: "The orthography is bad and inconsistent, sometimes English and sometimes German, so that it requires some knowledge of the dialect, and of English spelling to be able to read it.

"The vowel of *they* occurs in *ferstay*, *meh*, *nay*, *ehus*, *bæs* and *base* (= *böse*, angry), *hæst* (= *heisst*, called) *eawich*, *daet*, *gea*—*ea* being mostly used (as in *heasa*, *tswea*); but *gedreat* (also *dreet*) rhymes its English form *treat*, and *dreat*, (= *dreht*, turns) with *fate*.

"The German *a* is as in *what* and *fall*, but the former falls into the vowel of *hut*, but. *Fall* is represented by *ah* in *betzakhla*, and *aa* in *paar*, but usually by *aw* (*au* in *sauga*) as in *aw* (*auch*, also) *g'sawt* (said, gesagt). *Hawa* = *haben*, should have been *haw-wa*. The vowel of *what* is represented by *a* or *o*, as in *was*, *war*, *hab*, *kann*, *donn*, *norra*, *gonga*.

"*O* of *no* occurs in *bohna*, so *amohl*, = *einmal*, *coaxa* (= to coax!) *doch*, *hoar* (= *haar* hair), *woch*, *froke*.

"When German *a* has become English *u* of *but*, it is written *u*, as in *hut* (= *hat*, *has*), and *a* final, as in *macha*, *denka* = *denken*, [which = (e)], *an* = *ein*.

"The vowel of *field* occurs in *wie*, *shpiela*, *de*, *shees*, *kreya* = (*kriighe*), *y* is used throughout for (*gh*) of *regen*. The *y* of *my* occurs in *sei*, *si*, *my* and *mei*, *bei*, *dyfel*, *subscriba*.

"*W*, when not used as a vowel, has its true German power (*bh*), as in *tswea* = *zwei*, *hawa* = *haben*, *weasht* = *weisst*, *wenich* and *weanich* != *wenig*, *awer* = *aber*, and some other examples of *b* have this sound.

"*Das* is for *dass* that, and *des* is used for the neuter article *das*. The *s* is hissing (*s*). The *r* is trilled (*r*) as in German. *P b, t, d, k, g*, are confused. The lost final *n* is commonly recalled by a nasalised vowel.

"*Oo* in *fool*, *full*, appears in *ün*, when used for *und*, *üf* for *auf*, *wü* = *wo* where, *Zeitüng* pure German, *shoola* = schools, *trüvel* = trouble.

"English words mostly remain English in pronunciation, as in: meeting-house, town, frolic, for instance, horse-race, game poker *shpeela*, *bensa pitcha* = pitch pence, *üf* course; but many words are modified when they cross a German characteristic, thus *greenbacks*, the national currency, is rather (*kriin-peks*).

"The vowel of *fat* occurs in *Bärricks* = Berks county, *lodwärrick* *lodwärrick* = *latwerge* electuary, *kär-rich* = *kirche*, *wäert* = *werth*, *här* = *her*. -*le* is only an English orthography for *el* or '*l*, *sh* is English."

English orthographies for the words used, which would of course convey no information respecting the real state of the dialect. The only proper orthography, the only one from which such information can be derived, is of course phonetic. The kindness of Prof. Haldemann has enabled me to supply this great desideratum.¹ The passage selected is really a puff of a jeweller's shop in Lancaster, Pa., and was chosen because it is short, complete, characteristic, varied, and, being not political, generally intelligible. It is given first in Mr. Rauch's peculiar Anglo-German spelling, and then in Prof. Haldemann's phonetic transcript, afterwards by way of explaining the words, the passage is written out in ordinary High German and English, the English words being italicised, and finally a verbal English translation is furnished. On pp. 661-3 is added a series of notes on the peculiarities of the original, referred to in the first text. The reader will thus be able to form a good idea of the dialect, and those who are acquainted with German and English will thoroughly appreciate the formation of Chaucer's language.

¹ Professor Haldeman not having spoken the dialect naturally for many years, after completing his phonetic transcript, saw Mr. Rauch the author, and ascertained that their pronunciations practically agreed. The phonetic transcript, here furnished, may therefore be relied on. Prof. Haldeman being an accomplished phonetician, and acquainted with my palaeotype, wrote the pronunciation himself in the letters here used. Of course for publication in a newspaper, my palaeotype would not answer, but my glossotype would enable the author to give his Pennsylvania German in an English form and much more intelligibly. Thus the last paragraph in the example, p. 661, would run as follows in glossotype, adopting Prof. Haldeman's pronunciation: "Auer iyh kon der net olläs saughä. Va'rr [vehrr] mainer vissä vil, onn va'rr [vehrr] färrst raiti Krishtaukh sokh vil—dee faaynsti onn beshti bressents, maukh selverr dorrt ons Tsaums gaiä, onn siyh selverr sootä. Noh mohrr et press'nt. Peet Shveff'lbrennerr." But the proper orthography would be a glossotype upon a German instead of an English basis. The following scheme would most probably answer all purposes. The meaning of the symbols is explained by German examples, unless otherwise marked, and in palaeotype. LONG VOWELS: *ie* lieb (ii), *ee* beet (ee), *ae* spräche (EE, ææ), *aa* Aal (aa), *ao* Eng. aul (AA), *oo* Boot (oo), *uh* Pfuhl

(uu), *ue* Uebel (yy), *oe* Oel (œœ). SHORT VOWELS: *i* Sinn (i, ä), *e* Bett (e, E), *ä* Eng. bat (E, æ), *a* all (a), *ö* Eng. what (A o), *o* Motte (o o), *u* Pfund (u, u), *ü* Fülle (y), *ö* Böcke (œ), *ë* eine (ë), Eng. but (v, ə), (,) sign of nasality. DIPHTHONGS: *ai* Hain (ai), *oi* Eng. joy, Hamburg *Eule* (oi), *äu* theoretical *Eule* (ay), *au* kauen (au). CONSONANTS: *j* ja (j), *w* wie (bh), Eng. *w* (w) must be indicated by a change of type, roman to italic, or conversely, *h* heu (h), *p* b (p b), *t* d (t d), *tsh* dsh (tsh dzh), *k* g (k g), *kh* (kh), *f* v (f v), *th* dh (th dh), *ss* Nüsse (s), *s* wiese (z), *sch* sh (sh zh), *ch* gh (kh kh, gh gh), *r* l m n (r l m n), *ng* nk (q qk). German readers would not require to make the distinction *ss*, *s*, except between two vowels, as Wiesë, Nüssë, Fuessë. They would also not find it necessary to distinguish between *e*, *ë* final, or between *er*, *ër*, unaccented. For similar reasons the short vowel signs are allowed a double sense. This style of writing would suit most dialectic German, but if any additional vowels are required *ih*, *eh*, *ah*, *oh*, are available. The last sentence of the following example, omitting the distinction *e*, *ë*, would then run as follows: "Aower ich kon der net olles saoghe. Waer meener wisse wil, un waer ferst reeti Krischtaoch sokh wil,—die faainsti un beschti bressents, maokh selwer dort ons Tsaoms geeë, un sikh selwer suhte. Noo moor et press'nt. Piet Schwefflbrenner."

1.

RAUCH'S ORTHOGRAPHY.

Pennsylvanish Deitsh.

Mr.¹ Fodder Abraham² Printer
—Deer Sir: Ich kon mer now
net³ helfa⁴—ich mus der yetz
amohl⁵ shreiva⁶ we ich un de
Bevvy⁷ ousgemocht hen doh fer-
gonga⁸ we mer in der shtadt
Lancaster wara.

Der hawpt⁹ platz wu¹⁰ mer
onna¹¹ sin, war dort in selly
Zahm's ivver ous sheana Watcha¹²
un Jewelry establishment, grawd
dort om eck¹³ fun was se de Nord
Queen Strose¹⁴ heasa un Center
Shquare—net weit fun wu das
eier office is.

In all meim leawa hab ich ne
net so feel tip-top sheany sacha
g'sea, un sell¹⁵ is exactly was de
Bevvy sawgt.¹⁶

We mer nei sin un amohl so a
wennich rum geguckt hen, donn
secht¹⁶ de Bevvy—loud genunk¹⁷
das der monn 's hut heara kenna
—“Now Pit,”¹⁸ secht se, “weil

2.

PROF. HALDEMAN'S PRONUNCIATION.

Pensilvee'nish Daitsh.

Mis't'r Fad'r :Aa·brəham
prin't'r—Diir Sər: Ikh kan m'r
nau net helf'v—ikh mus d'r jets
vmool· shraibh'v bhii ikh un di
Bebh'i aus·gemakht hen doo
f'rgaq'v bhii m'r in d'r shtat
Leq'kesht'r bhAA·v.

D'r hAapt plats bhuu m'r an'v
sın, bhar dart in sel'i TsAams
ibh'r aus shee'n'v bhatsh'v un
tshu·vlri estep·lishmunt, gRAAD
dart am ek fun bhas si di Nort
Kfiin Shtroos hee'v un Sen't'r
Shkbheer—net wait fun bhuu
das ai'r af'is is.

In al maim leebh'v HAB ikh
nii net so fiil tip·tap shee'ni
sakh'v ksee'v un sel is eksək'li
bhas di Pebh'i sAAkt.

Bhi m'r nai sin un vmool soo
v bhen'ikh rum gegukt' hen,
dan sekht di Bebh'i—laut ge-
nuqk' das d'r mans hot heer'v
ken'v —“Nau Pît,” sekht si,

3. German and English Translation.

Pennsylvanisches Deutsch.

Mr. Vater Abraham, Printer—Dear
Sir: Ich kann mir now nicht helfen—
ich muss dir jetzt einmal schreiben wie
ich und die Barbara ausgemacht haben,
da vergangen, wie wir in der Stadt
Lancaster waren.

Der Haupt-Platz wo wir an sind,
war dort in selbiges Zahms überaus
schöne Watche und Jewelry Estab-
lishment, grade dort an-der Ecke von
was sie die Nord Queen Strasse heis-
sen und Centre Square—nicht weit von
wo dass euer office ist.

In all meinem Leben habe ich nie
nicht so viele tiptop schöne Sachen
gesehen, und selbiges ist exactly was
die Barbara sagt.

Wie wir hinein sind und einmal so
ein wenig herum geguckt haben, dann
sagte die Barbara—laut genug dass der
Mann es hat hören können—“Now,

4. Verbal English Translation.

Pennsylvania German.

Mr. Father Abraham, Printer—
Dear Sir: I can myself now not help
—I must to-thee now once write, how I
and the Barbara managed [*i.e. fared*]
have there past, as we in the town
Lancaster were.

The chief-place where we arrived
are, was there in same Zahm's over-
out beautiful Watches and Jewelry
Establishment, exactly there at corner
of what they the North Queen Street
call, and Centre Square—not far from
where that your office is.

In all my life have I never not so
many tiptop beautiful things seen, and
same is exactly what the Barbara
says.

As we hence-into are, and once so a
little around looked have, then said the
Barbara—loud enough that the man it
has to-hear been-able—“Now, Peter,”

1. *Rauch's Orthography, continued.*

se der di watch g'shtola hen
dort in Nei Yorrick,¹⁹ musht an
neie kawfa, un doh gookts das³⁶
wann²⁰ du dich suta²¹ kennsht."²²

We se sell g'sawt hut, donn
hen awer amohl de kærls²³ dort
hinnich²⁴ em counter uf geguckt.
Eaner hut si brill gedropt,²⁵
un an onnerer is uf g'shtonna
un all hen mich orrig²⁶ freind-
lich aw²⁷ geguckt.

Donn sogt eaner—so a wen-
nich an goot guckicher²⁸ ding—
secht er, "Ich glawb doch now
das ich weas wær du bisht."
"Well," sog ich, "wær
denksht?" "Ei der Pit Schwef-
fiebrenner." "Exactly so," hab
ich g'sawt. "Un des doh is
de Bevvv, di alty," secht er.
"Aw so," hab ich g'sawt.

Donn hut er mer de hond
gevva, un der Bevvv aw, un
hut g'sawt er het shun feel fun
meina breefa g'leasa, un er wær
orrig froh mich amohl selwer

3. *Germ. & Eng. Translation, cont.*

Peter, sagte sie, "weil sie dir deine
Watch gestohlen haben dort in Neu
York, musst du eine neue kaufen, and
da guckt es [als] dass wann du dich
suiten könnest."

Wie sie selbiges gesagt hat, dann
haben aber einmal die Kerls dort hin-
terig dem counter aufgeguckt. Einer
hat seine Brille gedropt, und ein an-
derer ist aufgestanden und alle haben
mich arg freundlich angeguckt.

Dann sagt einer—so ein wenig ein
gutguckiges Ding—sagte er, "Ich
glaube doch now dass ich weiss wer du
bist." "Well," sage ich, "wer
denkest?" "Ei, der *Peter* Schwefel-
brenner." "Exactly so," habe ich
gesagt. "Und das da ist die Barbara,
deine Alte," sagte er. "Auch so,"
habe ich gesagt.

Dann h t er mir die Hand gegeben,
und der Barbara auch, und hat gesagt
er hätte schon viel von meinen Briefen
gelesen, und er wäre arg froh mich

2. *Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.*

"bhail si dir dai, bhatsh
kshtool·v hen dart in Nai Jar·ik,
musht en nai·v kaaft·v, un doo
gukts das bhan du dikh suut·v
kensht."

Bhi si sel ksaat hæt, dan hen
aa·b'r vmool· di kærls dart hin·
ikh vm kaunt·r uf gegukt.
Ee·n'r hæt sai bril gedrap't, un
en an·erær is uf kshtan·v un al
hen mikh ar·ikh fraind·likh aa,
gegukt.

Dan sakt ee·n'r—soo v bhen·ikh
en guut guk·ikh·r diq—sekt v,
"Ikh glaab dokh nau das ikh
bhees bhær du bisht." "Bhel,"
sag ikh, "bhær deqksht?" "Ai
d'r Pit Shbheef·lben·r." "Ek-
sæk·li soo," hab ikh ksaat." "Un
des doo is di Bebh·i, dai alt·i,"
sekt ær. "Aa soo," hab ikh
ksaat."

Dan hæt ær m'r di hand
gebh·v, un d'r Pebh·i aa, un hæt
ksaat ær het shun fiil fun main·v
briif·a glee·sv, un ær bhæær
ar·ikh froo mikh vmool· sel·bhær

4. *Verbal Eng. Translation, cont.*

said she, "because they to-thee thy
watch stolen have there in New *York*,
must thou a new (one) buy, and there
looks it [as] that if thou thee suit
mightest."

As she same said has, then have
again once the fellows there behind the
counter up-looked. One has his spec-
tacles dropped, and another is up-stood,
and all have me horrid friendlily on-
looked.

Then says one—so a little a good-
looking thing—said he, "I believe,
however, now that I know who thou
art." "Well," say I, "who thinkest
(thou that I am)?" "Eh, the *Peter*
Sulphurburner." "Exactly so," have
I said. "And that there ist the
Barbara, thy old-woman," said he.
"Also so," have I said.

Then has he me the hand given, and
to-the Barbara also, and has said he
had already much of my letters read,
and he was horrid glad me once self to

1. *Rauch's Orthography, continued.*

tsu seana.²⁹ Donn sin mer awer amohl on bisness.

Watcha hen se dort, first-raty for 16 dahler bis tsu 450 dahler. Noch dem das mer se amohl recht beguckt hen, is de Bevvv tsu der conclusion kumma an Amerikanishe watch tsu kawfa.

Dort hen se aw was se Thermometers heasa—so a ding dass eam³⁰ weist we kalts'wetter is, un sel dinkt mich kent mer braucha alleweil. Any-how mer hen eans gekawft.

De watch is aw an first-raty. Ich war als³¹ uf³² der meanung das de Amerikanishe watcha wærra drous in Deitshlond g'macht, un awer sell is net wohr. Un de house-ulhra; chee-many³³ fires awer se hen about sheany! Uf course mer hen aw eany gekawft, for wann ich amohl Posht Meashder bin mus ich eany hawa for³⁴ in de office ni du.

3. *Germ. & Eng. Translation, cont.*

einmal selber zu sehen(en). Dann sind wir aber einmal an *business*.

Watche haben sie dort, *first-rate-e* für sechzehn bis zu vier hundert (und) fünfzig Thaler. Nachdem dass wir sie einmal recht beguckt haben, ist die Barbara zu der *conclusion* gekommen eine Amerikanische *watch* zu kaufen.

Dort haben sie auch was sie Thermometers heissen—so ein Ding das einem weiset wie kalt das Wetter ist, und selbiges dünkt mich könnten wir brauchen alleweile. *Anyhow* wir haben eines gekauft.

Die *Watch* ist auch eine *first-rate-e*. Ich war also auf [alles auf, also of?] der Meinung dass die Amerikanischen *Watche* wären draussen in Deutschland gemacht, und aber selbiges ist nicht wahr. Und die Hausuhren; *Gemini fires*! aber sie haben *about* schöne! *Of course* wir haben auch eine gekauft, for wann ich einmal *Post Master* bin, muss ich eine haben for in die *office* hinein [zu] thun. .

2. *Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.*

tsu seen'v. Dan sin m'r aabh'r emool' an bis'nus.

Bhatsh'v hen si dart, først ree'ti f'r sekhtsee bis tsu fûr-hun'ert-fuf'tsikh taal'v. Nakh dem das m'r sii emool' rekht begukt' hen, is di Pebh'i tsu d'r kankluu'shen kum'v vñ :Ameri-kaa'nishv bhatsh tsu kaa'v.

Dart hen si aa bhas si ter-mam'it'rs hees'a—so v diq das eem bhaist bhi kalt 's bhet'r is, un sel diqt mikh kent m'r braukh'v al'ebhail. En'ihau m'r hen eens gekaaft'.

Dii bhatsh is aa vñ først ree'ti. Ik'h bhar als uf der mee'nuq das dii :Ameri-kaa'nishv bhatsh'v bhæ'v draus in Daitsh'lant gmaakht', un aa'bh'r sel is net bhoor. Un dii haus'u'u'rë; tshii'meni fairs! aa'bh'r si hen vbaut' shee'ni! Uf koors m'r hen aa een'i gekaaft', f'r bhan ikh emool' Poosht Meesh't'r bin mus ikh ee'ni haa'bhv for in di af'is nai du.

4. *Verbal Eng. Translation, cont.*

see. Then are we again once on *business*.

Watches have they there, *first-rate* (ones) for sixteen up-to four hunderd (and) fifty dollars. After that wie them once rightly beseen have, is the Barbara to the *conclusion* come, an American *watch* to buy.

There have they also what they Thermometers call—so a thing that to-him shows how cold the weather is, and same thinks me might we use presently. *Anyhow* we have one bought.

The *watch* is also a *first-rate* (one). I was *always* on [all up = entirely of, always of] the opinion that the American *watches* were there-out in Germany made, and but same is not true. And the houseclocks; *Gemini Fires*! but they have *about* beautiful (ones)! *Of course* we have also one bought, for when I once *Post Master* am, must I one have, for into the office hence-in (to) do.

1. *Rauch's Orthography, continued.*

Se hen aw an grosser shtock fun Silvern'y Löffla, Brilla, un ich weas net was olles. De Bevv'y hut gedu das weil ich yetz boll amohl³⁵ an United Shtates Government Officer si wær, set ich mer aw an Brill kawfa, un ich hab aw eany krickt das ich now net gevva deat fer duppelt's geld das se gekosht hut, for ich kon yetz noch amohl so goot seana un leasa das³⁶ tsufore.

Un we ich amohl dorrich my neie Brill geguckt hab, donn hab ich ærsht all de feiny sacha recht beguckt, un an examination gemacht fun Breast Pins, Rings, Watch-ketta,³⁷ Shtuds, Messera un Govvella, etc.

Eans fun sella Breastpins hut der Bevv'y about goot aw-g'-shtonna, awer er hut mer doch a wennich tsu feel g'fuddert derfore—25 dahler, un donn hab

3. *Germ. & Eng. Translation, cont.*

Sie haben auch einen grossen *stock* von silbernen Löffeln, Brillen, und ich weiss nicht was alles. Die Barbara hat gethan dass weil ich jetzt bald einmal ein *United States Government Officer* sein werde, sollte ich mir auch eine Brille kaufen, und ich habe auch eine gekriegt, dass ich *now* nicht geben thäte für doppelt-das Geld das sie gekostet hat, *for* ich kann jetzt noch einmal so gut sehen und lesen [als] dass zuvor.

Und wie ich einmal durch meine neue Brille geguckt habe, dann habe ich erst alle die feinen Sachen recht beguckt und an *examination* gemacht von *Breastpins*, *Rings*, *Watch-ketten*, *Studs*, Messer und Gabeln, etc.

Eins von selbigen *Breastpins* hat der Barbara *about* gut angestanden, aber er hat mir doch ein wenig zu viel gefodert dafür—fünf und zwanzig Thaler—und

2. *Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.*

Sii hen AA en groo'se shtak fun Sil'bhærni Lef'le, Bril'e un ikh bhees net bhas al'us. Dii Pebh'i hæt geduu das bhail ikh jets bal emool en Junai'tet Shteets Gef'rmënt Of'iser sai bhæær, set ikh m'r AA en Bril kaa'fe, un ikh HAP AA ee'ni krikht, das ikh nau net gebh'e deet f'r dup'ls geld das sii gekosht het, f'r ikh kan jets nokh emool soo guut see'ne un lee'se das tsufoor.

Un bhii ikh emool dar'ikh mai, nai'i Bril geguckt HAP, dan HAP ikh ærsht al dii fai'ni sakh'e rekht beguckt un en eksæminesh'n gemakht fun Bresht'pins, Riqs, Bhatsh'ket'e, Shtæts, Mes'ere un Gabh'le, etset'ere.

Eens fun sel'e Bresht'pins hæt d'r Bebh'i ebaut guut AA'gsht'AA'n'e, AA'bh'r ær hæt mir døk'h e bhenikh tsu fiil gfud'rt d'rfoor — fünf un tsbhan'sikh

4. *Verbal Eng. Translation, cont.*

They have also a great *stock* of silver spoons, spectacles, and I know not what all. The Barbara has done [estimated] that because I now soon once a *United States Government Officer* be shall, should I me also a pair-of-spectacles buy, and I have also one got, that I *now* not give would-do for double the money that it cost has, *for* I can now still once so good see and read [as] that before.

And as I once through my new spectacles looked have, then have I first all the fine things right be-seen, and an *examination* made of *Breastpins*, *Rings*, *Watchchains*, *Studs*, knives and forks, etc.

One of the same *Breastpins* has the Barbara about good on-stood [suited], but he has me, however, a little too much asked therefore—five-and-twenty

1. *Rauch's Orthography, continued.*

ich mer tsuletsht eany rous gepickt fer drei færtle dahler, fer selly sogt de Bevvy, is anyhow ahead fun ennicher³⁸ onnery in Schliffletown.

Awer ich kann der net alles sawya. Wær meaner³⁹ wissa will, un wær first raty krishdog sach will—de feinsty un beshty presents, mog selwer dort ons Zahms gea un sich selwer suta. No more at present.

Pit Schweflebbrenner.

2. *Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.*

tAA'l'r, un dan HAB ikh mîr tsuletsht ee'ni raus gepikt f'r trai fært'l tAA'lur, f'r sel'i sakt di Bebh'i is en'i'hau vhet fun en'ikher an'eri in Shliff'taun.

:Aa'bb'r ikh kan d'r net al'us sAA'ghê. Bhær meen'r bhis'v bhîl, un bhær fêrst reet'i Krish-tAAkh sakh bhîl—dii fain'shti un besht'i bres'ents, mAAkh sel-bh'r dart ans TSAAMS gee'v un sikh sel-bh'r suu'tê. Noo moor et bres'nt.

Piit Shbhef'l'bren'r.

3. *Germ. & Eng. Translation, cont.*

dann habe ich mir zuletzt eine heraus gepickt für drei Viertel Thaler, *for* selbiges sagt die Barbara is *anyhow* ahead von einiger anderen in Schliffletown.

Aber ich kann dir nicht alles sagen. Wer mehr wissen will, und wer *first-rate*-e Christtag Sachen will—the feinsten und besten *presents*, mag selber dort an's Zahms gehen und sich selber *suiten*. No more at present.

Peter Schwefelbrenner.

4. *Verbal Eng. Translation, cont.*

dollars—and then have I for-me atlast one out *picked* for three-quarters (of a) dollar, *for* same says the Barbara is *anyhow* ahead of any other in Schliffletown.

But I can thee not all say. Who more know will, and who *first-rate* Christmas things will—the finest and best *presents*, may himself there to-the Zahm's (house) go, and him self *suit*. No more at present.

Peter Schwefelbrenner.

Notes on the above Text.

¹ *Mister* is used as well as the German form (*meesh't'r*).—S. S. Haldeman.

² Father Abraham means the late president Abraham Lincoln, assumed as the title of Rauch's newspaper.

³ The guttural omitted, as frequently in *nicht, nichts*.

⁴ The infinitive *-e* for *-en*, as frequently in Chaucer, and commonly now on the Rhine.

⁵ *Einmal*, a common expletive, in which the first syllable, even among more educated German speakers sinks into an indistinct (*e*). Observe the transition of (*a*) into (*oo*).

⁶ The common change of (*b*) into (*bh*).

⁷ *Bevvy*, or *Pevvy*, is a short form of *Barbara*, a rather common name in the dialect. Both forms are used in the following specimen.—S.S.H. German *Bäbke, Bäckchen*, compare the English *Bab, Babby*.

⁸ *Doh* here, *fergonga* recently, an adverb, not for *vergangene Woche*.—S. S. H.

⁹ Observe the frequent change of the German *au*, indisputably (*au, au*) into English (*aa*), precisely as we find to have occurred in English of the XVII th century.

¹⁰ The not unfrequent changes of *o* long into (*uu*) are comparable to similar English changes xv th century.

¹¹ *Onna*, the preposition *an* used as a verb, as in the English expression, "he ups and runs." I take this view because *sind* is an auxiliary and a present tense form, but the adverbial tendency of *onna* (as if *thither*) must nevertheless not be overlooked. A German will sometimes use in English an expression like "*outen* the candle!" rarely heard in English.—S.S.H.

¹² Observe here a German plural termination *e* affixed to an English word.

¹³ *Ecke* being feminine, the correct form is *an der Ecke*, although *-eck* in composition is neuter, as *dreieck*, *viereck*.—S.S.H. In Schmeller's Bayr. Wört. 1, 25, "*das Eck*, eigentlich *Egg*" is recognized as south German. In the following word *fun* for *von*, short *o* becomes (u) or (u).

¹⁴ This change of German *a* to *o* is common, as in (shloof-ø) for *schlafen*, (shoof) for *schaf*, etc.—S.S.H. See note 5, and compare this with the change of ags. (aa) into South English (oo, oo), while (aa) remained in the North.

¹⁵ This frequent and difficult word has been translated *selbiges* throughout, as the nearest high German word, and *selly*, 9 lines above it, may, in fact, indicate this form. Compare Schmeller's Bayr. Wört. 3, 232, "*Selb* [declinabel] in Schwaben öfter nach erster Declin.-Art (sel-er, e, es), in A. B. lieber nach zweiter [der, die, das (s'l), den s'ln, di s'ln]. etc.] gebraucht, statt des hochd. *jener*, *e*, *es*, welches unvolksüblich ist. [Für *der*, *die*, *das selbe* im hochd. Sinn. d.h. *idem*, *eadem*, *idem*, braucht die Mundart *der die*, *das nemliche*.] (s'l əs mal, des s'l mal, s'l malz) jenes Mel. (s'l ə tsait) zu jener zeit, (s'l ət-halb-m) oder (-bhəgq) des[jenigen] wegen."

¹⁶ *Savgt* = *sagt*, says, *secht* = *sägt*, instead of *sagte*, said, with the Umlaut.—S. S. H. The weak verb has therefore a strong inflection. This distinction is preserved throughout. Compare the common vulgar (and older?) forms *slep*, *swep*, with the usual *slept*, *wept*, and see *suprà* p. 355, art. 54.

¹⁷ *Gemunk*, with educed *k*, is common in archaic and provincial German, and Rollenhagen rhymes *jung*, pronounced *junk* dialectically, with *trunk*.—S. S. H. See *suprà* p. 192, n. 1.

¹⁸ (Pit) or (Piit) may be used for this short form of *Peter*.—S.S.H. It is the English *Pete*, not a German form as the vowel shows.

¹⁹ Observe the vowel educed by the strong trill of the (r). For convenience (r) has been printed throughout, but the reader must remember that it is always distinctly, and sometimes forcibly, trilled with the tip of the tongue, and never sinks to (i).

²⁰ *Das wann*, that though, as though.—S. S. H. *Gookts das wann*, for *sieht es aus als ob*, it looks as if. See note 36.

²¹ Observe the German infinitive termination *-e* for *-en*, added to a purely English verb.

²² The development of *s* into (sh) is remarkable in high German. It is acknowledged as the proper pronunciation before *t*, *p* at the beginning of a syllable, throughout Germany, even North German actors not venturing to say (st-, sp-) even in Hamburg, as I am informed, the capital of that pronunciation. But in final *-st*, the common (*-sht*) is looked upon as a vulgarism, even in Saxony.

²³ *Kærts*, may have an English *s*, but the form is often playfully used by good speakers in Germany, and hence may have been imported and not adopted.

²⁴ *Hinnich* for *hinter* has developed a final *-ig*, but this is a German addition.

²⁵ *Gedropt*, the German participial form for *dropped*. So also elsewhere I find *gepunished*, which may be compared with Chaucer's *ypunish'd*, Prol. v. 657.

²⁶ *Orrig*, very, Swiss *arig* (Stalder 1, 110), German *arg*, but the word *arg* implies cunning and annoyance, but its use as an intensive is comparable to our *horrid*, *awfully*, *dreadfully*, which are frequently used in a good sense, as: *horrid* beautiful, *awfully* nice, *dreadfully* crowded. *Das ist zu arg!* that is too bad. too much! is a common phrase even among educated Germans.

²⁷ *Aw* for German *an* is nasalised, which distinguishes it from the same syllable when used for the German *auch*, also.—S. S. H. This recent evolution of a nasal sound in German, common also in Bavarian, may lead us to understand the comparatively recent nasal vowels in French, *infra* Chap. VIII, § 3.

²⁸ The gender is changed because it refers to a man; so in high German it is not unfrequent to find *Fräulein*, *Mädchen*, although they have a neuter adjective, referred to by a feminine pronoun, as: "*das Fräulein hat ihren Handschuh fallen lassen*," the young lady [neuter] has dropped her [fem.] glove.

²⁹ In an earlier line *g'sea* for *gesehen*, but here we have a double infinitive, as *if zu sehenen*. This is also used for the third person plural of the present

tense, as in *sie gehen-a*, they go.—S.S.H. Compare also *ich hab dich, wohl gesëyhne*, in the *Gespräch*, p. 654. This seems comparable to what Prof. Child calls the protracted past participle in Chaucer, *suprà* p. 357, art. 61. It is impossible to read the present specimen attentively without being struck by the similarity between this Pennsylvania German and Chaucer's English in the treatment of the final *-e*, *-en* of the older dialects. The form (sel-bh \ddot{u} r) in the preceding line preserves the *b* in the form (bh). Schmeller also allows *selber* to preserve the *b* as (s'l'b \ddot{a}), see n. 15.

³⁰ *Das eam weist*, that shews him, that shews to one or a person.—S. S. H. *Eam* = *einem*, not *ihm*.

³¹ This *als* is Swiss, which Stalder defines by *ehedem* hitherto and *immer* always, compare ags. *eal-enge* altogether and *eal-wig* always.—S.S.H. See also Schmeller Bayr.-Wört. 1, 50. Dr. Mombert takes *als* to be an obsolete high German contraction of *alles* in the sense of ever, mostly, usually.

³² Prof. Haldeman takes *uf* for *auf*, but *der Meinung*, and not *auf der Meinung*, is the German phrase, and hence the word may be English, as afterwards, *uf course*. But this is hazardous, as *uf* in this sense could hardly be joined with a German dative *der Meinung*. Can *als uf* be a dialectic expression for *alles auf*, literally *all up*, that is, entirely? Compare, Schmeller, Bayr. Wört. 1, 31, "*auf und auf*, von unten (ganz, ohne Unterbrechung) bis oben, *auf und nider* vom Kopf bis zum Fuss, ganz und gar."

³³ *Cheemany* is the English exclamation *Oh jeemany*.—S.S.H. The English is apparently a corruption of: *Oh Jesus mihi*, and has nothing to do with the *Gemini*. But what is the last part of this exclamation: *fires*? Prof. Haldeman, suggests, *hell fires*! Dr. Mombert derives from the shout of: *fire*! Can the near resemblance in sound between *cheemany* and *chimney*, have suggested the following *fires*? Such things happen.

³⁴ *For in de office ni du* seems to stand for *um in die office hinein zu thun*. The use of *for* for *um* is a mere Anglicism, but why is *zu* omitted before *thun*? By a misprint, or dialectically for euphony?

It is required both by the German and English idiom. Dr. Mombert considers the omission of *zu* dialectic in this place, elsewhere we find *zu do*.

³⁵ *Boll amohl*, bald einmal, pretty soon, shortly. This use of *einmal* once, appears in the English of Germans, as in: "Bring now here the pen once."—S.S.H.

³⁶ *Das*. This is not the neuter nominative article *das*, which is *des* in this dialect, but a contraction of *als dass*, with the most important part, *als*, omitted.—S.S.H. I am inclined to take it for *dass* used for *als*, as in the former phrase *das wann* = *als ob*, see note 20. According to Schmeller, Bayr. Wört. 1, 400 "*dass* schliesst sich als allgemeinste conjunction, in der Rede des Volkes, gern andern conjunctionen erklärend an, oder vertritt deren Stelle."

³⁷ *Watch-ketta*, a half English, half German compound, is comparable to Chaucer's *footmantel*, half English and half French, in Prol. *infra*, v. 472, and *suprà* p. 651, l. 6.

³⁸ This may be the English *any*, like the German *einig*, treated like *einiger*, or it may be a legitimate development of this, as *eins* is *eens*.—S.S.H. The latter hypothesis seems the more probable, and then the English signification may have been attached to the German word from similarity of sound. Dr. Mombert thinks the word may be either *any* treated as a German word, or *irgend einer* corrupted. Observe the frequent use of (ee) for (ai) as *eens* for *eins*. The transitions of (au) into (AA), (ai) into (ee), (aa) into (oo), and occasionally (o) in (u), are all noteworthy in connection with similar changes in English.

³⁹ *Meaner* for *mehr* is obscure. Compare Schmeller, Bayr. Wört. 2, 581; "*manig*, Schwab. *menig*, *meng*, a) wie hochd. manch . . . Comparativisch steht in Amberg. Akten v. 1365 "*An ainem stuck oder an mengern*." . . . Sonst hört man im b. W. wie in Schwaben einfacher den Comparativ *mener*, mehr, welcher eher aus (mee, me) als aus *menger* entsteht scheint; oder sollte es noch unmittelbar zum alten *mana-* gehören?"

F. W. GESENIUS ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHAUCER.

Two German scholars, Professors Geseenius and Rapp, have published special studies on the language and pronunciation of Chaucer, of which it is now necessary to give an account. The following is a condensed abstract of the treatise entitled: *De Lingua Chaucerici commentationem grammaticam scripsit Fridericus Guilelmus Geseenius, Bonnae, 1847, 8vo. pp. 87.* The writer (who must not be confounded with the late Prof. Wilhelm Geseenius, of Halle, the celebrated Hebraist,) used Tyrwhitt's text of the *Canterbury Tales*, according to the 1843 reprint. In the present abstract Wright's spelling and references to his ed. of Harl. MS. 7334 (which have all been verified) are substituted, and much relating to the peculiarities of Tyrwhitt's text is omitted; inserted remarks are bracketed. Geseenius's ags. orthography has been retained.

PART I. THE LETTERS.

Chaucer seems to add or omit a final *e* at pleasure, both in ags. and fr. words, as was necessary to the metre; and he used fr. words either with the fr. accent on the last syllable or with the present English accent, for the same reason.

Chap. 1. Vowels derived from Anglo-Saxon.

Short vowels are followed by two consonants, or by either one or two in monosyllables, and long vowels have a single consonant followed by *e* final.

I. Ags. short *a* is preserved in: land 402, hand 401, bigan 5767, ran 4103, drank 6044, thanked 927; but fluctuates often between *a* and *o*, as: londes 14, hond 108, outsprong 13526, bygon 7142, nat 2247, drank 13970, i-thanked 7700 [in the three last cases, Tyrwhitt has *o*].

Short *a* answers to ags. *ä*, according to Grimm's separation *ä* = goth. *a*, and *æ* = gothic *ê*, as: what, that pron., ags. hvät jät; atte. ags. at 29; glas 152, have ags. hābban, etc.

Short *a* also answers to ags. *ea*, as in: alle ags. eall 10, scharpe ags. sečarp 114, halle 372, barme 10945, starf 935, 4703, halpe [Tyrwhitt. *hilp* Wright] 5340, karf 9647, hals 4493.

Long *a* is either a preserved ags. *a* long, or a produced ags. *a* short, as: make ags. macjan 4763, name, fare 7016, ham, ags. hām 4030. That this last word was pronounced differently to the others, which probably even then inclined to *ā* (FR), is shewn by its interchange with *home*, whereas *a* always remains in *make*, *name*, etc.

Long *a* also arises from ags. *ä* short, as: smale ags. smāl 9, bar 620; fadur 100, blake 2980, this last vowel is sometimes short as 629.

Long *a* like short *a* also arises from ags. *ēa*, as: gaf. ags. gēaf 177, mary, ags. mēarh 382, jape ags. gēap 4341, ale 3820, gate 1895, care, etc.

II. Chaucer's *e* replaces several distinct ags. vowels.

Short *e* stands

for ags. *e* short, in: ende 15, wende 16, bedde, selle 3819, etc.

for ags. *i*, *y*, in: cherche (Wr. chirche) ags. circe 4987; selle ags. syl, threshold, 3820, rhyming with selle, ags. sylle; scheeld ags. scyld 2895, rhyming with heeld, ags. hēold, kesse ags. cyssan 8933; stenten, ags. stintan 906; geven, ags. gifan, gyfan 917, etc. These forms are only found when wanted for the rhyme, and *i* is the more common vowel.

for ags. *ēa*, *ed* in: erme, ags. ēarmjan 13727; erthe, ags. ēard, ēorðe 1898; ers, ags. ēars 7272; derne, ags. dēarn 3200, 3297; berd 272; est, ags. ēast 1905.

for ags. *ēo* in: sterres, ags. stēorra 270; cherles ags. cēorl, ger. kerl, 7788; yerne ags. gēorne, ger. gern, 6575; lerne, ags. lēornjan. 310; swerd 112, werk 481, derkest 4724; yelwe, ags. gēolu 677.

Long *e* stands

for ags. short *e* in: ere, ags. erjan 888; queen, ags. cven 870, etc.

for ags. long *e*, more frequently, in: seke, ags. sēcan 13; kene 104, grene 103, swete 5, mete 1902, wepyng 2831, deme 1883.

for ags. *ae* long: heres, ags. haer 557; breede, 1972; lere, ags. laeran 6491; see 59, yeer 82, reed 3527, slepen 10, clene 369, speche 309, strete 3823, etc.

for ags. *ēo* as in: seke, ags. scēoc 18, as well as: sike, ags. sioca 245, these diphthongs *eo*, *io*, had probably a similar pronunciation and are hence frequently confused, so *hēofon*, *hiofon*, and *lēoð*, *liōð*; scheene, ags. scēōnē, beautiful, 1070; leef 1839, theef 3937; tene, ags. tēōna, grief, 3108; deepe 129, chese 6480, tree 9337, tre 6341, prestes 164, prest 503, etc.

for ags. *ēa* and *ed* in: eek 5, gret 84, beteth 11078, neede 306, reede 1971, bene 9728, chepe 5850, deaf 448, stremes 1497, teeres 2829, eet 13925, mere 544.

Nothing certain can be concluded concerning the pronunciation of these *e*'s, which arose from so many sources. They all rhyme, and may have been the same. In modern spelling the *e* is now doubled, or more frequently reverts to *ea*.

III. The vowel *i* has generally remained unchanged at all periods of the language. Mention has already been made of its interchange with *e* where the ags *y* was the mutate of *u* or *ēo*, *io*, thus: fist 6217, fest 14217, ags. fyst; mylle 4113, melle 3921, ags. myll; fēl 5090, fille 10883, ags. fēol; develes 7276, devyl 3901 [*divel* Tyrwhitt, *deuel* Heng. and Corp.], ags. dioful. The *i* generally replaces ags. *y*, and *e* replaces ags. *ēo*. Long *i* similarly replaces long ags. *y*, as occasionally in ags. Short ags. *i* seems to have been lengthened before *ld*, *nd*, [no reasons are adduced,] as in: wyld 2311, chylde 2312, fynde 2415, bynde 2416. Undoubtedly this long *i* was then pronounced as now, namely as German *ei* (ai). [Pronunciatio longæ vocalis *i* sine dubio iam id ætatis eadem fuit quam nunc, id est *ei*.] In the contracted forms *fint*, *grint* for *findeth*, *grindeth*, there was therefore a change of vowel, *fint* having the German short *i*, and *findeth* German *ei*. [No reasons adduced.]

IV. Short *o* stands

for ags. short *o* in: wolde 651, god 1254.

for ags. short *u*: somer ags. sumer 396; wonne ags. wunnen 51; nonne 118, sonne 7, domb 776, dong 532, sondry, ags. sundur, 14, 25. Nearly

all these words are now written with *u*, and preserve Chaucer's pronunciation, for *summer* is written, but *sommer* spoken [*i.e.* Gesenius did not distinguish the sounds (ə, o).]

for ags. short *a*, as already observed, and *o* is generally preferred before *nd*, and remains in Scotch and some northern dialects.

Long *o* stands

for ags. long *o* in: bookes, ags. bōc, 1200; stooden 8981, stood 5435, took 4430, foot 10219, sone 5023, sothely 117, etc.

for ags. long *a* in: wo, ags. vā 8015, moo 111, owne, ags. āgen 338, homly 7425, on 31, goost 205, hoote 396, ooth 120, loth 488. In such words *a* is uncommon, the sole example noted being *ham* 4030. Both *o*'s rhyme together and were therefore pronounced alike. At present the first is *u* and the second *o*.

for ags. short *u* in: sone 79; wone, ags. vunjan 337, groneth 7411.

V. Short *u* stands for ags. short *u* in: ful, ags. full 90, lust 192, but 142, cursyng 663, uppon 700, suster 873, *shulde* probably arose from some form *sculde*, not *scēolde*, as we have no other instance of ags. *ēo* becoming short *u*. There is no long *u* in Chaucer.

VI. The vowel *y* is occasionally put for *i*.

VII. The diphthong *ay* or *ai* stands for ags. *äg* in: day, ags. dāg 19, weie 793, lay 20, mayde 69, sayde 70, faire 94, tayl 3876, nayles 2143, pleye 236, reyn 592, i-freyned, ags. frāgnan 12361. These examples shew that *ey* was occasionally written for *ay*, and hence that *ey*, *ay* must have been pronounced alike.

VIII. The diphthong *ey* or *ei* arose from ags. *ed* as in: agein, ags. ageān 8642, or from *edg* as: eyen, ags. eāge 152, deye, ags. deāgan 6802, [*mori*, is there such a word in ags.? it is not in Bosworth or Etymüller; Orrmin has *dezenn*, suprā p. 284. There is a *deagan* tingere.] The change in these two last words may be conceived thus: first *g* is added to *ei*, then replaced by *j* (j) and finally vanishes, as *eige*, *eije*, *cie* or *eye*. From *eah* comes *eigh*, as *ēahta*, *hedh*, *nedh*, *sledh*, which give *eyght*, *heygh*, *neygh*, *sleygh*. This orthography is however rare, and *highe*, *nighe*, *slighe*, or *hie nie slie*, without *gh*, which was probably not pronounced at that time, are more common. The

word *eight* explains the origin of *night*, *might*, etc., from ags. *neāht*, *mēaht*, which were probably first written *neight*, *meight*, and then dropped the *i*. [There is no historical ground for this supposition.]

IX. The diphthong *ou*, or *ow* at the end of words or before *e*, answers to ags. long *u* (as the German *au* to medieval German *û*), in: *bour*, ags. *bûr* 15153, *oure* 34, *schowres* 1, *toun*, ags. *tûn* 217; *rouned*, ags. *rûn* 7132, *doun*, ags. *dûn* 954; *hous* 252, *oule* 6663, *bonk*, ags. *bûce*, Germ. *bauch*, 2748, *souked* 8326, *brouke*, ags. *brûcan*, use. 10182, etc. In many of these words *ou* is now written.

Before *ld* and *nd*, *ou* stands sometimes for ags. short *u*. Before *gh*, *ou* arises from ags. long *o*, and answers to middle German *uo*, as: *inough*, ags. *genôg*, mhg. *genuoc* 375; *rought*, ags. *rôhte* 8561, 3770, for which *au* is sometimes found, compare *sale* 4185, *sowle* 4261.

Finally *ou* sometimes arises from ags. *ëöv*, as in: *fourre*, ags. *fëóver* 210; *trouthe*, ags. *trëóvth*, 46, etc.

X. The diphthong *eu*, *ew*, will be treated under *w*.

Chap. 2. Consonants derived from Anglosaxon.

I. Liquids *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*.

L is usually single at the end of words, though often doubled, as it is medially between a short and any vowel, but between a long vowel and a consonant it remains single.

The metathesis of *R* which occurs euphonically in ags., is only found in: *briddes* 2931, 10925; *thrid* 2273, *threttene* 7841, *thritty* 14437; *thurgh* 2619. But as these words have regained their primitive forms *bird*, *third*, *through*, we perceive that the metathesis was accidental. In other words the transposed ags. form disappears in Chaucer, thus: gothic *rinnan*, ags. *irnan*, Chaucer *renne* 3888; frankish *drëscan*, ags. *përscan*, Ch. *threisshe* 538, *threissfold* 3482 ags. *përscvold*, *përscvold*; frank. *prëstan*, ags. *bërstan*, Ch. *berst* [Harleian and Lansdowne *bresten* Ellesmere and Hengwurt, and Corpus, *brestyn* Cambridge.] 1982; goth. *brinnan*, ags. *birnan*, Ch. *bren* 2333; modern *run*, [urn in Devonshire], *thrash*, but *burn burst*.

II. Labials *b*, *p*, *f*, *w*.

B is added euphonically to final *m* in

lamb 4879, but not always, as *lymes* 4881, now *limbs*.

P is used for *b* in *nempnen* 4927.

F, which between two vowels was *v* in ags., is lost in *heed* 109, ags. *hedfod*, *hedvod*. There seems to be a similar elision of *f* from ags. *efenford* in *enforce* 2237 [emforth Ellesmere, Hengwrt, Corpus, *enforte* Cambridge, *hensforth* Petworth, *enforþe* Lansdowne], compare *han* for *haven* 754, 1048, etc. *F* is generally final, as: *wif* 447, *lyf* 2259, *gaf* 1902, *haf* 2430, *stryf* 1836 *knif* 3958, more rarely medial, [the instances cited have final *f* in Wright], where it is generally replaced by *v*, not found ags., as: *wyve* 1862, *lyves* 1720, *geven* 917, *heven* 2441, *steven*, ags. *stëfen* 10464; *havesnes* 409.

V is never used finally, but is replaced by *w*, followed sometimes by *e*, as: *sawgh* 2019, *draw* 2549, now 2266, *sowe* 2021, *lowe* 2025, *knew* 2070, *bliew* 10093, *fewe* 2107, *newe* 17291, *trew* 17292. In the middle of a word *aw*, *ow* are replaced by *au*, *ou*, but before *v*, *w* is retained, as: *howve* 3909, *schowwe* 3910.

W arises from ags. *g*, as in: *lawe*, ags. *lagu* 311; *dawes*, ags. *däg*, 11492, and as *day* is more common for the last, we also find *lay* for the first, 4796. Compare also *fawe* ags. *fægen* 5802 rhyming with *lawe*, *i-slawe* 945, for *fain*, *slain*. *W* also replaces *g* in: *sawe* 1528, 6241, *mawe* 4906, *wawes* 1960, *sorw* 10736, *morwe* 2493, *borwe* 10910, *herberw* 4143, *herbergh* 767, 11347.

III. Linguals *d*, *t*, *th*, *s*.

The rule of doubling medial consonants is neglected if *D* stands for ags. *ð*, as: *thider* 4564, *whider* 6968, *gaderd*, *togeder*, etc., in the preterits *dide* 3421, 7073, 8739, and *hade* 556, 619, [Ellesmere and a few MSS. where it seems to have been an accommodation to the rhymes *spade*, *blade*.] Similarly *i-written* 161, *i-write* 5086, although the vowel was short in ags. [It is lengthened by Bullokar in the xvi th century, p. 114, l. 7.] Perhaps *litel* has a long *i* in Chaucer's time, see 87, 5254.

S final is often single, as: *blis* 4842, *glas* 152, *amys* 17210.)

The termination *es* in some adverbs is now *ee*, as: *oones* 3470, *twyes* 4346, *thries* 63, *hennes* *heus* 10972, 14102, *henen* 4031 [in Tyrwhitt, *heythen* Ellesmere, *heithen* Corpus, no corresponding word in Harleian], *henne*

2358; thennes 5463, 4930, thenne 6723; whennes 12175.

The aspirate *TH* had a double character þ ð in ags., and a double sound, which probably prevailed in Chaucer's time, although scarcely recognized in writing. That *th* was used in both senses we see from: *breeth*, ags. *braeð* 5; *heeth*, ags. *haeð* 6; *fetheres*, ags. *fæðer* 107; *forth*, ags. *forð* 976; *walketh* 1054, etc.; that, ags. *paet* 10—*ther* 43, *thanked* 927. The use of medial and final *d* for *th* are traces of ð, as: *mayde*, ags. *maegð* 69; *quod*, ags. *cvað* 909; *wheder* ags. *hvæðre* 4714 [*whether*, Wright]; *cowde* ags. *cuð* 94; *whether* and *coupe* are also found. Again, we also find [in some MSS.] the ags. *d* replaced by *th*, in: *father* 7937, *gather* 1055, *wether*, 10366, *mother* 5433, [in all these cases Wright's edition has *d*]. But *t* on the other hand is never put for ags. þ.

The relation of *th*, *s*, is shewn by their flexional interchange in *-eth*, *-es*.

The elision of *th* gives *wher* 7032, 10892.

IV. Gutturals, *c*, *k*, *ch*, *g*, *h*, *j*, *q*, *x*.

K is used before *e*, *i*, and *c* before *a*, *o*, *u*, hence *kerver* 1801, *kerveth* 17272, but: *carf* 100. Medial ags *cc* becomes *ck* or *kk*, as *nekke*, ags. *hnecca* 238; *thikke*, ags. *picca* 551; *lakketh* 2282, *lokkes* 679. Modern *ck* after a short vowel is sometimes *k*, as: *seke* 18, *blake* 2980.

Grimm lays down the rule that *c*, *k* fall into *ch* before *e*, *i* except when these vowels are the mutates of *a*, *o*, *u*, in which cases *k* remains, (Gram. 1², 515.) *cc* has arisen from ags. *cc* in the same way as *kk*, as: *wrecche*, ags. *vraecca* 11332 *fecche*, ags. *fæccan* 6942; *cacche* Mel., *strecche*, *recche*, etc. Probably the pronunciation was as the present *tch*.

K was ejected from *made*, though the form *makèd* remains 2526. In *reule* 173, if it is not derived from the French, the *g* of ags. *regul*, *regol*, has been ejected.

G was probably always hard, and so may have been *gg*, in: *brigge*, ags. *brycg* 3920; *eggyng* ags. *ecg*, 10009; *hegge*, ags. *hecg* 16704. From this certainly did not much differ that *gg* which both in Chaucer and afterwards passed into *i*, as: *ligge*, *lye* ags. *lecgan*, 2207; *legge*, ags. *leggan*, 3935; *abegge*, *abeye*, ags. *bycgan* 3936.

The *g* and *y* were often interchanged, as give yeve, forgete, forgate, gate yate, ayen agen, etc. The *y* replaced guttural *g* [due to editor] as in: *yere*, *yonge*, *yerne*, *ey*; and also in words and adjectives where *y* arises from *ig*, as: *peny*, *very*, *mery*, etc., and in the prefix *y* or *i* for ags. *ge*, as: *ylike*, *ynough*, *ywis*, *ymade*, *yslain*, *ywritten*, *ysene*, *ysowe* 5653. And *g* we have seen is also interchanged with *w*.

The hard sound of ags. *h* is evident from the change of *nicht*, *lēcht*, *flīht*, *vīht*, etc., into *night*, *light*, *flight*, *wight*, etc.

Ags. *sc* had always changed into *sh*, German *sch*. In some words *ssh* replaces *sh* as: *fresshe*, ags. *frēsc* 90, *wessch* 2285, *wissch* 4873, *asshy* 2885. There is also the metathesis *cs* or *x* for *sc* in *axe*.

Chap. 3. Vowel mutation, apocope, and junction of the negative particle.

I. There is no proper vowel mutation (umlaut), but both the non-mutate and mutate forms, and sometimes one or the other, are occasionally preserved, as: *sote* 1, *swete* 5; *grove* 1637, *greves* 1497, 1643 to rhyme with *leves*; *welken* 9000, ags. *wolcen*, Germ. *wolke*; the comparatives and superlatives, *lenger*, *strenger*, *werst*, and plurals, *men*, *feet*, *gees*.

II. Apocope; *lite*, *fro*, *mo*, *tho* = *than*.

III. Negative junction; before a vowel: *non* = *ne on*, *nother*, *neithir* = *ne other*, *ne either*, *nis* = *ne is*, *nam* = *ne am*; before *h* or *w*: *nad* = *ne had*, 10212, *nath* = *ne hath* 925, *nil* = *ne will* 8522, *molde* = *ne wolde* 552, *nere* = *ne were* 877, *not* = *ne wot* 286, *nysten* = *ne wysten* 10948.

Chap. 4. Vowels derived from the French.

French words with unaltered spelling were probably introduced by Chaucer himself, and the others had been previously received and changed by popular use.

I. The vowel *a* in unaccented syllables had probably even then approximated to *e*, and hence these two vowels are often confounded. Thus Chaucer's *a* replaces fr. *e*, *ai*, and again Ch. *e* replaces fr. *a*, thus: *vasselage* [see *vasselage*, p. 642, col. 2, and *wasscyllage*, p. 645], fr. *vasselage* 3056, *vilanye* [see *villany*, p. 642, col. 2, and *courtesy*, p. 644, col. 1], fr. *vilenie*, *vilaïn*,

728; compagne, fr. *compaignie* 4554, *chesteyn* [*chasteyn, chestayn*, in MSS., see p. 642.] fr. *chastaigne* 2924.

With the interchange of the ags. vowels *a, o*, we may compare the change of fr. *a, au*, the latter having probably a rough sound as of *ao* united, which took place before *nc, ns, ng, nd, nt* in both languages, but *au* was more frequent in Chaucer and *a* in French, as: *grevaunce* 11253, *grevaunce* 15999, and other *ance* and *ant* terminations, also: *romauns*, fr. *romance* 15305; *enhaunsen*, fr. *enhanser* 1436; *straunge* fr. *estrange* 10590, 10403, 10381; *demaundes*, fr. *demande* 8224; *launde* fr. *lande*, uncultivated district, 1693, 1698; *tyraunt*, fr. *tirant* 9863, *tyrant* 15589; *graunted* 6478, 6595; *haunt* fr. *hante* 449. With the exception of the last word all these have now *a*.

II. Long *e* frequently arises from French *ai*, as in: *plesaunce*, fr. *plaisance* 2487; *apese*, fr. *apaier* 8309; *freelte*, fr. *frailte*; *peere*, fr. *paire* 15640. Sometimes it replaces *ie*, as: *nece*, fr. *niez* 14511; *sege* 939, *siege* 56; and the *e* is even short in: *cherte*, fr. *chiereté* 11193. Similarly fr. *i* is omitted in the infinitive termination *ier*, compare *arace*, *creance*, *darreine*, *auter*, etc. in the list of obsolete fr. words.

Long *e* also replaces fr. *eu* in: *peple* 2662 [the word is omitted in Harl., other MSS. have *peple, poeple, puple*], *mebles* [*moebilis* Harl.] 9188. To this we should refer: *reproef* 5598, *ypreued* [*proved* Harl., *proeued* Hengwrt] 487.

III. That the pronunciation of *i* fluctuated between *i* and *e* we see by the frequent interchange of these letters; the fr. shews *e* for lt. *i*, as: *devine* 122, *divyn* 15543, *divide* 15676, *divided* 15720 [Tyr. has *devide* in the first case], *enformed* 10649, fr. *informer*, *enformer*; *defame* 8416, *dif fame* 8606; *surquidrie* *surquedrie*, *chivachee* *chevachie*, see obsolete fr. words below.

IV. Chaucer frequently writes *o* for fr. *ou* in accented syllables, as: *coverchefes* [most MSS., *keverchefs* Harl.] fr. *couvrechief* 455; *corone*, fr. *couronne* 2292; *bocler*, fr. *boucler* 4017; *governance*, fr. *gouvernance* 10625; *sovereyn*, fr. *souverain* 67. More rarely Ch. *u*=fr. *ou*, as: *turne* [most MSS., *tourne* Harl., fr. *tourner* 2456; *curtesye*, fr. *courtoisie* 15982.

V. Fr. *o* is often replaced by Ch. *u*,

as: *turment* [*torment* Harl.], fr. *tormente* 5265; *abundauntly*, fr. *habondant* 5290; *purveans*, fr. *porveance*, *pourveance* 1667; in *assuage* 11147, fr. *assoager*, *assouager*, the *u* had certainly the sound of *w*, compare *aswage* 16130.

For long *u* we occasionally find *ew*, which was certainly pronounced as in the present *few*, *dew*, thus: *salewith* [Harl. and the six MSS. read *salueth*] 1494, transmewed [*translated* Harl., *transmeewyd* Univ. Cam. Dd. 4, 24] 826 *mewe*, fr. *mue* 351 [*muwe* Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS.] *jewis*, fr. *juise* [*juwyse* Harl. and most MSS., *ives* Petworth, *iuys* Lansd.] 1741.

VI. The vowels *y* and *i* are interchanged in fr. as in ags. words.

VII. The fr. diphthongs *ai, oi*, usually appear as *ei* in Chaucer, and must have been pronounced identically, as: *seynte*, fr. *saint* 511; *doseyn*, fr. *dosaine* 580; *chesteyn*, fr. *chastaigne* 2924; *peyneth*, fr. *painer*, *peiner* 4740; *coveitous*, fr. *covoiteux*, Mel. These diphthongs interchange in Ch. as well as in fr. [different MSS. differ so much that Gesenius's references to Tyrwhitt's edition on this point are worthless]. For the interchange of *a* and *ai* see I.

VIII. When the diphthong *ou* arose from fr. *o*, it was perhaps pronounced as long *o*. This is very probable in those words which now contain *o* or *u* in place of the diphthong, but less so in those which have preserved *ou*; as these had even then perhaps the sound of German *au*. Ex. *noumbre* 5607; *facound*, fr. *faconde* 13465, *soun*, fr. *son* 2434; *abounde* fr. *habonder* 16234. [The other examples have *o* in Wright's ed., or like *flour* 4 are not to the point; the above are now all nasal *on*.]

Chap. 5. Consonants derived from the French.

The doubling of final consonants is frequently neglected.

I. Liquids.

[The examples of doubling *l, r*, are so different in Wright's ed. that they cannot be cited.]

P inserted: *dampned* 5530, *dampnacioun* 6649; *sompne* 6929 = *someone* 7159, *sompnour* 6909, *solempne* 209. This *p* is also often found in old fr. Similarly in Provençal *dampna, sompnar*, Diez. Gram. 1, 190 (ed. 1.).

II. Labials.

P for *b*; gipser, fr. gibecier 359; capul, fr. cabal 7732. The letter *v*, which was adopted from the romance languages into English, had no doubt the same sound as at present, that is, it was the German *w*; and the *w* was the German *u*. [That is, Ges. confuses (*v*, *w*) with (*bh*, *u*) in common with most Germans.]

As in ags. *g* passes into German *w*, so in fr. words initial *w* becomes *g* or *gu*. Whether this change was made in English by the analogy of the ags. elements or from some other dialect of old fr., in which probably both forms were in use, it is difficult to determine. The following are examples: wiket, fr. guichet 10026; awayt, fr. aguet 7239; wardrobe, fr. garderobe 14983. To these appear to belong *warice* and *wastear*, though they may derive from the frankic *warjan* *wastan*.

III. Linguals.

Z is an additional letter, but is seldom used, as *lazer* 242. Ch. generally writes *s* for *z*.

IV. Gutturals.

C before *e*, *i* was probably *s* as now. Fr. *gn* now pronounced as German *nj*, (*nj*) is reduced to *n* in Ch., as Coloyne 468, feyne 738, barreine, essoine, oinement. *G* was doubled after short vowels in imitation of ags.

The aspirate *h*, which seems to have come from external sources into English, and was scarcely heard in speech, was acknowledged by Ch., but has now disappeared, as: abhominaciouns 4508. In *proheme* 7919, the *h* seems only inserted as a diæresis.

Fr. *qu* before *e* and *i* is often changed into *k*, as: phisik 913, magik 418, practike 5769, cliket 10025.

Chap. 6. *Aphæresis of unaccented French e, a.*

Initial *e* is frequently omitted before *st*, *sp*, *sc*, as: stabled, fr. establir 2997; spices, fr. espece 3015; specially 14, squyer, fr. escuyer 79, scoler, fr. escolier 262; straunge, fr. estrange 13. Similarly *a*, *e*, are rejected in other words where they are now received, as: potecary 14267, compare Italian *bottega* a shop; prentis 14711, pistil 9030, compare Italian *pistola*, *chiesa*. The initial *a* in *avyssioun* 16600, has been subsequently rejected.

PART II. FLEXION.

Chap. 1. On Nouns.

Chap. 2. On Adjectives.

Chap. 3. On Pronouns & Numerals.

Chap. 4. On Verbs.

Appendix.

I. Obsolete Chaucerian words of Anglosaxon origin.

[All Gesenius's words are inserted, though some of them are still in frequent use, at least provincially, or have been recently revived. To all such words I have prefixed †. The italic word is Chaucer's, the roman word is ags., meanings and observations are in brackets. Gesenius seems to have simply extracted this list from Tyrwhitt's Glossary without verification, as he has occasionally given a reference as if to Cant. Tales, which belongs to Rom. of Rose. The Mel. and Pers. T. refer to the tales of Melibeus and the Persoun, without any precise indication, as editions differ so much.]

abegge abyegan [abide] 3936, *abeye* 13515, *abye* 12622 *agrise* agrisan [frighten] 5034, *algates* *algate* algëats [in any case] 573, 7619, *anhang* anhang [hang on] 13690, *attry* atterly atter atterlic Persons Tale [poisonous], *awreke* *avrecan* [wreak] 10768.

bale [p. 379], *barme* bæarm [lap] 10945, *bedred* beddredda [bedridden] 7351, 9168; *biknowe* beenavan [confess] 5306, *blynne* blinnan [cease] 13099, *blyve* [quickly, suprâ p. 380, col. 2], *borwe* [suprâ p. 380, col. 2; where for loan read security], *bouk* bûce [belly] 2748, *byleve* frank. pilipan, germ. bleiben, [remain] 10897.

†*chaffare* cëáp + faran? germ. kauf-fahren [chaffer, bargain] 4558, *clepe* clypjan [call] 3432, [name] 121, etc., *colde* [to turn cold] 5299, †*cop* cop [top] 556, *daf* dofjan [daft] 4206, *dere* derjan [hurt] 1824, 10554, *derne* dêarn dynn [hidden p. 382] 3278, 3297, *dighten* dihtan [dispose] 6349, 16016, †*domesman* [judge] 15976.

eft äft eft [again] 1671, 5212, *eftsones* [soon again] 6390, *eftsoone* 16082, †*eeke* ëac [eke] 5, †*elde* ylde eldo [old age] 6797, *emforth* [suprâ p. 666, col. 2, l. 8,] †*ere* erjan [to plough] 888, *erne* ëarmjan [to pity] 13727, *ers*, ëars ärs [arse] 3732, 7276.

fefe fëla fëola [many] 8793, *fere* [companionship, suprâ p. 383], †*fite* fitt [song] 15296, *fleme* aflyman [drive away] 17114, *flo* floga? [arrow] 17196,

fonge fangan [take] 4797, *forpine pīnan* [waste away] 205, *forward forevëard* [promise] 831, 850, 854, 4460, *freyne gefrēgnan* [ask] 12361, *fremde fremed* [strange] 10743.

gale galan [yell] 6414, 6918, *†gar gëarvan* [make; the word is *get* in Harl., Heng., Corp., *gar* in Tyrwhitt] 4130, *girden gëard gyrd?* [cut off] 16032, *gleede glêd* [heat] 3379, *gnide gnidan* [so Tyr., *girdyng* Harl., *gyggyng* Elles., Cam., *gygggyng* Heng., *gydyng* Corp. *gideing* Lans., *sigyng* Pet.] 2504, *grame grama*, ger. gram [grief] 13331, *greyth hraðjan* [prepare] 4307, *graihte* 16080.

hals hëals [neck] 4493, *halse hëalsjan* [embrace] 15056, [heende frank. pihandi, germ. behende [swift? courteous, supra p. 385] 3199, 6868, *hente gehentan* [to take] 700, *hent* 7082, *herde hirdë* [shepherd] 605, 12120, *herie herjan* [praise] 5292, 8492, *heste haes* [command] 14055, *byheste* 4461, *heete* [promised] 2400, *hete* 4754, *†hight* [call] 1015, *†hie higan*, on *hye* [in haste] 2981, *in hyghe* [in haste] 4629. *hine hina* [hind p. 385] 605, *†holt holt*, germ. holz [wood] 6.

jape gëap [joke] 707, 4341, 13240, [to joke] 15104.

kithe cyðan [announce] 7191, *keked* germ. gucken [Corp., *loked* Harl., *liked* Heng.] 3445, *latered* [delayed] Pers. Tale, *†leche laece* 3902, *lydne lyden* [language] 10749, *leemes leōma* [ray: *beemes* Harl.] 16416, *lere laeran* [teach] 6491, 10002, *levene* [lightning] ligë? more probably than, *hliþjan* 5858, *†lewed laevd leaved* [ignorant] 6928, 7590, *lissed lysan* [loosed] 11482, [re-mission] 11550, *lith lið* [limb] 16361, *litherly lyðr lâð* [bad], ger. *liederlich*, 3299.

make maga mæg, [husband] 5667, [wife] 9698, [match] 2558.

nempnen nemnan nemjan [name] 4927, *note notu* [business] 4066.

oned [united] 7550.

†pan panne [brainpan, skull] 15438. *rathe hrað* *hräð* [quick] 14510, *†reche rêcan* [reck, care] 2247, 4514, *reed raed* [advice] 3527, [to advise] 3073, *reyse goth. urraisjan* [travel] 54, *rys arisan*, germ. *reisholz* [twig] 3324, *roune rûn* 7132, *rowne* 10530, *rode rûde* [ruddiness, face] 3317, 15138.

†sawe sagu [saying] 1528, *schawe scuva scua* [shade, grove] 4365, 6968, *shymeryng sciman scimjan*, ger. *schimmern*, [Heng., *glymeryng* Harl.] 4295,

scheene scēne scëōnë scōne, ger. schön [beautiful] 1070, 10202, *†shepen scy-pen*, ger. *schoppen* [stable] 6453, *schonde scëōnde* [disgrace] 15316, *†sibbe sib* [relation] Mel., *sikurly* frank. *sihhur*, germ. *sicher* 137, *secur* [ib.] 9582, *sithe sið* [times] 5575, 5153, *sithen sith sin siððan* 4478, 1817, *seth* 5234, *schenchith scēncan* [pour out wine] 9596, *smythe smiðan* [forge] 3760, *sonde sand* [message, messenger] 4808, 14630, *†sparre sparran* [spar] 992, *starf stærf* [died] 935, 4703, *steven stēfen* [voice] 10464, *stownde stund* [space of time] 3990, *†streene strëōnan* [parents] 8033, *swelte svēltan* [die] 3703, *swelde* 1358, *sweven svēfen* [dream] 16408, etc., *swithe svið* [quickly] 5057.

†tene tēōna [loss] 3108, *thewes þeāv* [morals] 8285, *tholid þoljan* [suffer] 7128, *†threpe þreapjan* [blame] 12754, *twynne trīnjan trëōnjan* [doubt, separate] 837, 13845.

unethe eāðe [uneasily] 3123, *unhele unhaelu* [affliction] 13531, *unright unriht* [injury] 6675.

wanhope vanjan + hopa [despair] 1251, *welkid vīacjan?* frank. *welchōn*, germ. *verwelkt* [withered] 14153, *†welken volcen* 9000, [Harl. reads *heven* 16217, Tyr. *welken*], *†wende* [went] 21, *whil er* [shortly, just now] 13256, *†whilom hvilum*, ger. *weiland* 861, *wisse vīsan* [shew] 6590, *wone vunjan* [dwelt] 337, *†wood vōd* [mad] 1331, *woodith* [rageth] 12395.

yerne gëorne 6575, *†yedde eode* [went] 13069, *ywys gewis* [certainly] 6040.

II. Obsolete Chaucerian words of French origin.

[The italic word is Chaucer's, the roman the old French as given by Gesenius on the authority of Roquefort; when this is not added the word was unchanged by Chaucer. Meanings and remarks are in brackets. This list again contains many words not really obsolete, here marked with †.]

agregge agregier [aggravate] Mel., *amoneste* [admonish] Mel., *anientissed* *anientir* [annihilated] Mel., *arace* *ar-rachier* [tear] 8979, *†array*, [order] 8138, [state, condition] 718, 8841, 4719, [dress] 8860, [escort] 8821, [to put in order] 8837, *arette arester* [accuse, impute] 726 [Harl., Corp., Pet., Lans., have *ret*, *rette*, the others *na-rette*], 2731, *†assoile* [solve, absolve] 9528, *attempre attemprer* 16324, Mel.,

avaunte avanter [boast] 5985, *avauntour* [boaster] Mel., *avoutrie* [adultery] 6888, *advoutrie* 9309, *auter* autier 2294, *awayt* aguet [watch] 7241, 16211, *ayel* aiel [grandfather] [ayel Harl., *ayell* Corp., Lans., *aiel* Elles, Heng. Cam., *eile* Pet.] 2479.

†*bareigne* baraigne [barren] 8324, *bareyn* 1979, †*baudery* bauderie [joy] 1928, †*benesoun* beneison 9239, *blandise* blandir Pers. T., *bobaunce* boubance 6151, *borel* burel [rough dark dress] 5938, [rough] 11028, *bribe* [broken meat after a meal] 6960, [beg] 4415, *burned* burnir 1985.

cantel [fragment] 3010, †*catel* catels [goods] 542, 4447, †*charboole* [carbuncle] 15279, *chesteyn* chastaigne [chestnut] 2924, *chivachie* chevauchée [cavalry expedition] 85, *chivache* 16982, *clergeoun* clergeon [acolyte] 14914, *corrumpable* [corruptible] 3012, *costage* [cost] 5831, *covine* [practice, cunning] 606, *coulpe* [fault] Pers. T., *custumance* [custom] 15997, *creaunce* creancier [act on credit] 14700, 14714.

dereyne derainier [prove justness of claim] 1611, 1633, *delyver* delivre [quick] 84, †*disarray* desarray [confusion] Pers. T., *disputisoun* disputison [dispute] 11202, *dole* dol [grief, no reference given, 4·38], *drewery* druerie [fidelity] 15303.

egrimoigne agrimoine [agrimony] 12728, *enchesoun* enchaïson [cause] 10770, *engendrure* [generation] 5716, *engregge* engreger [aggravate] Pers. T., *enhorte* enhorter [exhort] 2853, †*entent* [intention] 3173, †*eschue* eschuir [avoid] Mel., *essoine* essoigne [excuse] Pers. T., *estres* [situation, plan of house] 1973, 4293.

faiteur faiteor [idle fellow, no reference], *false* falsir [to falsify] 3175, †*fey* fée [faith] 3284, †*fers* [fierce] 1600, *fetys* [beautiful] 157, *fiaunce* fiance [trust, false reference, 6·167] *fortune* fortunier [render prosperous] 419.

garget gargate [neck] 16821, †*gent* [genteel] 3234, *gyn* engin [trick] 10442, 13093, *giterne* gisterne guiterne [guitar] 3333, 4394, *gonfenon* [standard 6·62, *gounfaucoun* 6·37].

†*harie* harier [persecute] 2728 [*rent* Wr., *haried*, the Six MSS.], *herburgage* [dwelling] 4327, *humblese* [humbleness] 4585.

jamboux [leggings] 15283, *jangle* jangler [to jest] 10534, [a jest] 6989,

juwise juise [judgment] 1741, *irous* ireux [angry] 7598.

lachesse [negligence] Pers. T., *letuaries* [electuaries] 428, 9683, *letterure* lettréure [literature] 15982, 12774, *loos* los [praise, good fame] 13296, Mel., *losengour* [flatterer] 16812.

Mahoun Mahon [Mahomet] 4644, †*maistrie* [master's skill] 3383, [mastery] 6622, 9048, †*malison* maleicéon [malediction] Pers. T., †*manace* manacher [menace] 9626, *maat* mat [sad] 957, *matrimoigne* [matrimony] 9447, *maumet* mahommet [idol] Pers. T., *merciabie* [merciful] 15099, *mesel* [leper] Pers. T., *meselrie* [leprosy] Pers. T., †*mewe* mue [place for keeping birds] 351, 10957, *mester* [mystery, business, trade] 615, 1342 [except in Harl., which reads *cheer*.]

nakers nacaires [kettledrums] 2513, *nyce* [foolish] 6520, *nycete* 4044.

†*oynement* oignement 633, *olifaunt* olifant [elephant] 15219, *opye* [opium] 1474.

†*palmer* palmier 13, *parage* [parentage] 5832, *parficht* parfyt parfit [perfect] 72, 3011, *parte* parter [take part in] 9504, †*penance* [penitence] Pers. T., [penance] 223, [affliction] 5224, 11052, *penant* [penitent] 15420, *po-raille* [poor people] 247, *prow* prou [profit] 13715, †*purveance* pourveance [providence, forethought] 1254, 6152, 3566, *puterie* [whoredom] Pers. T., *putour* [whoremonger] Pers. T.

rage ragier [sport] 3273, *real* [royal] 15630, *rially* [royally] 380, *reneye* renéier [renounce] 4760, 4796, *repeire* [return] 10903, *respite* 11886, †*troute* [crowd] ger. rotte, 624.

†*solas* [joy, pleasure] 800, 3654, *sourde* sourdre [to rise] Pers. T., *sur-quedrie* [presumption] Pers. T.

talent [inclination, desire] 5557, Pers. T. *tester* testiere [horse's head armour] 2501, *textuel* [texted vel Wr., having a power of citing texts] 17167, *trans-mewe* transmuier [translated Wr.] 8261, *tretys* traictis [well made, straight Wr.] 152, †*triacle* [remedy] 4899, *trine* trin [triune] 11973.

vasselage [bravery] 3056, †*verray* [true] 6786, †*versifour* versifieur [versifier] Mel., *viage* véage [journey] 77, 4679, †*vitaille* [victuals] 3551, *void* voider [to remove] 8786, [to depart] 11462, [to leave, make empty] 9689.

warice garir [heal] 12840, [grow whole], Mel. †*wastour* gasteur [waster] 9409.

M. RAPP ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF CHAUCER.

Dr. Moritz Rapp, at the conclusion of his *Vergleichende Grammatik*, vol. 3, pp. 166-179, has given his opinion concerning the pronunciation of Chaucer, chiefly on *a priori* grounds, using Wright's edition, and has appended a phonetic transcription of the opening lines of the Canterbury Tales as a specimen. This account is here annexed, slightly abridged, with the phonetic spelling transliterated into palaeotype, preserving all the peculiarities of the original, such as absence of accent mark, duplication of consonants, German (bh) for (w), modern English errors of pronunciation, etc. A few remarks are added in brackets.

The liquids are to be pronounced as written, and hence *l* is not mute, though there is a trace of its disappearance in the form (*haf*) for (*half*). The transposition of *r* is not complete; we again find (*renne*) for (*irnan*), and (*brenne*) for (*birnan*), English (*rønn*, *børn*), (*thurkh*) through is unchanged, (*bird*) and (*brid*) are both used, (*threshe*) replaces (*therskan*), and (*breste*) replaces (*berstan*), English (*børst*).

Among the labials, *b* remains after *m* in (*lamb*), but (*limm*) is without the present mute *b*. For (*nemnan*) we have the peculiar (*nempnen*), and similarly (*dæmpnen*) to *damn*. Final *f* as in (*bhiif*) wife, is also written medially *wive*, that is, in the French fashion, because *v* tended towards *f* in the middle ages. But initially, in order to preserve the pure German (bh), recourse was had to the reduplication *uu* or *w*. On *w* after a vowel see below. (Bh) sometimes arises from a guttural, as *sorwe*, that is, (*sorbhe*) now *sorrow* = (*sørroo*), from *sorg*.

Among the dentals *d* and *t* occasion no difficulty, and *s* has, by French influence, become pure (s), [Dr. Rapp holds it to have been (sj) in ags.] especially as it sometimes results from *p*. The *z* is merely an *s*. The most difficult point is *th*. In ags., we have shewn [suprà p. 555, note] that it had only one value (th). I consider that this is also the case for this dialect. As regards the initial sound, which in the English pronouns is (dh), there is not only no proof of this softening, but the contrary results from v. 12589

So faren we, if I schal say the sothe.

Now, quod oure ost, yit let me talke to the.

The form *sothe* has here assumed a false French *e*, since the ags. is (*sooth*)

and English (*suuth*), [it may be the adverbial *e*, or the definite *e*, according as *the* is taken as the pronoun or the definite article,] which must therefore have here been called (*soothe*), as this *th* is always hard, and as *to the*, i.e. (*too thee*) rhymes with it, shewing that the *e* of *sothe* was audible if not long, and that the *th* of *to the* was necessarily hard, as the English (*tuu dhii*) would have been no rhyme, [but see suprà p. 318]. Similar rhymes are (*aluu thee*) allow thee, and (*juuthe*) youth, (*hiu thee*) hie thee, and (*sbhiithe*) quickly, [suprà pp. 318, 444, n. 2]. The Anglosaxon value of the letters must be presumed until there is an evident sign of some change having occurred. For the medial English *th* we have a distinct testimony that the Icelandic and Danish softening of *d* into (dh) had not yet occurred, for the best MSS. retain the ags. *d*, thus: ags. (*fæder*) here (*fader*), now (*faadher*), (*gadersan*) here (*gader*) now (*gædhðær*), (*togædere*) here (*togæder*) now (*togædhðær*), (*bhæder*) here (*bhæder*) now (*uædhðær*), weather, (*moodor*) here (*mooder*) now (*mædhðær*) mother, (*khbholder*) here (*khbholder*) now (*huidhðær*) whither, (*thider*) here (*thider*) now (*dhidhðær*) thither. Inferior MS. have *father*, *gather*, *thither*, etc., shewing that the softening of *d* into the Danish (dh) began soon after Chaucer. But when we find the *d* in Chaucer it follows as a matter of course that the genuine old *p* (th) as in (*broother*, *fether*) when here written *brother*, *fether*, could only have had the sound (th), and could not have been pronounced like the (*brædhðær*, *fædhðær*). The ags. *kupe* is here (*kuth*) and also (*kud*) or (*knuud*) for (*kun-de*).

Among the gutturals, *k* is written for *c* when *e* or *i* follows, and before

n as (kneu) knew. The reduplicated form is *ck*. The *g* is pure (g) in the German words, but in French words the syllables *ge*, *gi*, have the Provençal sounds (dzhe, dzhi), which is certainly beyond the known range of Norman or old French, where *g* is resolved into simple (zh), but here *gentil* is still (dzbentil) not (zhentil). Similarly romanic *ck* is (tsh), and this value is applied to old naturalised words, in which the hiss has arisen from *k*, as (tshertsh) from (kirk), (tsheep) from (keapran) cheapen, and in thoroughly German words (tshild from (kild) child; and (ælk) 'becomes (eetsh) each. Reduplication is expressed by *ckh*, representing the sharpened (tsh) [i.e. which shortens the preceding vowel] so that (bhrækkæ) exile becomes *wrecche*, and sometimes *wretch*, which can only mean (bhrætsht); similarly from (fekkan) comes (fetshe) and in the same way (retshe, stretshe) and the obscure *cacche* = (katshe), which comes from the Norman *cachier*, although (tshase) also occurs from the French *chasser*. The reduplicated *g* occasions some difficulty. In French words *abregier* can only give *abregge* = (abredzhe), and *loger* gives (lodzhe), etc., but the hiss is not so certain in *brigge* bridge, *egge* edge, point, *hegge* hedge, as now prevalent, because we find also *ligge* and *lie* from (liggan) now (lai), *legge* and (læie) from (leggan) now (lee), and (abæie) from (byggan) now (bai). Similarly (begge) ask, beg, now (beg), which, as I believe, was formed from (buugan) or (begean) to bow. Here we find modern (dzh) and hence the (dzh) of the former cases is doubtful.

The softening of *g* into (j) is a slighter difference. The letter (j) does not occur in ags., and has been replaced in an uncertain way by *i*, *g*, *ge*. In Chaucer the simple sign *y* is employed [more generally *ȝ*, the *y* is due to the editor, p. 310], which often goes further than in English, as we have not only (Jeer) a year, but *give* and (Jeve, Jaf, forȝete, Jaf, aȝen, aȝenst) and (ee) or (eei) an egg.

The termination *ig* drops its *g*, as (peni) for *penig*, and the particle *ge* assumes the form *i*, as (inuukh) enough, (ibhis) certain, and in the participles (itaken) taken, (imaad) made, (islaa) or (isleen) slain, (iseene) seen, (ibhriten) written, etc. From (geliike) comes

(iliik) or (iliitsh), and the suffixed (-liik) is reduced to (li).

The old pronunciation (qg) must be retained for *ng*, thus (loqg, loqger) or (leqger); there is no certain evidence for (loqq). The French nasal is in preference expressed by *n*. What the Frenchman wrote *raison* and pronounced (reesoq) is here written *resoun* and called (resuun), as if the (q) were unknown. As the termination in *givende* has assumed the form (*giving*), we might conjecture the sound to be (giviq), because the form comes direct from (givin), as the Scotch and common people still say, but we must remember that *giving* also answers to the German *Gebung*, in which the *g* is significant.

We now come to *h*, which is also a difficulty. That initial *h* before a vowel had now become (h) as in German of the XIIIth century, is very probable, because *h* was also written in Latin and French words, and is still spoken. Chaucer has occasionally elided the silent *e* in the French fashion before *h*, which was certainly an error [*was freilich ein Missgriff war!* shared by Orrmin, suprâ p. 490, and intermediate writers, who were free from French influence.] For the medial *h*, the dialect perceived its difference from (h), and hence used the new combination *gh*, known in the old Flemish, where the soft (kh) has been developed from *g*. The ags. *nikht* = (nikht) became *night* = (nikht), and similarly *thurgh* = (thurkh). For (khlækhan) we have *lawh*, and *laugh*, both = (laakh); (seakh) gives *sawh* = (saakh) or *seigh* = (seekh). Before *l*, *n*, *r*, the ags. *h* has disappeared, but ags. (kbbhiite) is here somewhat singularly written *white*, a transposition of *hwite*. Had *h* been silent it would have been omitted as in *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, but as it was different from an ordinary *h* before a vowel, this abnormal sign for (kbbh), formed on the analogy of *gh*, came into use, and really signified an abbreviated heavy *ghw*. Hence (kbbhiite) retained its Anglosaxon sound in Chaucer's time. [Rapp could not distinguish English *w* from (u), and hence to him *wh* was (hu), the real meaning of *wh* thus escaped him. His theory is that *h* was always (kh) in the old Teutonic languages.]

We have still to consider *sk* and *ks*.

The former was softened to (sjkʲ) in ags., and hence prepared the way for the simple (sh), and this may have nearly occurred by Chaucer's time, as he writes *sch* which bears the same relation to the French *ch* = (tsh), as the Italian *sci* to *ci*, *s* shewing the omission of the initial *t*. Some MSS. use *ssh* and even the present *sh*, the guttural being entirely forgotten. The ags. *ks* remains, but *sk* is still transposed into *ks* in the bad old way, as *axe* = (akse) for (*aske*).

For the vowels, Gesenius has come to conclusions, which are partly based on Grimm's Grammar, and partly due to his having been preoccupied with modern English, and have no firm foundation. The Englishmen of the present day have no more idea how to read their own old language, than the Frenchmen theirs. We Germans are less prejudiced in these matters, and can judge more freely. Two conditions are necessary for reading old English correctly—first, to read Anglosaxon correctly, whence the dialect arose; secondly, to read old French correctly, on whose orthography the old English was quite unmistakably modelled. [The complete catena of old English writers now known, renders this assertion more than doubtful. See *suprà* p. 588, n. 2, and p. 640.]

We must presume that the old French *a* was pure (a). The ags. *a*, was lower = (a). The English orthography paid no attention to this difference, and hence spoke French *a* as (a). There can be no doubt of this, if we observe that this *a* was lengthened into *au* or *aw*, the value of which from a French point of view was (aa), as it still is in English, as *straunge*, *de-maunde*, *tyraunt*, *graunte*, *haunte*. In all these cases the Englishman endeavours to imitate French nasality by the combination (aan). [This *au* for *a* only occurs before *n*, see *suprà* p. 143, and *infra* Chap. VIII., § 3].

The old short vowel *a* hence remains (a) as in ags, thus (*makan*) is in the oldest documents (*makie*, *maki*) and afterwards (*make*), where the (a) need no more be prolonged by the accent than in the German *machen* (*makh'en*), and we may read (*makke*). [But see Orrmin's *makenn*, p. 492].

The most important point is that the ags. false diphthongs are again over-come; instead of (æalle) we have the

older form (*alle*), instead of (*skearp*) we find (*sharpe*) etc. The nasal (*an*), as in ags., is disposed to fall into (*on*), as (*hond*, *lond*, *droqk*, *begonne*), etc.

The greatest doubt might arise from the ags. *æ* or rather (æ) appearing as (a) without mutation; thus, ags. (*thæt*, *khhæt*, *bhæter*, *smæl*) again fall into (*that*, *khhhat*, *bhater*, *smæl*). The mutation is revoked—that means, the ags. mutation had prevailed in literature, but not with the whole mass of the people, and hence in the present popular formation might revert to the older sound, for it is undeniable that although the present Englishman says (*dhæt*) with a mutated *a*, he pronounces (*huat*, *uaatær*, *smaal*) *what*, *water*, *small*, without a mutate. In most cases the non-mutated form may be explained by a flexion, for if (*dæg*) in ags. gave the plural (*dagas*), we may understand how Chaucer writes at one time (*dæe*) *day* and at another (*dAA*) *daw* for *day*,

Short *e* remains unchanged as (e) under the accent, when unaccented it had perhaps become (ə). Even in ags. it interchanges with *i*, *y*, as (*tshirtsh*) or (*tshertsh*) *church*. The ags. *eo* is again overcome, for although forms like *beo*, *beoþ*, still occur in the oldest monuments, *e* is the later form, so that (*stæorra*) *star* again becomes (*sterre*), and (*geolu*) *yellow* gives (*jelbhe*, *jelu*), (*feol*) *fell* becomes (*fell*, *fill*), etc. A short (e) sometimes rhymes with a long one in Chaucer, as (*mrde*, *reede*) *meadow*, *red*. Such false rhymes are however found in German poetry of the XIIIth century, and they are far from justifying us in introducing the modern long vowel into such words as (*make*, *mede*), etc.

The old long vowel *e* is here (*ee*), as appears all the more certainly from its not being distinguished in writing from the short. [Rapp writes *é è*, but he usually pairs *è e*, *ä è* = (*ee e*, *ee e*), the (*ee*) being doubtful, (*ee*, *ee*). This arises from German habits, but in reality in closed syllables (e) is more frequent than (e), if a distinction has to be made. It would perhaps have represented Rapp more correctly to have written (*ee e*, *ee e*), but I considered myself bound to the other distribution, although it leads here to the absurdity of making (*ee*, *e*) a pair]. The quantity of the ags. must be retained, hence (*seekan*, *keene*) can only give (*seeke*, *keen*) *seek*, *keen*, and from

(sbheete) we also obtain (soote), with omitted (*ee*), compare Norse (sœæt) sweet. [The careful notation of quantity by Orrmin points him out as a better authority for this later period.] Long (*ee*) also replaces ags. *æ* as (*heere*, *see*, *sleepe*) hare, sea, sleep, and the old long *éo* as (*seeke*, *leeve* *leeve*, *deepe*, *tsheese*) seek, lief, deep, choose, and finally the old long *éa* as (*EEK*) from (*éak*), and similarly (*greete*, *beene*, *tsheepe*) great, bean, cheapen. These different (*ee*) rhyme together and have regularly become (ii) in modern English. There is no doubt about short *i*, and long *i* could not have been a diphthong, because the French orthography had no suspicion of such a sound. Ags. *y* is sometimes rendered by *ui* as *fuire* fire, which, however, already rhymes with (*miire*) and must therefore have sounded (*fiire*). The (*yy*) had become (ii) even in ags., so that (*bruud*) becomes (*bridee*), etc. Least of all can we suppose short *i* in (*bhilde*, *tshilde*, *finde*) wild, child, find, to be diphthongal, or even long, as the orthography would have otherwise been quite different.

Short *o* may retain its natural sound (*o*), and often replaces ags. *u*, thus (*sumor*) gives (*sommer*), and (*khnut*, *further*) give (*not*, *further*) nut, further. In these cases the Englishman generally recurs to the mutate of (*u*), to be presently mentioned.

Long *o* in Chaucer unites two old long vowels, (*aa*) in (*hoom*), sometimes (*ham*), (*goost* from (*gaast*), (*oother*) from (*aaath*) oath, (*hoote*) from (*hat*); and the old (*oo*) in (*booke*, *tooke*, *foote*, *soothe*). Both (*oo*) rhyme together, and must have, therefore, closely resembled each other; they can scarcely have been the same, as they afterwards separated; the latter may have inclined to (*u*) and has become quite (*u*).

The sound of (*u*) is in the French fashion constantly denoted by *ou*. [But see *suprà* p. 425, l. 3. Rapp is probably wrong in attributing the introduction to French influence.] French *raison* was written *raisun* by the Anglo-Norman, and *resoun* by Chaucer, which could have only sounded (*resuun*). A diphthong is impossible, as the name *Caucasous* Caucasus rhymes with *hous*, and *resoun* with *toun*. Hence the sound must have been (*huus*, *toun*) as in all German dialects of this date.

Hence we have (*fluor*) flower for the French (*flœor*). The real difficulty consists in determining the quantity of the vowel, as it is not shewn by the spelling. Position would require a short (*u*) in cases like (*shulder*, *hund*, *stund*, *bunden*) shoulder, old (*skulder*), hound, hour, bound; but the old (*sookhte*) must produce a (*suukhte*) sought; and cases like (*brukhte*, *thukhte*) brought, thought, are doubtful.

On the other hand the vowel written *u*, must have been the mutate common to the French, Icelandic, Dutchman, Swede. The true sound is therefore an intermediate, which may have fluctuated between (*œ*, *u*, *y*), (*lyst*, *kyrs*) desire, curse. These *u* generally derive from ags. *u*, not *y*. The use of this sound in the unaccented syllable is remarkable. The ags. (*bathjan*) has two forms of the participle (*bathod*, *bathed*). Hence the two forms in Chaucer, (*bathyd*) or rather (*bathud*) exactly as in Icelandic [where the *u* = (*ø*), not (*u*), *suprà* p. 548], the second (*bathid*, *bathed*). Later English, however, could not fix this intermediate sound, and hence, forced by the mutations, gave the short *u* the colourless natural vowel (*ə*), except before *r* where we still hear (*ə*), [meaning, perhaps (*æ*)]. This theoretical account does not seem to represent the facts of the case.] The above value of short (*u*) in old English is proved by all French words having this orthography. Sometimes Chaucer endeavours to express long (*yy*) by *ui*, as *fruit*, where, however, we may suspect the French diphthong; but generally he writes *nature* for (*natyre*) without symbolising the length. We should not be misled by the retention of the pure (*u*) in modern English for a few of these mutated *u*, as (*full*, *putt*, *shudd*, *fruit*). These anomalies establish no more against the clear rule than the few pure (*ə*) of modern English prove anything against its ancient value.

The written diphthongs cause peculiar difficulties. The combinations *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, must have their French sound (*œ*), but as they often arise from (*æ*) there seems to have been an intermediate half-diphthongal or triphthongal (*œi*); thus (*dæge*) gives (*dœi*) or (*dœe*). From (*éage*) we have the variants *eye*, *ye*, *eighe*, *yghe*, so that the sound varies as (*ee*), *iie*, *iie*,

eikhe, iikhe). Similarly (hiikhe) and (hiie) high, and (nēekhe, niie) nigh. We have already considered *au*, *aw*, to have been (aa). The ags. (*lagu*, *lakh*) law, gives *lawe*, which perhaps bordered on a triphthongal (laaue). In the same way we occasionally find (daaue) day, in two syllables, instead of the usual (dēe), ags. (dæg, dagas), and from ags. (saabhl) comes *saule* = (saale) and *soule*, which could have only been (suule). The medial *ow* = *ou*, that is, (uu), but before a vowel it might also border on a triphthong; thus *lowh* = (luukh) low, is also written *lowe* = (looue)? *Oughen* = (uukhen), and also *owen* = (oouen), now *own* = (oon). Similarly *groue* may have varied between (gruue, grooue) and so on with many others. These cases give most room for doubt, and the dialect was probably unsettled. But the diphthong *eu*, *ew*, leaves no room for doubt; it cannot be French (œ) for *heure* hour is here (hyyre) [probably a misprint for (huure)], and for *peuple* we also find (peeple). On the other hand the French *beauté*, which was called (béautee, béotee) is here written *beuté*, which was clearly (beutee). Similarly German words, as *knew*, cannot have been anything but (kneo, kneu). Similarly (neue) new. The French diphthong *oi* as in *vois*

voice, was taken over unaltered, and also replaces romanian *ui*, which was too far removed from English feelings; we have seen *fruit* pass into (fryyt, fruut); *ennuyer* becomes (anɔi) and *destruire* is written *destruise*, *destrie*, but had the same sound (destrɔi).

As regards the so-called mute *e*, it was undeniably historical in Chaucer and represented old inflections, yet it was, with equal certainty, in many cases merely mechanically imitated from the French. But we cannot scan Chaucer in the French fashion, without omitting or inserting the mute *e* at our pleasure, and in a critical edition of the poet, the spoken *e* only ought to be written. What was its sound when spoken? Certainly not (ə) as in French, but a pure (e) with some inclination to (i). This is shewn by the rhyme (*soothe*, *too thee*) already cited, and many others, as *clerkes*, *derk is*; (*dreed is*, *deedes*) etc. At present Englishmen pronounce this final *e* in the same way as *i*, and in general *e, i* present as natural a *euphonicum* as the French (ə).

The following are the opening lines of the Canterbury Tales reduced to a strict metre.

[Some misprints seem to occur in the original, but I have left them uncorrected.]

Khbhan that Aprille biith his shuures soot
The drukht of marish hath persed too the
root

And bathyd evri veen in sbhitsh likuur
Of khbhitsh vertyy- endzhendred is the
fluur, 4

Khbhan Sefrys cek bhith his sbheete breeth
Enspiryd nath in evriholt and heeth
The tendre kroppes, and the jogge sonne

Hath in the Ram his halfe kurs ironne, 8
And smale fuules maken melodie

That sleepen al the nikht biith oopen iie,
Soo priketh hem natyyr- in her koradzhes,
Than loqen folk too goon on pilgrimadzhes,
And palmers for too seeken straandzhe
strondes 13

Too ferne halbhies, kuuth- in sondri londes,
And spesiali from evri shiies ende
Of Egglood too Kantlyryri thee bhende 16
The nooli blissfyl martir for too seeke
That hem nath nopen khbhan that thee
bheer seeke.

Bifell that in that sesuun on a dee
In Suuth-bhek at the tabbard as ii lee, 20

Reedi too bhenden on mii pilgrimadzhe
Too Kantlyrb-ri biith fyl devuut koradzhe,
At nikht bhas kom intoo that hostelrie
Bhel niin and tbhenti in a kompanie 24

Of sondri folk bii aventyrr- ifalle
In felship, and pilgrims bheer bhi alle
That tobhard Kantlyryri bholden riide.
The tshambers and the stables bheeren
bhiide. 28

And bhel bhe bheeren eesyd atte beste,
And shortli khbhan the sonne bhas too reste
Soo had ii spoken biith hem evritsh-oon

That ii bhas of her felship anon 32
And maade forbard erli too arise
Too tak- uur bheer ther as ii juu debhiise,
Byt naatheless, khbhils ii habh tiim and
spase

Or that ii ferther in this tale pase 36
Me thiiketh it akordant too resuun
Too telle juu all the kondisiun
And khbhitsh thee bheeren and of khbhat
degree,

Of eetsh of hem, soo as it seemed mee 40
And eek in khbhat arree that thee bheer-
inne,

And at a nikht than bhol ii first beginne.
A nikht ther bhas and that a bhorti
man

That from the tiime that he first bigan 44
Too riiden uut he loved tshivalrie
Truth and honuur, freedom and kyrtiesie.
Fyl bhorti bhas he in his lordes bherre

And thertoo hadd he riden nooman ferre 48
As bhel in kristendoom as heethenesse
And ever honuurd for his bhortinesse.

At Alisandr- he bhas khbhan it bhas bhone,
Fyl ofte tiim he hadd the bord bigonne 52
Above alle nasiuuns in Pryse,
In Lettooun hadde reesed and in Ryse

Noo kristen man soo oft of his degree,
In GERNad- alte siidzhe hadd he bee, 56

At mortal bateels hadd he been fiftene 61
 And fukhten for uur ferkth at Tramasene,
 In listes thries and ee sleen his foo.
 This ilke bhorthi knikht hadd been alsoo 64
 Somtime bhith the lord of Palatiie
 Ageen another neethen in Tyrkiiie,
 And evermoor he hadd a sovren priis.
 And thukht that he bhas bhorthi he bhas 68
 bhiis,
 And of his port as miik as is a mæd.
 He never jit a vilonii ne seæd
 In al his liif, yntoo noo maner bhikht.
 He bhas a vetree perfikht dzhentil knikht.
 Byt for too telle juu of his arree, 73
 His hors bhas good, byt he ne bhas nukht
 gee,
 Of fystian he bbered a dzhepuun
 Al bismoteryd bhith his haberdzhuun, 76
 For he bhas lat komen from his viadzhe
 And bhente for too doon his pilgrimadzhe.
 Bhith him ther bhas his son, a joqg
 skbhiier,
 A lover and a lysti batsheeler 80

Bhith lokkes kryll- as thee bher leed in
 presse,
 Of thhentii jeer he bhas of adzh- ii gesse,
 Of his statyrr- he bhas of even leqthe 83
 And bhondyrii delivrr- and greet of streqthe,
 And he hadd been somtiim in tshivatshiiie
 In Flandres, in Artois and Pikardiie,
 And born him bhel, as in soo litel spase
 In hop too stonden in his ladi grase.
 Embruudo bhas he as it bheer a mæde 88
 Al fyl of freshe fluures, khbhiit- and reede.
 Siggiqg he bhas or flautiqg al the dee,
 He bhas as fresh as is the moonth of mee, 92
 Short bhas his guun bhith sleeves loqg and
 bhiide,
 Bhel kuud he sitt- on hors and feere riide,
 He kuud soqges bhel make and endiite,
 Dyhystn- and eek daans- and bhel pyrtree 96
 and bhriite.
 Soo hoot he lovde, that bi nikhter-tale
 He sleep nomoor than dooth a nikhtigale.
 Kyrtees he bhas, lukhli (or locouli) and
 servisable
 And karf beforem his fadyr at the table. 100

If in the above we read (ee, e) and (oo, o) for (ee, e) and (oo, o), and (e) for (æ) which is a slight difference, and also (ii, i) for (ii, i), and do not insist on (a) for (a), and also read (w, wh) for the un-English (bh, khbh), the differences between this transcript and my own, reduce to 1) the treatment of final *e*, which Rapp had not sufficiently studied; 2) the merging of all short *u* into (y), certainly erroneous; 3) the indistinct separation of the two values of *ou* into (uu, ouu), and 4) the conception of (æ), an un-English sound, as the proper pronunciation of *ey*, *ay* as distinct from long *e*. It is remarkable that so much similarity should have been attained by such a distinctly different course of investigation.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR READING THE PHONETIC TRANSCRIPT OF THE PROLOGUE.

The application of the results of Chapter IV. to the exhibition of the pronunciation of the prologue, has been a work of great difficulty, and numerous cases of hesitation occurred, where analogy alone could decide. The passages have been studied carefully, and in order to judge of the effect, I have endeavoured to familiarise myself with the conception of the pronunciation by continually reading aloud. The examination of older pronunciation in Chap. V., has on the whole confirmed the view taken, and I feel considerable confidence in recommending Early English scholars to endeavour to read some passages for themselves, and not to pre-judge the effect, as many from old habits may feel inclined. As some difficulty may be felt in acquiring the facility of utterance necessary for judging of the effect of this system of pronunciation, it may not be out of place to give a few hints for practice in reading, shewing how those who find a difficulty in reproducing the precise sounds which are indicated, may approximate to them sufficiently for this purpose. These instructions correspond to those which I have given in the introduction to the second edition of Mr. R. Morris's *Chaucer*.

The roman vowels (a, e, o, u) must be pronounced as in Italian,

with the broad or open *e*, *o*, not the narrow or close sounds. They are practically the same as the short vowels in German, or the French short *a*, *è*, *o*, *ou*. The (*a*) is never our common English *a* in *fat*, that is (*æ*), but is much broader, as in the provinces, though Londoners will probably say (*æ*). For (*o*) few will perhaps use any sound but the familiar (*o*). The (*u*) also may be pronounced as (*u*), that is, *u* in *bull* or *oo* in *foot*. The long vowels are (*aa*, *ee*, *oo*, *uu*) and represent the same sounds prolonged, but if any English reader finds a difficulty in pronouncing the broad and long (*ee*, *oo*) as in Italian, Spanish, Welsh, and before *r* in the modern English *mare*, *more*, he may take the easier close sounds (*ee*, *oo*) as in *male*, *mole*. The short (*i*) is the English short *i* in *pit*, and will occasion no difficulty. But the long (*ii*) being unusual, if it cannot be appreciated by help of the directions on p. 106, may be pronounced as (*ii*), that is as *ee* in *feet*. The vowel (*yy*), which only occurs long, is the long French *u*, or long German *ü*. The final (*-e*) should be pronounced shortly and indistinctly, like the German final *-e*, or our final *a* in *China*, *idea*, (suprà p. 119, note, col. 2), and inflectional final *-en* should sound as we now pronounce *-en* in *science*, *patient*. It would probably have been more correct to write (*ø*) in these places, but there is no authority for any other but an (*e*) sound, see p. 318.

For the diphthongs, (*ai*) represents the German *ai*, French, *aï* Italian *ahi*, Welsh *ai*, the usual sound of English *aye*,¹ when it is distinguished from *eye*, but readers may confound it with that sound without inconvenience. The diphthong (*au*) represents the German *au*, and bears the same relation to the English *ow* in *now*, as the German *ai* to English *eye*, but readers may without inconvenience use the sound of English *ow* in *now*. Many English speakers habitually say (*ai*, *au*) for (*oi*, *ou*) in *eye*, *now*. The diphthong (*ui*) is the Italian *ui* in *lui*, the French *oui* nearly, or more exactly the French *oui* taking care to accent the first element, and not to confound the sound with the English *we*.

The aspirate is always represented by (*H* *h*), never by (*h*), which is only used to modify preceding letters.

(*J* *j*) must be pronounced as German *j* in *ja*, or English *y* in *yea*, *yawn*, and not as English *j* in *just*.

The letters (*b* *d* *f* *g* *k* *l* *m* *n* *p* *r* *s* *t* *v* *w* *z*) have their ordinary English meanings, but it should be remembered that (*g*) is always as in *gay*, *go*, *get*, never as in *gem*; that (*r*) is always trilled with the tip of the tongue as in *ray*, *roe*, and never pronounced as in *air*, *ear*, *oar*; and also that (*s*) is always the hiss in hiss and never like a (*z*) as in *his*, or like (*sh*). The letter (*q*) has altogether a new meaning, that of *ng* in *sing*, *singer*, but *ng* in *finger* is (*qg*).

¹ This word is variously pronounced, and some persons rhyme it with *nay*. In taking votes at a public meeting the sound intended to be conveyed in the

text is generally used in the South of England, but this pronunciation is perhaps unknown in Scotland.

(Th, dh) represent the sounds in *thin*, *then*, the modern Greek $\theta \delta$.

(Sh, zh) are the sounds in *mesh* measure, or *pish*, vision, the Fr. *ch*, *j*.

(Kh, gh) are the usual German *ch* in *ach* and *g* in *Tage*. But careful speakers will observe that the Germans have three sounds of *ch* as in *ich*, *ach*, *auch*, and these are distinguished as (*kh*, *kh*, *kwh*); and the similar varieties (*gh*, *gh*, *gwh*) are sometimes found. The reader who feels it difficult to distinguish these three sounds, may content himself with saying (*kh*, *gh*) or even (π'). The (*kwh*) when initial is the Scotch *guh*, Welsh *chw*, and may be called (*khw*-) without inconvenience. Final (*gwh*) differs little from (*wh*) as truly pronounced in *when*, *what*, which should, if possible, be carefully distinguished from (*w*). As however (*wh*) is almost unknown to speakers in the south of England, they may approximate to it, when initial, by saying ($\pi'u$), and, when final, by saying ($u\pi'$).

The italic (*w*) is also used in the combination (*kw*) which has precisely the sound of *qu* in *queen*, and in (*rw*) which may be pronounced as (*rw*), without inconvenience.

(Tsh, dzh) are the consonantal diphthongs in *chest* *jest*, or *such* *fudge*.

The hyphen (-) indicates that the words or letters between which it is placed, are only separated for the convenience of the reader, but are really run on to each other in speech. Hence it frequently stands for an omitted letter (p. 10), and is frequently used for an omitted initial (π), in those positions where the constant elision of a preceding final *-e* shews that it could not have been pronounced (p. 314).

These are all the signs which occur in the prologue, except the accent point (·), which indicates the principal stress. Every syllable of a word is sometimes followed by (·), as (*naa'tyyr*), in order to warn the reader not to slur over or place a predominant stress on either syllable. For the same reason long vowels are often written in unaccented syllables.

If the reader will bear these directions in mind and remember to pronounce with a general broad tone, rather Germanesque or provincial, he will have no difficulty in reading out the following prologue, and when he has attained facility in reading for himself, or has an opportunity of hearing others read in this way, he will be able to judge of the result, but not before.

The name of the poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, may be called (*Dzhef'rai-Tshau'seer*), but the first name may also have been called (*Dzhef'ree*), see *suprà* p. 462. The evenness of stress seems guaranteed by Gower's even stress on his own name (*Guu'eer*), but he uses Chaucer only with the accent on the first syllable, just as Chaucer also accents Gower only on the first.

THE PROLOG TO THE CAWNTERBERY TALES.

- is prefixed to lines containing a defective first measure.
 + is prefixed to lines containing two superfluous terminal syllables.
 iii is prefixed to lines containing a trissyllabic measure.
 vi is prefixed to lines of six measures.
 aī is prefixed to the lines in which *saynt* appears to be dissyllabic.
 (') indicates an omitted *e*.
Italics point out words or parts of words of French origin.
 Small capitals in the text are purely Latin forms or words.

INTRODUCTION.

- Whan that *April* with his schoures swote
 The drought of *March* hath *perced* to the rote
 And bathed' ev'ry *veyn'* in swich *licour*,
 Of which *vertu engend'* red' is the *flour*; 4
 Whan ZEPHYRUS, eek, with his swete brethe
Inspired' hath in ev'ry holt' and hethe
 The *tendre* croppes, and the yonge sonne
 Hath in the Ram his halfe *cours* ironne 8
 And smale foules maken *melodye*
 That slepen al the night with open ye,—
 So pricketh hem *natur'* in her' *corages*;
 Than longen folk to goon on *pilgrymages*, 12
 And *palmeer's* for to seken *strawnge* strondes
 To ferne halwes couth' in sondry londes;
 And *specially*, from ev'ry schyres ende
 iii Of Engelond, to Cawnterbery they wende, 16
 The holy blisful martyr for to seke.
 That hem hath holpen whan that they wer' seke.
 Bifel that in that *sesoun* on a day'
 In Southwerk at the *Tabard* as I lay, 20
 Redy to wenden on my *pilgrymage*
 iii To Cawnterbery with ful *devout corage*,
 At night was com' into that *hostelrye*
 Wel nyn' and twenty in a *companye* 24
 Of sondry folk', by *aventur'* ifalle
 In felawschip', and *pilgrim's* wer' they alle,
 That toward Cawnterbery wolden ryde.
 The *chambres* and the *stabel's* weren wyde, 28
 And wel we weren *esed* atte beste.
 And schortly, whan the sonne was to reste
 So hadd' I spoken with hem ev'rych oon,
 That I was of her' felawschip' anoon, 32

Preliminary Note.

Seven MSS. only are referred to, unless others are specially named. Ha. is the Harl. 7334, as edited by Morris. "The Six MSS." are those published by the Chaucer Society, and edited by Furnivall. They are re-

ferred to thus: E. Ellesmere, He. Hengwrt, Ca. Cambridge, Co. Corpus, P. Petworth, L. Lansdowne.

1 Defective first measure see p. 333, note 1. The six MSS. do not favour any other scheme, but all write

DHE PROO·LOG TO DHE KAUN·TERBER·II TAA·LES.

- (ii) See pp. 106, 271, readers may say (ii) for convenience, p. 678.
 (oo) See p. 95, readers may read (oo, o) for (oo, o) for convenience, pp. 678.
 (-) Initial often indicates an unpronounced (h), and that the word is run on to the preceding; at the end of a word it denotes that it is run on to the following.

Introduk'sioun.

Whan dhat Aa·priil with -is shuur'es swoot'e
 Dhe druukwht of Martsh hath pers'ed too dhe root'e,
 And baadh'ed ev·rii vain in switsh lii'kuur',
 Of whitsh ver'tyy· endzhen'dred is dhe fluur; 4
 Whan Zef'irus, eek, with -is sweet'e breeth'e
 Inspi'ered hath in ev·rii holt and heeth'e
 Dhe ten'dre krop'es, and dhe Juq'e sun'e
 Hath in dhe Ram -is half'e kuurs i·run'e, 8
 And smaal'e fuul'es maak'en melodi'e,
 Dhat sleep'en al dhe nikht with oop'en ii'e,—
 Soo prik'eth hem naa'tyyr in her koo·raadzh'es;
 Dhan loq'en folk to goon on pil·grimaadzh'es, 12
 And pal·meerz for to seek'en straundzh'e strond'es,
 To fern'e hal·wes kuuth in sun'dri lond'es;
 And spes'iali'i, from ev·rii shiir'es end'e
 Of Eq'elond, to Kaun·terber·ii dhai wend'e, 16
 Dhe hoo·lii blis'ful mar'tiir for to seek'e,
 Dhat hem hath holp'en, whan dhat dhai weer seek'e.
 Bifel· dhat in dhat see·suun on a dai
 At Suuth·werk at dhe Tab'ard· as Ii lai, 20
 Reed·ii to wend'en on mi pil·grimaadzh'e
 To Kaun·terber·ii with ful devuut· koo·raadzh'e,
 At nikht was kuum in too dhat ostelri'e
 Weel nūn and twen'tii in a kum·pani'e 24
 Of sun'drii folk, bii aa·ventyyr i'fal'e
 In fel·auship, and pil·grimz wer dhai al'e,
 Dhat too·werd Kaun·terber·ii wold'en riid'e.
 Dhe tshaam·berz and dhe staa·b'lyz wee·ren wiid'e, 28
 And weel we wee·ren ees'ed at'e best'e.
 And short·lii, whan dhe sun'e was to rest'e
 Soo had Ii spook'en with -em ev·riitsh oon,
 Dhat Ii was of -er fel·auship anoon, 32

or indicate a final e to April, which is against Averil 6128, April 4426.

8 R am. See Temporary Preface to the Six Text Edition of Chaucer, p. 89.

16 Cawnterbery. E. He. Co. and Harl. 1758, write *Caun.*, and P. indicates it. It would seem as if the

French pronunciation had been imitated. The verse is wanting in Ca. which however reads *Caun.* in v. 769.

18 whan that, L. alone omits that, and makes were a dissyllable, which is unusual, and is not euphonic in the present case.

And made foorward eerly for to ryse,
 To tak' our' wey theer as I you *devyse*.
 But natheles whyl's I hav' tym' and *space*,
 Eer that I ferther in this tale *pace*, 36
 Me thinketh it *accordawnt* to *resoun*
 To tellen you al the *condicioun*
 Of eech' of hem, so as it semed' me ;
 And which they weren, and of what *degre*, 40
 And eek in what *array* that they wer' inne,
 And at a knight than wol I first beginne.

1. THE KNIGHT.

A Knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
 That fro the tyme that he first bigan 44
 To ryden out, he loved' *chivalrye*,
 Trouth and *honour*, fredoom and *curteysye*.
 Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre,
 And theerto hadd' he ridden, no man ferre, 48
 As weel in Cristendom as hethenesse,
 And ever' *honour'd* for his worthinesse.
 At *Alisawnd'r* he was whan it was wonne,
 Ful ofte tym' he hadd' the *boord* bigonne 52
 Aboven alle *naciouns* in *Pruse*.
 In *Lettow'* hadd' he reysed and in *Ruse*,
 No cristen man so oft' of his *degre*.
 At *Gernad'* atte *seg'* eek hadd' he be 56
 iii Of *Algesir*, and ridden in *Palmyrye*
 At *Lyey*s was he, and at *Satalye*
 Whan they wer' wonn' ; and in the Grete Se
 iii At many a *nob'l aryve'* hadd' he be. 60
 At *mortal batayl's* hadd' he been fiftene,
 And fowghten for our' *feyth* at *Tramassene*.
 In *listes* thryes, and ay slayn his fo.
 This ilke worthy knight hadd' ben also 64
 Somtyme with the lord of *Palatye*,
 Ayeyn another hethen in *Turkye* :
 And evremor' he hadd' a *sov'rayn prys*.
 And thowgh that he wer' worthy he was wys, 68

33 foorward, promise. No MS. marks the length of the vowel in foor, but as the word came from *foreweard*, it would, according to the usual analogy, evidenced by the modern pronunciation of *fore*, have become lengthened, and the long vowel, after the extinction of the *e*, becomes useful in distinguishing the word from forward, onward. for to ryse is the reading of the six MSS.

36 eer, E. He. L. read *er*, the others *or* ; in either case the vowel was probably long as in modern *ere*.

38 tellen, the MSS. have *telle*, the *n* has been added on account of the following *y*.

46 *curteysye*, so E. He. Ca., the rest have *curtesye* ; the *ey* has been retained on account of *curteys*. See *Courtesy*, p. 644.

56 eek is inserted in the six MSS.

57 *Palmyrye*, the MSS. have all the unintelligible *Belmarye*. This correction is due, I believe, to Mr. W. Aldis Wright, who has kindly favoured me with his collation of v. 15733 in various MSS.

And maad'e foorward eer'lii for to riis'e,
 To taak uur wai dheer as *li* juu devii's'e.
 But naa'dheles, whiils *li* -aav tiim and spaas'e, 36
 Eer dhat *li* ferdh'er in dhis taa'le paas'e,
 Methi'k'eth it ak'ord'aunt to ree'suun'
 To tel'en juu al dhe kondis'iun'
 Of eetsh of hem, soo as it seem'ed mee,
 And whitsh dhai wee'ren, and of what dee'gree; 40
 And eek in what arai' dhat dhai wer in'e
 And at a kni'kht dhan wol *li* first begin'e.

1. Dhe Kni'kht.

A kni'kht dheer was, and dhat a wurdh'ii man, .
 Dhat froo dhe tiim'e dhat -e first bigan' 44
 To riid'en uut, hee luv'ed tshii'valrii'e,
 Truth and on'uur', free'doom' and kurtaisii'e.
 Ful wurdh'ii was -e in -is lord'es wer'e, 48
 And dheer-to had -e rid'en, noo man fer'e,
 As weel in Krist'endoom', as heedh'enes'e,
 And ev'er on'uurd' for -is wurdh'iines'e.
 At Aa'liisaun'dr -e was whan it was wun'e,
 Ful oft'e tiim -e had dhe boord bigun'e 52
 Abuuv'en al'e naa'siunz' in Pryys'e.
 In Let'ouu had -e raiz'ed and in Ryys'e,
 Noo krist'en man soo oft of his dee'gree.
 At Ger'naad' at'e seedzh eek had -e bee 56
 Of Al'dzheesiir', and rid'en in Pal mirii'e.
 At Lii'ais was -e, and at Saa'taalkii'e
 Whan dhai wer wun; and in dhe Greet'e see
 At man' a noob'l- aar'ii'vee' had -e bee. 60
 At mor'taal' bat'ailz' had -e been fifteen'e
 And fouk'wht'en for uur faith at Traa'maaseen'e
 In list'es thrii'es, and ai slain -is foo.
 Dhis ilk'e wurdh'ii kni'kht -ad been alsoo' 64
 Sumtiim'e with dhe lord of Paa'laatii'e,
 Ajain anudh'er heedh'en in Tyrkii'e:
 And ev'remoor' -e had a suv'rain priis.
 And dhooukw' dhath hee wer wurdh'ii hee was wiis, 68

Cenobia, of Palmire the queene,
 Harl. 7334.

Cenobie, of Palymerie Quene,
 Univ. Cam. Dd. 4. 24.

Cenobia, of Palimerye queene,
 Do. Gg. 4. 27.

Cenobia, of Palymer ye quene,
 Do. Mm. 2. 5.

Cenobia, of Belmary quene,
 Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 3. 19.

Cenobia of Belmary quene,
 Do. R. 3. 15.

Cenobia, of Palemirie the queene,
 Do. R. 3. 3.

The trissyllabic measure was overlooked in the enumeration on p. 648, sub. -en.

60 aryve', so Ha. and Ca., the others have armeye, arme, for which the word nobl' will have to be nobel, in two syllables, which is not usual before a vowel, and the construction to be at an arme, seems doubtful, while to be at an aryvee or landing in the Grete Se is natural.

68 wer', so E. He. Ca., the others was.

- And of his poort' as meek as is a mayde.
 Ne never yit no *vilayny*' he seyde
 In al his lyf, unto no *maner*' wight.
 He was a *veray perfyt gentil* knight. 72
 But for to tellen you of his *aray*,
 His hors was good, but he ne was not *gay*.
 Of *fustian* he wered' a *gipoun*,
 — Al bismoter'd with his *hawbergeoun*. 76
 iii For he was laat' ycomen from his *vyage*,
 And wente for to doon his *pilgrymage*.

2. THE SQUEER.

- With him ther was his son', a yong *Squeer*,
 iii A lovier, and a lusty *bacheleer*, 80
 With lockes crull' as they wer' leyd' in *presse*.
 Of twenty yeer he was of *aag*' I gesse.
 Of his *statur*' he was of ev'ne lengthe
 iii And wonderly *deliver*, and greet of strengthe. 84
 And he hadd' ben somtym' in *chivachye*
 In *Flawndres*, in *Artoys*, and *Picardye*,
 And boorn him weel, as in so lytel *space*,
 iii In hope to stonden in his lady *grace*. 88
Embrouded was he, as it wer' a mede
 Al ful of *fresche floures* whit' and rede.
 Singing' he was, or *flouting*' al the day;
 He was as *fresch* as is the mon'th of *May*. 92
 Schort was his gown, with sleeves long and wyde.
 Weel coud' he sitt' on hors, and fayre ryde.
 He coude songes mak' and weel *endyte*,
Just' and eek *dawnc*', and weel *purtray*' and wryte. 96
 So hoot he loved', that by nightertale
 He sleep no moor' than dooth a nightingale.
Curteys he was, lowly, and *servisabel*,
 And carf bifoorn his fader at the *tabel*. 100

3. THE YEMAN.

- A Yeman hadd' he and *servawnt's* no mo,
 At that tym', for him liste ryde so;
 And he was clad in *coot*' and hood' of grene.
 A scheef of pocock arwes bright' and kene 104
 Under his belt' he baar ful thriftily.
 Weel coud' he dress' his tackel yemanly,
 His arwes drouped' nowght with fethres lowe,
 And in his hond he baar a mighty bowe. 108
 A notheed hadd' he, with a broun *visage*.
 Of wodecraft weel coud' he al th' *usage*.

90 *freshe* was not counted in the enumeration of the fr. words p. 651. In correcting the proofs several other omissions have been found and a new

enumeration will be given in a footnote to the last line of the Prologue.

109 notheed, a closely cropped poll. *Tondre*, "to sheere, clip, cut,

And of -is poort as meek as is a maid'e.
 Ne nev'er jēt noo vii'laini' -e said'e
 In all -is liif, untōo' noo man'eer' wikh't.
 He was a ver'ai perf'iit dzhen'til knikh't. 72
 But for to tel'en juu of hīs arai',
 Hīs hors was good, but hee ne was not gai,
 Of fus-tiaan' -e weered a dzhi'puun',
 Al bismoot'erd with -is hau'berdzhuun'. 76
 For hee was laat ikum'en from hīs vii'aadzh'e,
 And went'e for to doon -is pīl-grīmaadzh'e.

2. Dhe Skwi'eer.

With him dheer was -is suun, a juq Skwi'eer',
 A luv'eer, and a lust'i' baa'tsheleer', 80
 With lok'es krul as dhai wer laid in pres'e.
 Of twen'tii' reer -e was of aadzh i' ges'e.
 Of hīs staa'tyyr' -e was of eev'ne leqth'e,
 And wunderli' deliv'er, and greet of streqth'e. 84
 And hee -ad been sumtiim' in tshii'vaatshii'e
 In Flaundres, in Artuis, and Pii'kardi'e,
 And boorn -im weel, as in soo lii't'l spaase,
 In noope -e stond'en in -is laad'i' graase. 88
 Embruud'ed was -e, as it wer a meed'e
 Al ful of fresh'e fluur'es, whiit and reed'e.
 Siq'iq' -e was, or fluu'tiq', al dhe dai;
 He was as fresh as is dhe moonth of Mai. 92
 Short was -is guun, with sleev'es loq and wiid'e.
 Weel kuud -e sit on hors, and fai're riid'e,
 He kuud'e soq'es maak and weel endiit'e,
 Dzhist and eek dauns, and weel purtrai' and rwiit'e. 96
 So noot -e luv'ed dhat bii'nikht'ertaal'e
 He sleep noo moor dhan dooth a nikht'iggaal'e.
 Kur'tais' -e was, loou'lii', and ser'viis'aa'b'l,
 And karf bi'foorn' -is faad'er at dhe taa'b'l. 100

3. Dhe Jee'man.

A Jee'man had -e and servaunts' noo moo,
 At dhat tiim, for -im list'e riid'e soo;
 And hee was klad in koot and hood of green'e.
 A sheef of poo'kok ar'wes brikh't and keen'e 104
 Under -is belt -e baar ful thrift'ili.
 Weel kuud -e dres -is tak'l Jee'manlii';
 Hīs ar'wes druup'ed noukw'ht with fedher'z loou'e,
 And in -is hond -e baar a mikht'ii' boou'e. 108
 A not'need had -e, with a bruun vii'saadzh'e.
 Of wood'ekraft weel kuud -e al dh-yy'saadzh'e.

powle, nott, pare round," Cotgrave.
 See *Athenæum*, 15 May, 1869, p. 678,
 col. 3. "Not-head is broad, bull-
 headed. *Nowt-head* is used in the

south of Scotland as a term of derision,
 synonymous with blockhead. *Nott* in
 Dunbar, *nowt* in Burns, oxen.—
 W.J.A." Ibid., 5 June, 1869, p. 772,

Upon his arm' he baar a *gay braceer*,
 And by his syd' a swerd and a *boucleer* 112
 And on that other syd' a *gay daggeer*
Harneysed weel, and scharp as *poyn*t of sper';
 A *Cristofr'* on his brest' of silver schene.
 An horn he baar, the *bawdrik* was of grene; 116
 A *forsteer* was he soothly, as I gesse.

4. THE PRYORESSE.

Ther was also a *Nonn'*, a *Pryoresse*,
 That of hir' smylyng' was ful *simp'l* and *coy*;
 ai Hir' grettest ooth was but by *Saynt Loy*; 120
 And sche was cleped *madam' Englentyne*.
 Ful weel sche sang the *servyse divyne*,
 iii *Entuned* in hir' noose ful semely;
 And *Frensch* sche spaak ful fayr' and *fetisly*, 124
 After the scool' of Stratford atte Bowe,
 For *Frensch* of *Paris* was to hir' unknowe.
 At mete weel ytawght was sche withalle;
 Sche leet no *morsel* from hir' lippes falle, 128
 Ne wett' hir' finger's in hir' *sawce* depe.
 iii Weel coud' sche *cari'* a *morsel*, and weel kepe,
 — That no droppe fil upon hir' breste.
 iii In *curteysye* was set ful moch' hir' leste. 132
 Hir' overlippe wyped' sche so clene,
 That in hir' cuppe was no ferthing sene
 Of grese, whan sche dronken hadd' hir' drawght.
 iii Ful semely after hir' mete sche rawght'. 136
 And sikerly sche was of greet *dispoorte*,
 And ful *plesawnt*, and *amiabl'* of *poorte*,
 And *peyned'* hir' to *countrefete chere*
 Of *court'*, and been *estaatlich* of *manere*, 140
 And to been hoolden *dign'* of *reverence*.
 But for to speken of hir' *conscience*,
 Sche was so *charitab'l* and so *pitous*,
 Sche wolde weep' if that sche sawgh a mous 144
 Cawght in a trapp', if it wer' deed or bledde.
 Of smale houndes hadd' sche, that sche fedde
 With *roosted* flesch, and milk, and *wastel* breed,
 vi But sore wepte sche if oon of hem wer' deed, 148

col. 3. Jamieson gives the forms *nott*, *nout* for black cattle, properly oxen with the secondary sense of *lout*, and refers to Icel. naut (nœœit), Dan. nōd (nœœdh), Sw. nōt (nœœt), and ags. *nedt*, our modern *neat* (niit) cattle.

115 *Cristofr'*, this was accidentally not counted among the French words on p. 651.

120 *seynt*. See *suprà*, pp. 264, 476, 649, note, and notes on vv. 509

and 697 *infra* for the probable occasional dissyllabic use of *saynt* as (saa'int). As this had not been observed, Tyrwhitt proposes to complete the metre by reading *Eloy*. with no MS. authority, Prof. Child proposes *othe* (*suprà* p. 390, *sub.* oath), thus: Hir' grettest *othe* nas but by Saint Loy, and Mr. Morris would read ne was as in v. 74, thus: Hir' grettest ooth ne was but by

Upon -is arm -e baar a gai braa-seer,
 And bi -is siid a swerd and a buk-leer, 112
 And on dhat udher siid a gai dag-eer
 Har'nais-ed weel, and sharp as puint of speer;
 A Krist-ofr- on -is brest of sil-ver sheen'e.
 An horn -e baar, dhe bau'drik was of green'e. 116
 A for-steer was -e sooth-lii, as Ii ges'e.

4. Dhe Prii-ores'e.

Dheer was al-soo' a Nun, a Prii-ores'e,
 Dhat of -iir smiil-iq was ful sim-pl- and kui, 120
 Hiir greet-est ooth was but bi saaint Lui;
 And shee was klep-ed maa-daam Eql-entiin'e.
 Ful weel she saq dhe serv-iis'e divi-ne,
 Entyyn-ed in -iir nooz'e ful seem'eli, 124
 And Frensh she spaak ful fair and feetisli,
 After dhe skool of Strat-ford at'e Boou'e,
 For Frensh of Paa-ris was to hiir unknow'e,
 At mee'te weel itaukwht was shee withal'e, 128
 She leet noo morsel from -iir lip'es fal'e,
 Ne wet -iir fig-gerz in -iir saus'e deep'e.
 Weel kuud she kar'i a morsel, and weel keep'e
 Dhat no drop'e fil upon -iir brest'e.
 In kur'taisi'e was set ful mutsh -iir lest'e. 132
 Hiir overlip'e wiip-ed shee soo kleen'e,
 Dhat in -iir kup'e was no ferdh-iq seen'e
 Of gres'e, whan shee druqk-en had -iir draukwht.
 Ful seem'eli after -iir meet'e she raukwht. 136
 And sik'erlii she was of greet dispoort'e,
 And ful plee-zaunt and aa-miaa-bl- of poort'e,
 And pain-ed hiir to kuun-trefeet'e tsheere
 Of kuurt, and been estaat-litsh of man-ee're, 140
 And to been hoold-en diin of reev-erens'e.
 But for to speek-en of -iir kon-siens'e,
 She was soo tshaa-riitaa-bl- and soo pii-tuus',
 She wold'e weep, if dhat she saugwh a muus 144
 Kaukwht in a trap, if it wer deed or bled'e.
 Of smaale hund'es had she, dhat she fed'e
 With roost-ed flesh, and milk and was-tel breed,
 But soor'e wep'te shee if oon of hem wer deed, 148

Saint Loy. Both the last suggestions make a lame line by throwing the accent on by, unless we make by saynt Loy, a quotation of the Nonne's oath, which is not probable. The Ha. has nas, the Six MSS. have was simply. For othe, which is a very doubtful form, Prof. Child refers to 1141, where Ha. reads: This was thyn othe and myn eek certayn, which would require the exceptional preser-

vation of the open vowel in othe, but all the Six MSS. read: This was thyn ooth, and myn also certeyn, only P., L. write a superfluous e as othe. 122 servyse. See suprâ, p. 331. 131 fil, all MSS. except He. read ne fil. The insertion of ne would introduce a iii. 132 ful, so E. Ca. Co. L. 148 So all MSS., producing an Alexandrine, see suprâ p. 649.

- Or if men smoot' it with a yerde smerte,
 And al was *conscienc'* and *tend're* herte.
 Ful semely hir' wimp'l *ypinched* was ;
 Hir' nose streyt ; hir' eyen grey as glas ; 152
 Hir' mouth ful smaal, and theerto soft' and reed,
 But sikerly sche hadd' a fayr foorheed.
 It was almoost a spanne brood, I trowe,
 For *hardily* sche was not undergrowe. 156
 Ful *fetis* was hir' clook' as I was waar.
 Of smaal *coraal* about hir' arm sche baar
 A *payr'* of bedes *gawded* al with grene ;
 And theeron heng a *brooch* of goold ful schene, 160
 iii On which ther was first writen a *crouned* A
 And after : AMOR VINCIT OMNIA.

5. 6. 7. 8. ANOTHER NONNE AND THRE PREESTES.

- Another *Nonn'* also with hir' hadd' sche,
 That was hir' *chapellayn*, and Preestes thre. 164

9. THE MONK.

- A Monk ther was, a fayr for the *maystrye*,
 An out-rydeer, that loved' *venerye* ;
 A manly man, to been an abbot *abel*.
 Ful many a deynte hors hadd' he in *stabel* : 168
 And whan he rood, men might his bridel here
 — Ginglen, in a whistling' wind' as *clere*
 And eek as loud' as dooth the *chapel* belle
 Theer as this lord was keper of the *celle*. 172
 The *reul'* of *Saynt Mawr'* or of *Saynt Beneyt*,
 Becaws' that it was oold and somdeel *streyt*,
 This ilke Monk leet it forby him *pace*,
 And heeld after the newe world the *space*. 176
 He yaaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
 That sayth, that hunter's been noon holy men,
 Ne that a monk, whan he is recchelees,
 Is lyken'd to a fisch' that's waterlees ; 180
 This is to sayn, a monk out of his *cloyster*,
 But thilke text heeld he not worth an *oyster*.

159 *payr'*. This was accidentally not counted among the French words on p. 651.

164 *Chapellayn*. See Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 92.

170 *Ginglen*. E. *gyngle*, He. *gyngelyn* Ca., *gynglyng* Co. Pe. L. In any case the line has an imperfect initial measure, and the reading in He. has only four measures.

175 This line has evidently caused difficulties to the old transcribers. The following are the readings:

This ilke monk leet forby hem *pace*. —Ha.

This ilke monk leet olde thynges *pace*.—The six MSS.

Now the Ha. is not only defective in metre, but in sense, for there is no antecedent to *hem*. The two rules

Or if men smoot it with a Jerd'e smert'e,
 And al was kon'siens and tend're hert'e.
 Ful seem'elii -iir wimpl- ipintsh'ed was,
 Hiir nooz'e strait, hiir aien grai as glas, 152
 Hiir muuth ful smaal, and dheer-too' soft and reed,
 But sik'erlii she had a fair foor'heed'.
 It was almoost a span'e brood, Ii trooue,
 For har'dilii she was not undergrooue. 156
 Ful fee'tis was -iir klook, as Ii was waar.
 Of smaal koo'raal abunt -iir arm she baar
 A pair of beed'es gaud'ed al with green'e;
 And dheer'on heq a brootsh of goold ful sheen'e, 160
 On whitsh dher was first rwit'en a kruuned Aa,
 And aft'er, Aa'mor v'n'sit om'n'iaa.

5. 6. 7. 8. Anudher Nun'e and three Preest'es.

Anudher Nun alsoo with hiir -ad shee,
 Dhat was -iir tshaapelain', and Preest'es three. 164

9. Dhe Muqk.

A Muqk dher was, a fair for dhe mais'trii'e,
 An uut'riideer', dhat luv'ed vee'nerii'e,
 A man'lii man, to been an ab'ot aa'b'l.
 Ful man'i- a dain'tee hors -ad hee in staa'b'l: 168
 And whan -e rood men mikht -is brii'd'l heer'e
 Dzhiq'glen in a whist'liq wind as kleer'e
 And eek as luud as dooth dhe tshaapel' bel'e
 Dheer as dhis lord was keep'er of dhe sel'e. 172
 Dhe rryl of saint Maur or of saint Benait',
 Bekauss dhat it was oold and sum'deel strait,
 Dhis ilk'e Muqk leet it forbi -im paas'e,
 And heeld aft'er dhe neu'e world dhe spaas'e. 176
 He raaf nat of dhat tekst a pul'ed hen,
 Dhat saith dhat hunt'erz been noon hool'ii men,
 Ne dhat a muqk, whan hee is retsh'elees,
 Is lik'end too a fish dhat -s waa'terlees; 180
 Dhat is to sain, a muqk uut of -is kluister,
 But dhiik'e tekst heeld hee not wurth an uist'er.

named being separated by *or*, have been referred to as *it* in the preceding line. I therefore conjecturally insert *it* and change *hem* to *him*, though I cannot bring other instances of the use of *forby him*. The reading of the six MSS. gets out of the difficulty by a clumsy repetition of *old*, and by leaving a sentence incomplete thus: "the rule . . . because that it was old . . . this monk

let old things pass," which must be erroneous.

179 *recchelees*, so the six MSS. It probably stands for *rezhel-lees*, without his rule, which not being a usual phrase required the explanation of v. 181, and the Ha. *cloysterles* was only a gloss which crept into the text out of v. 181, and renders that line a useless repetition.

- And I sayd' his *opynioun* was good.
- iii What! schuld' he *studi'*, and mak' himselfen wood, 184
 Upon a book in *cloyst'r* alwey to poure,
 Or swinke with his handes, and *laboure*,
 As Awstin bit? Hou schal the world be *served*?
 Let Awstin hav' his swink to him *reserved*. 188
 Theerfor' he was a prikasour aright;
 Grayhound's he hadd' as swift as foul in flight,
 Of priking' and of hunting' for the hare
 Was al his lust, for no *cost* wold' he spare. 192
 I sawgh his slew's *purfyled* atte honde
 With *grys'* and that the *fynewest* of a londe,
 And for to fest'n' his hood under his chin
- iii He hadd' of goold ywrowght a *curious* pin; 196
- iii A loveknot' in the greter ende ther was.
- iii His heed was balled and schoon as any glas,
 And eek his *faac'* as he hadd' been *anoynt*;
 He was a lord ful fat and in good *poynnt*; 200
 His eyen steep, and *rolling'* in his heed,
 That stemed, as a *fornays* of a leed;
 His *botes soup'l*, his hors in greet *estaat*.
 Nou *certaynly* he was a fayr *prelaat*; 204
 He was not *pal'* as a forpyned goost.
 A fat swan lov'd' he best of any *roost*.
 + His *palfrey* was as broun as is a berye.

10. THE FRERE.

- + iii A Frere ther was, a wantoun and a merye, 208
 A *limitour*, a ful *solemne* man.
 In alle th' *ord'res* fowr' is noon that can
 So moch' of daliawnc' and fayr *langage*.
- iii He hadd' ymaad ful many a fayr *mariage* 212
 Of yonge wimmen, at his owne *cost*.
 Unto his *ord'r* he was a *nobel post*.
- iii Ful weel bilov'd and *familieer* was he 216
 With frankeleyns ov'ral in his *cuntre*,
 And eek with worthy wimmen of the toun:
 For he hadd' *poueer* of *confessioun*,
 As sayd' himself, more than a *curaat*,
 For of his *ord'r* he was *licenciaat*. 220
 Ful swetely herd' he *confessioun*,
 And *plesawnt* was his *absolucioun*;
 iii He was an *esy* man to yeve *penawnce*
 iii Theer as he wiste to haan a good *pitawnce*; 224

184 *studi'*, although taken from the French, so that we should expect u = (yy), Ca. and L. read *stodie*, shewing u = (u), which agrees with the

modern u = (ə), and has therefore been adopted.

201 steep, bright, see steep on p. 108 of Cockayne's St. Marherete (suprà p. 471, n. 2).

And *ȝi* said his oo'pii'niun' was good.
 What! shuld -e stud*i* and maak -imself'en wood, 184
 Upon a book in kluist'r- al'wai to puu're,
 Or swi'qk'e with -is hand'es and laa'buu're,
 As Aust'in bit? Huu shal dhe world be serv'ed?
 Let Aust'in haav -is swi'qk to him reserv'ed. 188
 Dheerfoor' -e was a prii'kaasuur' ari'kht',
 Grai'hundz' -e had as swift as fuul in flikht';
 Of pri'k'iq and of hunt'iq for dhe haare
 Was al -is lust, for noo kost wold -e spaar'e. 192
ȝi sauk'wh -is sleevz purfild' at'e hond'e
 With griis, and dhat dhe fiin'est of a lond'e,
 And for to fest'n- -is hood un'der -is tshin
 He had of goold i'rouk'wht' a kyy'rius pin; 196
 A luv'e-knot in dhe greet'er end'e dher was.
 His heed was bal'ed and shoon as an'ii glas,
 And eek -is faas, as hee -ad been anuint'.
 He was a lord ful fat and in good pint; 200
 His aien steep, and rool'iq in -is heed,
 Dhat steem'ed as a fur'nais' of a leed;
 His boot'es sup'l-, -is hors in greet' estaat'.
 Nun ser'tainlii -e was a fair prelaat'; 204
 He was not paal as a forpiin'ed goost.
 A fat swan luv'd -e best of an'ii roost.
 His pal'frai was as bruun as is a ber'ie.

10. Dhe Freere

A Freere dher was, a wan'tuun and a mer'ie, 208
 A lii'mii'tuur', a ful soo'lem'ne man.
 In al'e dh- or'dres foour is noon dhat can
 Soo mutsh of daa'li'auns' and fair laq'gaadzh'e.
 He had i'maad' ful man'i a fair mar'iaadzh'e 212
 Of juq'e wim'en, at -is ooun'e kost.
 Untoo' -is or'dr- -e was a noo'b'l post.
 Ful weel biluvd' and faa'milieer' was hee
 With fraqk'elainz' ov'ral' in his kun'tree', 216
 And eek with wurdh'ii wim'en of dhe tuun:
 For hee -ad puu'eer' of konfes'iuun',
 As said -imself, moor'e dhan a kyy'raat',
 For of -is or'dr- -e was lii'sen'siaat'. 220
 Ful sweet'elii herd hee konfes'iuun',
 And plee'saunt' was -is ab'soolyy'siuun';
 He was an eez'ii man to jeev'e penauns'e
 Dheer as -e wiste to haan a good pii'tauns'e; 224

202 fornays, see Temporary 219 See *suprà* p. 331, note. All
 Preface to the Six-Text edition, p. 99. MSS. agree.
 212 ful occurs in all six MSS.
 217 wimmen, wommen Ha. E. 223 yeeve, all MSS. except L.
 He. Co. P., wemen Ca., wemmen L. have the final e.

- For unto a *por'* order for to yeve
 Is *signe* that a man is weel yschreve.
 For if he yaaf, he dorste mak' *avaunt*,
 He wiste that a man was *repentaunt*. 228
- iii For many a man so hard is of his herte,
 He may not wepe though him sore smerte.
 Theerfor' insted' of weping' and *preyeres*,
 vi Men moote yeve silver to the *pore freres*. 232
 His tipet was ay *farsed* ful of knyfes
 And pinnes, for to yeve fayre wyfes.
 And *certainly* he hadd' a mery *note*.
 Weel coud' he sing' and pleyen on a *rote*. 236
 Of yedding's he baar utterly the *prys*.
 His necke whyt was as the *flour-de-lys*.
 Theerto he strong was as a *chaumpioun*.
 He knew the *tavern's* weel in ev'ry toun, 240
 And ev'rich *ostelleer* or *gay* tapsteer,
 Better than a *lazeer* or a beggeer,
 For unto swich a worthy man as he
 Accorded not, as by his *faculte*, 244
 To haan with sike *lazeer's* *acqueyntaunce*.
 It is not *honest*, it may not *avaunce*,
 — For to delen with noon swich *porayle*,
 But al with *rich'* and seller's of *vitayle*. 248
 And ov'ral, ther as *profit* schuld' aryse,
Curteys he was, and lowly of *servyse*.
 Ther was no man no wheer so *vertuous*.
 He was the beste beggeer in his hous, 252
 For though a widwe hadde nowght a sho,
 So *pleasunt* was his *IN PRINCIPIO*,
 Yet wold' he haan a ferthing er he wente.
 His *pourchaas* was weel better that his *rente*. 256
 And *rag'* he coud' and pleyen as a whelp,
 In lovedayes coud' he mochel help'.
 For theer was he not lyk' a *cloystereer*,
 vi With a threedbare *cop'* as a pore *scoleer*, 260
 But he was lyk' a *mayster* or a pope.
 Of *doubel* worsted was his *semicope*,

232 All MSS. agree in making this a line of six measures, and it seems to portray the whining beggary of the cry, *suprà* p. 649.

235 *note*, throte Ca.

240 *tavern's* weel, the six MSS. have this order. Ha. wel the *tavernes*.

247 non E. He. Ca., the others omit it.

249 as omitted in Ha. Ca., found in the rest.

252 After this line He. alone inserts the couplet—

And yaf a *certeyn* ferme, for the graunte

Noon of his bretheren, cam ther in his haunte.

253 So all the six MSS., meaning, although a widow had next to nothing in the world, yet so pleasant was his introductory lesson *In principio erat*

For un'to a poor ord'er for to jeev'e
Is sū'ne dhat a man is weel ishree've.
 For if -e jaaf, -e durst'e maak avaunt',
 He wist'e dhat a man was ree'pentaunt'. 228
 For man'i a man soo hard is of -is hert'e,
 He mai not weep'e dhooukw'h -im soor'e smert'e.
 Dheer'foor' instead' of weep'iq' and prai'eer'es,
 Men moot'e jeev'e sil'ver too dhe poor'e freer'es. 232
 His tip'et was ai fars'ed ful of kniif'es,
 And pin'es for to jeev'e fair'e wiif'es.
 And ser'tainlii -e had a mer'ii noot'e.
 Weel kuud -e siq' and plai'en on a root'e. 236
 Of jed'iqz hee baar ut'erlii dhe priis.
 His nek'e whiit was as dhe fluur de liis.
 Dheer'too' -e stroq' was as a tshaump'iuun'.
 He kneu dhe taa'vernz' weel in ev'rii tuun, 240
 And ev'ritsh os'teleer' or gai tapsteer',
 Bet'er dhan a laa'zeer' or a beg'eer',
 For un'to switsh a wurdh'ii man as hee
 Akord'ed not, as bii -is fak'ultee 244
 To naan with siik'e laa'zeerz' aakwain'tauns'e;
 It is not on'est, it mai not avauns'e,
 For to deel'en with noon switsh poor'aile
 But al with ritsh and sel'erz' of vii'tail'e. 248
 And ov'ral', dheer as prof'it shuld ariis'e,
 Kur'tais' -e was, and loou'lii of serv'viis'e.
 Dher was noo man noo wheer soo ver'tyy'uus'.
 He was dhe best'e beg'eer' in -is huus, 252
 For dhooukw'h a wid'we had'e noukw'ht a shoo,
 So plee'saunt' was -is In prin'sii'pioo,
 Jet wold -e naan a ferdh'iq' eer -e went'e.
 His puurt'shaas' was weel bet'er dhan -is rent'e. 256
 And raadzh -e kuud, and plai'en as a whelp,
 In luv'edais' kuud -e mutsh'el help.
 For dheer was hee not liik a kluist'ereer',
 With a threed'baar'e koop as a poo're skol'eer', 260
 But hee was liik a mais'ter or a poo'pe.
 Of duu'b'l wor'sted was -is sem'zkoop'e,

verbum (See Temp. Pref. to Six-Text ed. of Chaucer, p. 93) that he would coax a trifle out of her. The Ha. reads but oo schoo, on which see Temp. Pref. p. 94. That we are not to take the words literally, but that *schoo* was merely used as a representative of something utterly worthless, which was convenient for the rhyme, just as *pulled hen* 177, or *oyster* 182, and the usual *bean*, *straw*, modern *fig*, *farthing*, etc., is shewn by its use in the Prologe to

the Wyf of Bathe, 6288 as pointed out by Mr. Aldis Wright,—

The clerk whan he is old, and may
 nought do

Of Venus werkis, is not worth a scho.
 256 weel, so the six MSS., omitted in Ha.

260 So all MSS. except Ca. which reads, as is a scholar, against rhythm. Compare v. 232. See also Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 100.

And *rounded* as a bell' out of the *presse*.
 Somwhat he lipped, for his wantounnesse, 264
 To mak' his Englisch swet' upon his tonge;
 And in his harping', whan that he hadd' songe,
 His eyghen twinkled in his heed aright.
 As doon the sterres in the frosty night. 268
 This worthy *limitour* was call'd *Huberd*.

11. THE MARCHAWNT.

A *Marchawnt* was ther with a forked berd,
 — In motlee and heygh on hors he sat,
 Upon his heed a *Flawndrisch* bever hat; 272
 His *botes* clapsed fayr' and *fetisly*.
 His *resouns* spaak he ful *solemnely*,
Souning' alwey th' *encrees* of his winninge.
 iii He wolde the se wer' kept for any thinge 276
 Betwixe *Middeburgh* and *Orewelle*.
 Weel coud' he in *eschawunge* scheldes selle,
 This worthy man ful weel his wit bisette;
 Ther wiste no wight that he was in *dette*, 280
 So *staaty* was he of his *governawnce*,
 With his *bargayn's*, and with his *chevisawnce*.
 For sooth' he was a worthy man withalle,
 But sooth to sayn, I n'oot hou men him calle. 284

12. THE CLERK.

A Clerk ther was of *Oxenfoord'* also,
 That unto *logik* hadde long' ygo.
 So lene was his hors as is a rake,
 And he n'as not right fat, I undertake, 288
 But loked' holw', and theerto soberly.
 Ful threedbar' was his ov'rest courtepy,
 iii For he hadd' geten him yet no *benefyce*,
 Ne was so worldly for to hav' *offyce*. 292
 For him was lever hav' at his bedd's heed
 — Twenty bokes, clad in blak and reed,
 Of *Aristot'l*, and his *philosophye*,
 Than *robes rich'* or fith'l or *gay sawtrye*. 296

264 his, so the six MSS., omitted in Ha. which therefore required lippede for the metre.

271 motlee, so all but Ha. L. which have motteley. The word is obscure, and may be Welch mudliw, (myd'liu) of a changing colour.

274 All MSS. read he spaak,

but the order of the words is conjecturally altered on account of the rhythm.

275 soun appears in ags. as *son*, (Ettmüller 667) but only as the substantive *song*. As the word has here the form of one derived from the French it is here printed in italics and marked as French.

And ruund'ed as a bel uut of dhe pres'e.
 Sum·what· he lip·sed, for -is wan·tuunnes·e, 264
 To maak -is Eq·lish sweet upon· dhe tuq·e;
 And in -is har·piq, whan dhat hee -ad suq·e,
 His aikh·en twiq·led in -is heed arikht·;
 As doon dhe ster·es in dhe frost·ii nikht. 268
 Dhis wurdh·ii lii·mi·tuur· was kald Hyy·berd·.

11. Dhe Martshaunt.

A Martshaunt· was dher with a fork·ed berd,
 In motlee· and haith on hors -e sat,
 Upon· -is heed a Flaun·drish beever hat; 272
 His boot·es klaps·ed fair and feet·islii.
 His ree·suuns· spaak -e ful soolem·nelii·,
 Suun·iq· alwai· dh· enkrees· of his win·iq·e.
 He wold·e dhe see wer kept for an·ii thi·q·e 276
 Betwik·s·e Mid·eburkh and Oo·rewel·e.
 Weel kuud -e in es·tshaundzh·e sheld·es sel·e.
 Dhis wurdh·ii man ful weel -is wit biset·e;
 Dher wist·e noo wikht dhat -e was in det·e, 280
 Soo staat·lii was hee of -is guu·vernauns·e,
 With his bargainz· and with -is tsheev·iisauns·e.
 For sooth -e was a wurdh·ii man withal·e,
 But sooth to sain, Ii n· -oot huu man -im kal·e. 284

12. Dhe Klerk.

A Klerk dher was of Ok·senfoord· al·soo·,
 Dhat un·to lodzh·ik had·e loq· igoo·.
 So leen·e was -is hors as is a raak·e,
 And hee n· -as not rikht fat, Ii undertaak·e. 288
 But look·ed hol·w· and dheer·too soo·berlii.
 Ful threed·baar was -is ov·rest kur·tepii,
 For hee -ad get·en -im yet noo benefiis·e,
 Ne was soo wurd·lii for to naav ofiis·e. 292
 For him was leev·er naav at his bedz heed
 Twen·tii book·es, klad in blak and reed,
 Of Aristot·l·, and his fii·loo·soo·fii·e,
 Dhan roob·es ritsh or fidh·l· or gai sautrii·e. 296

281 staatly, so Co., the rest have estaatly, and Ha. alone omits his, against the metre. If we read: so estaatly, the first measure will be trissyllabic.

288 n'as, so E. Ca. Co., but was Ha. He. P. and L.

291 geten him yet no, E.

He. Ca.; yit geten him no P., nought geten him yet a Ha., geten him no, Co. L.

292 worldly E. He. Co., wordely Ca., wordly P., werdly L., Ne was not worthy to haven an office Ha.

296 gay, so all MSS. except Ha. which omits it.

- But albe that he was a *philosopher*,
 Yet hadd' he but a lytel gold in *cofer*,
 But al that he might' of his frendes hente,
 On bokes and on lerning' he it spente, 300
 And bisily gan for the sowles *preye*
 Of hem, that yaaf him wherwith to *scoleye*.
 iii Of *studie* tok he moost *cur'* and moost heed.
 Not oo word spaak he more than was need; 304
 And that was seyð in *form* and *reverence*,
 And schort and quik, and ful of heygh *sentence*.
Souning' in *moral vertu* was his speche,
 And gladly wold' he lern' and gladly teche. 308

13. THE SERGEAWNT OF LAWE.

- A *Sergeawnt* of Lawe, waar and wys,
 That often hadde ben at the *parvys*,
 Ther was alsoo, ful *rich'* of *excellence*.
Discreet he was, and of greet *reverence*. 312
 He semed' swich, his wordes wer' so wyse.
Justyc' he was ful often in *assyse*
 By *patent*, and by *pleyn commissioun*,
 For his *scienc'*, and for his heygh *renoun*; 316
 Of fees and *robes* hadd' he many oon.
 So greet a *pourchasour* was no wheer noon.
 Al was fee *simpel* to him in *effect*,
 iii His *purchasing* ne mighte not ben *infect*. 320
 iii No wheer so bisy a man as he ther n'as,
 iii And yit he semed' bisier than he was.
 In *termes* hadd' he *caas* and domes alle,
 iii That fro the tym' of king William wer' falle. 324
 Theerto he coud' *endyt'* and mak' a thing.
 Ther coude no wight *pinch'* at his writing'.
 And ev'ry *statut* coud' he *pleyn by rote*.
 He rood but hoonly in a *medlee cote*, 328
 Gird with a *ceynt* of silk with *barres* smale;
 Of his *array* tell' I no lenger tale.

297 So the six MSS., the Ha. is unmetrical. The long vowels in *philosopher*, *gold*, *coffer*, are very doubtful, and it is perhaps more probable that short vowels would be correct.

298 "a" is only found in Co. If it is omitted, the first metre becomes defective.

303 moost heed, so the six MSS.; heed Ha.

305 So all the six MSS. (H. has *spoke*), but Ha. has the entirely dif-

ferent line: Al that he spak it was of heye prudence. The whole of the clerk's character is defective in Ha. In "Cassell's Magazine" for May, 1869, p. 479, col. 1, there occurs the following paragraph: "The following pithy sketch of Oxford life half a dozen centuries ago is from the pen of Wycliffe:—The scholar is famed for his logic; Aristotle is his daily bread, but otherwise his rations are slender enough. The horse he rides is as lean as is a rake, and the rider is no better off. His cheek is hollow, and his coat

But al bee dhat -e wer a *fii*loo'soof'er,
 Jet had -e but a *lii*t'l goold in koof'er,
 And al dhat hee *mi*kht of -is frend'es hent'e,
 On book'es and on lern'iq hee *it* spent'e, 300
 And *biz*'lii gan for dhe sooules prai'e
 Of hem dhat jaaf -im wheer'with to skolai'e.
 Of stud'ie took -e moost kyyr and moost heed.
 Not oo word spaak -e moor'e dhan was need; 304
 And dhat was said in form and ree'verens'e,
 And short and *kwik* and ful of *hai*k'h sentens'e.
 Suu'niq in moo'raal ver'tyy was -is speetsh'e,
 And glad

13. Dhe Ser'dzheeaunt of Lau'e.

A Ser'dzheeaunt of Lau'e, waar and wiis,
 Dhat oft'en had'e been at dhe par'viis,
 Dher was alsoo', ful ritsh of ek'selens'e.
 Diskreet -e was and of greet ree'verens'e. 312
 He seem'ed switsh, -is word'es wer soo wiis'e.
 Dzhyyst'ii's -e was ful oft'en in asiis'e
 Bii paa'tent, and bii plain komis'iuun',
 For his sii'ens, and for -is *hai*k'h renuun'; 316
 Of feez and roob'es had -e man'ii oon.
 So greet a puur'tshaa'suur was noo wheer noon.
 Al was fee sim'p'l too -im in efekt',
 His puur'tshaas'iq ne *mi*kht'e not been infekt'. 320
 Noo wheer soo *biz*'i a man as hee dher n- -as,
 And *rit* -e seem'ed *biz*'ier dhan -e was.
 In term'es had -e kaas and doom'es al'e,
 Dhat froo dhe tiim of kiq Wil'iaam wer fal'e. 324
 Dheertoo he kuud endiit' and maak a thiq.
 Dher kuud'e noo *wik*ht pintsh at his *rwit*'iq'.
 And ev'rii staa'tyyt kuud -e plain bii root'e.
 He rood but hoom'lii in a med'lee koot'e, 328
 Gird with a saint of silk with bar'es smaal'e;
 Of his arai tel *li* noo leq'ger taal'e.

threadbare. His bedroom is his study. Over his bed's head are some twenty volumes in black and red. Whatever coin he gets goes for books, and those who help him to coin will certainly have the advantage of his prayers for the good of their souls while they live, or their repose when they are dead. His words are few, but full of meaning. His highest thought of life is of learning and teaching. This is obviously a modern English translation of the present passage. Is there anything like it in Wycliffe?

306 heygh, so the six MSS., gret Ha. apparently because of h e y e in the preceding line of that recension.

307 vertu, so the six MSS. manere Ha.

310 at the, so all MSS. except Ha. and P., see *suprà* p. 331, note.

320 infect, so all six MSS., suspecte Ha.

327 pley n, Fr. *plein*, fully compare v. 337.

14. THE FRANKELEYN.

- A Frankeleyn was in his *companye* ;
 Whyt was his berd, as is the dayesye. 332
 Of his *complexioun* he was *sangwyn*.
 Weel lov'd' he by the morrw' a sop in wyn'.
 To lyven in *delyt* was e'er his wone,
 For he was EPICURUS owne sone, 336
 That heeld *opinioun* that *pleyn delyt*
 Was *verrayly felicitye* *perfyte*.
 An housholdeer, and that a greet was he ;
Saynt Juliaan he was in his *cuntree*. 340
 iii His breed, his ale, was alwey after oon ;
 A bettr' *envyned* man was no wheer noon.
 iii Withoute bake mete was ne'er his hous
 Of fisch' and flesch', and that so *plenteuous* 344
 It snewed in his hous of met' and drinke
 Of alle deyntees that men coude thinke.
 After the sondry *sesouns* of the yeer',
 So *chaunged*' he his met' and his *soupeer*. 348
 iii Ful many a fat *partrich* hadd' he in *meue*,
 iii And many a *breem* and many a *luc*' in *steue*.
 Woo was his cook, but if his *sawce* were
Poynawnt and scharp, and redy al his gere. 352
 His *tabel dormawnt* in his hall' alwey
 Stood redy *cover'd* al the longe day.
 At *sessiouns* theer was he lord and *syre*.
 Ful ofte tym' he was knight of the schyre. 356
 An *anlas* and a *gipseer* al of silk
 Heng at his girdel, whyt as morne milk.
 A shyreev hadd' he been, and a *countour*.
 Was no wheer such a worthy *vavasour*. 360

15. 16. 17. 18. 19. THE HABERDASCHEER, CARPENTEEER, WEBBE,
DYEER, AND TAPICEER.

- An Haberdascheer, and a *Carpenteeer*,
 A Webb', a Dyeer, and a *Tapiceer*,
 Wer' with us eek, clothed in oo *liv'ree*,
 Of a *solemn*' and greet *fraternite*. 364
 Ful fresch and new' her' ger' apyked was ;
 Her' knyfes wer' *ychaped* not with bras,
 But al with silver wrowght ful clen' and weel
 Her' girdles and her' *pouches* ev'ry deel. 368
 Weel seemed' eech of hem a fayr *burgeys*
 To sitten in a yeld'hall' on the *deys*.

334 sop in wyn, so all six
 MSS., sop of wyn Ha.

348 So all six MSS. Ha. reads :
 He chaunged hem at mete and at
 soper, which is clearly wrong:

14. Dhe Fraqk'elain.

A Fraqk'elain was in -is kum'panii'e;
 Whiit was -is berd, as is dhe dai'esii'e. 332
 Of -is komplek'siun' -e was saqgwiin'.
 Weel luvd -e in dhe morn a sop in wiin.
 To liiv'en in deliit' was eer -is wuun'e,
 For hee was Ee'piiky'rus ooun'e suun'e, 336
 Dhat heeld oo'pi'niun' dhat plain deliit'.
 Was ver'ailii fee'lii'sii'tee' per'faiit'.
 An huus'hooldeer', and dhat a greet was hee;
 Saint Dzhyy'liaan' -e was in his kun'tree'. 340
 His breed, his aale, was al'wai after oon;
 A bet'r- envii'ned man was noo wheer noon.
 Withuute baak'e meet'e was neer -is huus
 Of fish, and flesh, and dhat soo plent'evuus 344
 It sneu'ed in -is huus of meet and driqk'e
 Of al'e dain'tees dhat men kuud'e thi'qk'e.
 After dhe sun'drii see'suunz' of dhe Jeer,
 Soo tshaundzh'ed hee his meet and his suupeer'. 348
 Ful man'i a fat partritsh' -ad hee in myy'e,
 And man'i a breem and man'i a lyys in sty'ye'.
 Woo was -is kook, but if -is saus'e weer'e
 Puin'aunt' and sharp, and reed'ii al -is geere. 352
 His taa'b'l dor'maunt' in -is hal alwai
 Stood red'ii kuv'erd al dhe loq'e dai.
 At ses'iuunz' dheer was -e lord and siir'e.
 Ful oft'e tiim -e was kni'kt of dhe shiir'e. 356
 An an'las and a dzhip'seer' al of silk
 Heq at -is gir'd'l, whiit as morn'e milk.
 A shiir'reev' had -e been, and a kun'tuur'.
 Was noo wheer sutsh a wurdh'ii vaa'vaasuur'. 360

 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. Dhe Hab'erdash'eer, Kar'penteer,
 Web'e, Di'eer, and Taa'pii'seer.

An Hab'erdash'eer and a Kar'penteer',
 A Web, a Di'eer, and a Taa'pii'seer',
 Weer with us eek, cloodh'ed in oo liiv'ree',
 Of a soo'lem'n- and greet fraa'ter'niitee'. 364
 Ful fresh and neu -er geer apiik'ed was;
 Her kni'fes wer itshaap'ed not with bras,
 But al with sil'ver rwoukwht ful kleen and weel
 Her gir'dles and -er puutsh'es ev'rii deel. 368
 Weel seem'ed eetsh of hem a fair bur'dzhais'
 To sit'en in a jeld'hal on dhe dais.

 362 dy eer, so the six MSS., Harl.
 deyer, see *dyer*, p. 643.

 365 apyked, so all six MSS.,
 piked Ha.

- Ev'rich for the wisdom that he can,
 Was schaaPLY for to been an alderman. 372
 For *catel* hadde they ynough and *rente*,
 And eek her' wyfes wold' it weel *assente*;
 And elles *certayn* weren they to *blame*.
 It is ful fayr to be yclept *Madame*, 376
 And goo to *vigilyes* al bifore,
 And haan a *mantel* really ybore.

20. THE COOK.

- A Cook they hadde with hem for the nones,
 To *boyle* chicknes with the mary bones, 380
 And *poudre-marchawnt* tart, and *galingale*.
 Weel coud' he know' a drawght of London ale.
 He coude *roost*', and seeth', and *broyl*', and *frye*,
 Make *mortrewes*, and weel bak' a *pye*. 384
 But greet harm was it, as it semed' me,
 That on his schinn' a *mormal* hadde he;
 For *blankmangeer* that maad' he with the beste.

21. THE SCHIPMAN.

- A Schipman was ther, woning' fer by weste; 388
 For owght I woot, he was of Dertemouthe.
 He rood upon a *rouncy* as he couthe,
 — In a gown of falding' to the kne.
 A *daggeer* hanging' on a *laas* hadd' he 392
 About' his neck' under his arm adoun.
 iii The hote sommer hadd' mad' his hew al broun;
 And *certaynly* he was a good felawe.
 iii Ful many a drawght of wyn hadd' he ydrawe 396
 From *Bourdeux*-ward, whyl that the chapman sleep.
 Of *nyce conscienc*' he took no keep.
 If that he fowght, and hadd' the heygher hand,
 iii By water he sent' hem hoom to ev'ry land'. 400
 But of his craft to reken weel the tydes,
 His stremes and his *dawnger*'s him bisydes,

371 everich, so all six MSS., every man Ha.

375 weren they, so, or: they were, read all the six MSS., hadde they be Ha.

380 mary, ags. *nearh*, the *h* becoming unusually palatalised to *-y*, instead of labialised to *-we*; the parenthetical remark p. 254, n. 1. is wrong.

381 *poudre-marchawnt*, see Temp. Pref. to the Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 96.

386 Prof. Child reads: That on his schyne—a *mormal* hadd' he, *suprà*

p. 363. The Six MSS. render many of the examples there cited suspicious, see note on v. 120 for v. 1141. In v. 1324, He. reads *moot*, and the line may be: Withouten dout' it mote stonden so. For v. 1337 all six MSS. read: And let him in his prisoun stille dwelle. For v. 2286 all six MSS. read: But hou sche did' hir' ryt' I dar not telle. For v. 2385, E. He. Ca. Co. L. read: For thilke peyn' and thilke hote fyr. In v. 2714, E. He. Ca. have: Somm' hadden salves and somm' hadden charmes. For v. 1766,

Ev·ritsh for dhe wis·doom dhat -e kan,
 Was shaap·lii for to been an al·derman. 372
 For kat·el had·e dhai inuukwh· and rent·e,
 And eek -er wiif·es wold it weel asent·e;
 And el·es sert·ain weer·en dhai to blaam·e.
 It is ful fair to be i·klept· Ma a d a a m·e, 376
 And goo to vii·dzhiili·es al bi·foor·e,
 And naan a man·t'l ree·alii i·boor·e.

20. Dhe Kook.

A Kook dhai had·e with -em for dhe noon·es,
 To buil·e tshik·nes with dhe mar·i boon·es, 380
 And puud·re martshaunt· tart, and gaa·liqgaal·e.
 Weel kuud·-e knoou a draukwht of Lun·dun aal·e.
 He kuud·e roost, and seedh, and bruil, and frii·e,
 Maak·e mortreu·es, and weel baak a pii·e. 384
 But greet harm was it, as it seem·ed mee,
 Dhat on -is shin a mor·maal· had·e hee;
 For bla·qk·maan·dzheer· dhat maad -e with dhe best·e.

21. Dhe Ship·man.

A Ship·man was dher, wuun·iq fer bii west·e; 388
 For oukwht i·i woot, he was of Der·temuuth·e.
 He rood upon· a ruun·sii as -e kuuth·e,
 In a guun of fal·diq· too dhe knee.
 A dag·eer· naq·iq on a laas -ad hee 392
 Abuu·t· -is nek un·der -is arm aduun·.
 Dhe hoot·e sum·er -ad maad -is neu al bruun;
 And sert·ainlii -e was a good fel·au·e.
 Ful man·i a draukwht of wiin -ad hee idrau·e 396
 From Buur·deus·ward, whiil dhat dhe tshap·man sleep.
 Of niis·e kon·siens· -e took noo keep.
 If dhat -e foukwht and had dhe hai·kh·er hand,
 Bii waa·ter -e sent -em hoom to ev·rii land. 400
 But of -is kraft to rek·en weel dhe tiid·es,
 His streem·es and -is daun·dzherz him bi·siid·es,

E. He. Ca. Co. L. read: The trespas of hem both' and eek the cause. For v. 4377 (in which read *sight* for *night*) E. He. Pe. L. practically agree with Ha., but it would be easy to conjecture: Til that he hadd' al thilke sight' yseyn. For v. 4405, E. reads *rotie* in place of *rote*, but He. Pe. L. agree with Ha. The form *rotie*, which is more ancient, see Stratmann's Dict. p. 467, would save the open vowel. It is possible, therefore, that the other examples of open e preserved by caesura in Chaucer, would disappear if more

MSS. were consulted. Again, in the first line cited from Gower, i. 143, we see in the example below that two MSS. read: he wept' and with ful woful teres. The practice is therefore doubtful. But final e often remains before *he* at the end of a line in Gower, *supra*, p. 361, art. 76, a. Hence the division in the text is justified. There is no variety in the readings of the MSS.

387 that maad' he, so all six MSS. Ha. he made.

391 falding, =vestis equi vil-

- His herbergh and his moon', his loodmanage,
 Ther was noon swich from Hulle to *Cartage*. 404
Hardy he was, and wys to undertake ;
 iii With many a *tempest* hath his berd been schake.
 He knew weel al the haven's, as they were,
 From Scotland to the *caap*' of *Fynistere*, 408
 And every cryk' in *Bretayn*' and in *Spayne* ;
 His *barg*' ycleped was the *Mawdeleyne*.

22. THE DOCTOUR OF PHISYK.

- Ther was also a *Doctour* of *Phisyk*,
 In al this world ne was ther noon him lyk 412
 To spek' of *phisyk* and of *surgerye* ;
 For he was grounded in *astronomye*.
 He kept' his *pacient* a ful greet deel
 In *houres* by his *magyk natureel*. 416
 — Weel coud' he *fortunen* th' *ascendent*
 Of his *images* for his *pacient*.
 He knew the *caus*' of ev'ry *maladye*,
 Wer' it of coold, or heet', or *moyst*, or drye, 420
 And wheer *engendred* and of what *humour* ;
 He was a *verray parfyt practisour*.
 The *caus*' yknow', and of his harm the rote,
 Anoon he yaaf the syke man his bote. 424
 + Ful redy hadd' he his *apotecaryes*
 + To send' him *drogges*, and his *letuaries*,
 For eech' of hem mad' other for to winne ;
 Her' frendschip' was not newe to beginne. 428
 — Weel knew he th' old' *ESCULAPIUS*,
 And *DEISCORIDES*, and eek *RUFUS* ;
 Oold *Ipocras*, *Haly*, and *Galien* ;
SERAPION, *Razys*, and *Avycen* ; 432
 iii *Averrois*, *Damascen*, and *Constantyn* ;
Bernard and *Gatesden* and *Gilbertyn*.
 iii Of his *dyete mesurabel* was he,
 For it was of noon *superfluite*, 436
 But of greet *nourisching*' and *digestybel*.
 iii His *studie* was but lytel on the *Bybel*.
 In *sangwyn* and in *pers* he clad was al,
Lyned with *taffata* and with *sendal*'. 440
 And yit he was but *esy* in *dispence* ;
 He kepte that he wan in *pestilence*.
 For goold in *phisyk* is a *cordial* ;
 Theerfor' he loved' goold in *special*. 444

losa, see Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed.
 of Ch. p. 99.

403 loodmanage, pilotage,
 see Temp. Pref. to Six-Text Ed. of
 Chaucer, p. 98. A loodman must
 have been a pilot, or leading-man,

compare loadstone, loadstar. The *-age*
 is a French termination.

415 a ful greet deel, so all
 six MSS., wondrously wel Ha.

425 See Temp. Pref. to the Six-
 Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 99.

His her·berkh and -is moon', -is lood·manaadzh'e,
 Dher was noon switsh from Hul'e too Kartaadzh'e. 404
 Hard·ii he was, and wiis to undertaak'e;
 With man·i a tem·pest hath -is berd been shaak'e.
 He kneu weel al dhe naa·venz, as dhai weere,
 From Skotland too dhe kaap of Fii·nisteere, 408
 And ev·rii kriik in Bree·tain and in Spain'e;
 His baardzh i·klep'ed was dhe Mau·delain'e.

22. Dhe Dok·tuur of Fii·ziik.

Dher was alsoo· a Dok·tuur of Fii·ziik,
 In al dhe world ne was dher noon -im liik 412
 To speek of fii·ziik and of sur·dzherii'e;
 For hee was gruund'ed in astroo·nomii'e.
 He kept -is paa·sient a ful greet deel
 In uures bi·i -is maa·dzhik naa·tyy reel. 416
 Weel kuud hee fortyyn'en dh- as·endent
 Of his i·maadzh'es for -is paa·sient.
 He kneu dhe kauz of ev·rii maa·laadii'e,
 Weer it of koold, or heet, or muist, or drii'e, 420
 And wheer endzhen·dred, and of what nyy·muur';
 He was a ver·ai par·fiit prak·tii·suur.
 Dhe kauz i·knoor, and of -is harm dhe root'e,
 Anoon· -e yaaf dhe siik'e man -is boot'e. 424
 Ful red·ii had -e his apoo·tee·kaa·ries
 To send -im dro·ges, and -is let·yy·aa·ries,
 For eetsh of hem maad udh'er for to win'e;
 Her frend·ship was not neu'e too begin'e. 428
 Weel kneu hee dh- oold Es·ky·y·laa·pius,
 And Dee,iskor·idees, and eek Ryy·fus;
 Oold Ipokras', Haali·i, and Gaa·lieen';
 Seraa·pioon', Raa·ziis and Aa·viiseen'; 432
 Aver·o, is, Daamaseen' and Konstantiin';
 Bernard' and Gaa·tesden' and Gilbertiin'.
 Of his diieet'e mee·syy·raa·b'l was hee,
 For it was of noon syy·perflyy·itee, 436
 But of greet nuur·ishiq' and dii·dzhes·tii·b'l.
 His stud·ie was but lii·t'l on dhe Bi·i·b'l.
 In saq·gwiin' and in pers -e klad was al,
 Liin'ed with taf·ataa' and with sendal'. 440
 And rit -e was but eez·ii in dispens'e;
 He kept'e dhat -e wan in pestilens'e.
 For goold in fii·ziik is a kordial';
 Dheerfoor· -e luv'ed goold in spes·ial'. 444

429 Suprà p. 341, l. 2 and 13, I treated this as a full line, thinking that the e in olde was to be preserved. Further consideration induces me to mark the line as having an imperfect

first measure, and to elide the e in the regular way, on the principle that exceptional usages should not be unnecessarily assumed.

23. THE WYF OF BATHE.

- A good Wyf was ther of bisyde Bathe,
 But sche was somdeel deef, and that was skathe.
 Of cloothmaking' sche hadde swich an *hawnt*,
 Sche *passed*' hem of *Ypres* and of *Gawnt*. 448
 In al the *parisch*' wyf ne was ther noon,
 That to th' offring' bifoorn her schulde goon,
 iii And if ther dide, *certayn* so wrooth was sche,
 That sche was out of alle *charite*. 452
 Hir' *keverchefs* ful *fyne* wer' of grounde;
 iii I durste swere they weygheden ten pounde
 That on a Sondag wer' upon hir' heed.
 Hir' hosen weren of *fyn scarlet* reed, 456
 Ful *streyt*' ytey'd, and schoos ful *moyst*' and newe.
 Boold was hir' *faac*', and fayr, and reed of hewe.
 Sche was a worthy woman al hir' lyfe.
 Housbond's at chirche dore sche hadd' fyfe, 460
 Withouten other *company*' in youthe,
 But theerof nedeth nowght to spek' as nouthe.
 iii And thryes hadd' sche been at Jerusalem;
 iii Sche hadde *passed* many a *strawnge* streem;
 464
 At Rome sche hadd' been, and at *Boloyne*,
 In *Galic*', at *saynt Jaam*', and at *Coloyne*.
 Sche couthe moch' of wandring' by the weye.
 Gaat-tothed was sche, sooth'ly for to seye. 468
 Upon an *ambleer* esely sche sat,
 Ywimpled weel, and on hir' heed an hat
 As brood as is a *bouclee*r or a *targe*;
 A foot-mantel about' hir' hippes *large*, 472
 And on hir' feet a *payr*' of spores scharpe.
 In felawship' weel coud' sche lawgh' and *carpe*.
 iii Of *remedy*'s of love sche knew *parchawnce*,
 For sche coud' of that *art* the oolde *dawnce*. 476

24. THE PERSOUN.

- A good man was ther of *religioun*,
 And was a *pore Persoun* of a toun;
 But *rich*' he was of holy thowght and werk',
 He was also a lerned man, a clerk, 480
 That Cristes gospel gladly wolde *preche*;
 His *parischens* devoutly wold' he teche.

452 was out, so the six MSS.,
 was thanne out Ha.

453 ful fyne wer', so the six
 MSS., weren ful fyne Ha.

454 weygheden, weyghede
 Ha. weyeden E. He. Co. P.,

weyedyn Ca. weiden L., hence
 all but Ha. give the plural en.

460 So E. He. Ca., atte, Co. Pe.,
 att þe L., housbondes atte
 chirche dore hadde sche
 fyfe Ha. which is unmetrical.

23. Dhe Wiif of Baath'e.

A good wiif was dher of *bisiid'e* Baath'e,
 But shee was sum·deel deef, and dhat was skaath'e.
 Of klooth·maak·iq· she had·e switsh an haunt,
 She pas·ed hem of *li'pres* and of Gaunt. 448
In al dhe par·ish wiif ne was dher noon,
 Dhat too dh- ofriq· *bifoorn'* -er shuld·e goon,
 And *if* dher did·e, ser·tain' so *wooth* was shee,
 Dhat shee was uut of al·e tshaar·rii·tee'. 452
Hiir kev·ertshefs ful *fiin'e* weer of gruund·e;
li durst·e sweer·e dhai waikh·eden ten puund·e
 Dhat on a Sun·dai weer upon· -*iir* heed.
Hiir hooz·en weer·en of *fiin* skar·let reed, 456
 Ful strait *itaid'*, and shooz ful muist and neu·e.
 Boold was -*iir* faas, and fair and reed of neu·e.
 She was a wurdh·*ii* wum·an al -*iir* *liif'e*.
Huus' bondz· at tshirtsh·e door·e shee had *fiif'e*, 460
 Withuut·en udh·er kum·panii' in juuth·e,
 But dheer·of need·eth noukwht to speak as nuuth·e.
 And thrii·es had she been at Dzheeru·saleem·;
 She had·e pas·ed man·i a straundzh·e streem; 464
 At Room·e shee had been, and at Bolooin·e,
In Gaa·liis·, at saint Dzhaam, and at Kolooi·e.
 She kuuth·e mutsh of wand·riq *bii* dhe wai·e.
 Gaat-tooth·ed was she, sooth·*lii* for to sai·e. 468
 Upon· an am·bleer· ees·eli she sat,
Iwim' pled weel, and on -*iir* heed an hat
 As brood as is a buk·leer· or a tardzh·e;
 A foot·mantel· abuut· -*iir* *hi'p'es* lardzh·e, 472
 And on -*iir* feet a pair of spuur·es sharp·e.
In fel·aushii·p weel kuud she laugwh and karp·e.
 Of rem·ediiz· of luuv·e she kneu partshauns·e,
 For shee kuud of dhat art dhe oold·e dauns·e. 476

24. Dhe Per·suun·.

A good man was dher of *relii'dzhiuun'*,
 And was a poor·e Per·suun· of a tuun;
 But ritsh -e was of hool·*ii* thoukwht and werk,
 He was alsoo· a lern·ed man, a klerk, 480
 Dhat Krist·es gosp·el glad·*lii* wold·e preetsh·e;
 His par·ishenz devuut·*lii* wold -e teetsh·e.

465, 466. Boloyné, Coloyne. The MSS. are very uncertain in their orthography. Boloyné, Coloyne, appear in Ha. He. Ca., and Boloyné in P. L., but we find Boloigne, Coloigne in E. Co., Coloigne in P., and Coloyngne in L. The

pronunciation assigned is quite conjectural. The following pronunciations of the termination are also possible: (-oon·e, -oon·e, -uin·e, uiq·ne) The modern Cockneyism (*Buloin'*, *Kaloin'*) points to (-uin·e). See also note on v. 634.

- Benygn'* he was and wonder *dylygent*,
 And in *adversite* ful *pacient* ; 484
 And such he was *ypreved* ofte sythes.
 Ful looth wer' him to curse for his thythes,
 But rather wold' he yeven out of *doute*,
 Unto his *pore parischens* aboute, 488
 Of his offring', and eek of his *substawnce*.
 He coud' in lytel thing haan *suffisawnce*.
 iii Wyd was his *parisch*, and houses fer asonder,
 But he ne lafte not for reyn ne thonder, 492
 In sikness' nor in *meschief'* to *visyte*
 The ferrest in his *parisch'*, moch' and lyte,
 Upon his feet, and in his hond a staaf.
 This *nob'l ensampel* to his scheep he yaaf, 496
 That first he wrowght', and after that he tawghte.
 Out of the gospel he tho wordes cawghte,
 And this *figur'* he added' eek therto,
 That if goold ruste, what schuld' yren do ? 500
 For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste,
 No wonder is a lewed man to ruste ;
 And scham' it is, if a preest take kep',
 A schyten schepperd and a clene scheep ; 504
 Weel owght' a preest *ensampel* for to yive
 By his cleanness', hou that his scheep schuld' live.
 iii He sette not his *benefyce* to hyre,
 And left' his scheep *encomb'red* in the myre, 508
 ai And ran to London', unto *saynt* Powles,
 iii To seken him a *chaunterye* for sowles,
 Or with a bretherheed to been withhoolde ;
 But dwelt' at hoom, and kepte weel his foolde, 512
 + So that the wolf ne mad' it not *miscarye*.
 +iii He was a schepperd, and not a *mercenarye* ;
 And though he holy wer' and *vertuous*,
 He was to sinful man nowght *dispitous*, 516
 Ne of his speche *dawngerous* ne *dygne*,
 But in his teching' *discreet* and *benygne*.

493 *meschief*, so all but Ca., which reads *myschif*, and L. which has *meschef*. The old French forms, according to Roquefort, are *meschef*, *meschief*, *meschiés*, *meschiez*, *mescief*, *mesciés*.

499 eek E. He. Co. P., yit Ha., omitted in Ca., L. has eke he hadded. Ca. reads addede, but no particular value is attachable to its final e's.

503 So all six MSS., if that Ha. in which case *tak'* must be read,

but the omission of the subjunctive *e* is harsh. See the same rhyme and phrase in the imperative and hence *tak* not *take*, 6014, 13766. Only Ca., which is generally profuse in final *e*, reads *kep schep*, in accordance with ags. analogy.

504 It is a curious example of the different feeling attached to words of the same original meaning, that *schyten* is banished from polite society, and *dirty* (ags. *dritan* *cacare*) is used without hesitation.

Beniⁱn -e was and wund^er diⁱliidzhent;
 And in adversⁱtee ful paa^ssient; 484
 And sutsh -e was ipreev^ed oft^e siidh^es.
 Ful looth wer him to kurs^e for -is tiidh^es,
 But raadher wold -e jeev^en uut of duut^e,
 Untoo^e -is poor^e parⁱshenz abuut^e, 488
 Of his ofriq^e; and eek of his substauns^e.
 He kuud in lii^tl thi^q naan syfⁱsauns^e.
 Wiid was -is parⁱsh, and huus^es fer asund^er,
 But hee ne laft^e not for rain ne thund^er, 492
 In sikⁿes nor in mes^tsheef to viiⁱziit^e
 Dhe ferest in -is parⁱsh, mutsh and liit^e,
 Upon^e -is feet, and in -is hond a staaf.
 Dhis noo^bl- ensam^pl too -is sheep -e jaaf, 496
 Dhat first -e rwouk^wht, and after dhat -e tauk^whte.
 Uut of dhe gos^pel hee dho word^es kauk^whte,
 And dhis fiⁱgyr^e -e ad^ed eek dhertoo^e,
 Dhat if goold rust^e, what shuld iir^en doo? 500
 For if a preest be fuul, on whom we trust^e,
 Noo wund^er is a leu^ed man to rust^e;
 And shaam it is, if a preest taak^e keep,
 A shii^ten shep^erd and a kleen^e sheep; 504
 Weel ouk^wht a preest ensam^pl for to iiv^e
 Biⁱ his kleen^es, nuu dhat -is sheep shuld liiv^e.
 He set^e not -is ben^efis^e to iir^e,
 And left -is sheep enkum^bred in dhe miir^e, 508
 And ran to Lun^dun, un^to saaⁱnt Pooules,
 To seek^en him a tshaun^terii^e for sooules,
 Or with a breedh^erheed to been with^whold^e;
 But dwelt at hoom, and kept^e weel -is foold^e, 512
 Soo dhat dhe wulf ne maadⁱt not miskarⁱe.
 He was a shep^erd, and not a mersena^ri^e;
 And dhoouk^wh -e hoolⁱi weer and ver^ttyy^us,
 He was to sin^ful man nouk^wht dis^piⁱtuus, 516
 Nee of -is speetsh^e daun^dzheruus^e ne diin^e,
 But in -is teetshⁱq dis^kreet and beniⁱn^e.

509 saynt, Ha. and Co. add an e, thus seynte for the metre, the other five MSS. have no e, and the grammatical construction forbids its use. Tyrwhitt, to fill up the number of syllables, rather than the metre, (for he plays havoc with the accentual rhythm which commentators seem to have hitherto much neglected, but which Chaucer's ear must have appreciated,) changes the first to into unto, thus: And ran unto London, unto Seint Poules, but this is not sanctioned by any MS. The solution

of the difficulty is to be found in the occasional dissyllabic use of saynt, see note on v. 120. Powles, see *suprà* pp. 145, 148. Mr. Gibbs mentions that he knows (Poolz) as an existent Londoner's pronunciation in the phrase *as old as Powl's*, see *suprà* p. 266 for Chaucer's usage.

512 folde, the final e is exceptional, *suprà* p. 384, col. 1.

514 and not a, so all the six MSS., and no Ha.

- To drawn folk to heven by faynesse,
 By good *ensampel*, was his businesse ; 520
 But it wer' eny *persoun obstinaat*,
 Whatso he wer' of heygh or low' *estaat*,
 Him wold he snibbe scharply for the nones.
 iii A bett're preest I trowe ther nowheer noon is. 524
 iii He *wayted*' after no *pomp*' and *reverence*,
 Ne maked' him a *spyced conscience*,
 But Cristes loor', and his apostel's twelve,
 He tawght', and first he folwed' it himselve. 528

25. THE PLOUGHMAN.

- With him ther was a Ploughman, was his brother,
 iii That hadd' ylaad of dong' ful many a fother.
 A trewe swinker and a good was he,
 Living' in *pees* and *perfyt charite*. 532
 God lov'd' he best with al his hole herte
 At alle tymes, thowgh him gam'd' or smerte,
 And than his neyghebour right as himselve.
 He wolde thresh' and therto dyk' and delve, 536
 iii For Cristes sake, for ev'ry *pore* wighte,
 Withouten hyr', if it lay in his mighte.
 But tythes *payed*' he ful fayr' and weel,
 Booth of his *prop're* swink', and his *catel*. 540
 In a *tabbard*' he rood upon a meer'.

Ther was also a reev' and a milleer,
 A *somnour* and a *pardoneer* also,
 A *mauncip'l* and myself, ther wer' no mo. 544

26. THE MILLEER.

- The Milleer was a *stout* carl for the nones,
 Ful big he was of *brawn*, and eek of bones ;
 That *proved*' weel, for ov'ral ther he cam,
 At wrastling' he wold' hav' away the ram. 548
 He was schort schuld'red, brood, a thikke knarre,
 iii Ther n'as no dore that he n'old' heev' of harre
 Or breek' it with a renning' with his heed.
 His berd as ony sou' or fox was reed, 552
 And theerto brood, as thowgh it wer' a spade.
 Upon the cop right of his noos' he hadde

519 faynesse E. He. Co. P.
 L., clennesse Ha. Ca., with He.,
 by, the rest.

525 and E. He. Co. P. L., ne
 Ha. Ca., but this would introduce two
 trissyllabic measures.

526 *spyced conscience*, com-

pare—

Ye schulde be al pacient and meke,
 And have a swete spiced consciens,
 Siththen ye preche so of Jobes pa-
 ciens. 6016.

529 was his, so all the six MSS.
 except Ca., which has that was
 hese, introducing a trissyllabic mea-

To drau'en folk to hev'en *bii* fairnes'e,
Bii good ensam'p'l, was -is besines'e; 520
 But it wer en*ii* per'suun' ob'stinaat,
 What'soo' -e weer of *hai*kh or loou estaat,
 Him wold -e snib'e sharp*lii* for dhe noon'es.
 A bet're preest *Ii* trooue dher noo wheer noon is. 524
 He wait'ed aft'er no pomp and reev'ereens'e,
 Ne maak'ed him a spiis'ed kon'siens'e,
 But Krist'es loor, and his apos't'lz twelv'e,
 He tauk'ht, and first -e fol'wed it himselv'e. 528

25. Dhe Pluukwh·man.

With him dher was a Pluukwh·man, was -is broodh'er,
 Dhat had ilaad' of duq ful man'i a foodh'er.
 A treu'e swi'qk'er and a good was hee,
 Liv'iq in pees and per'fiit' tshaa'riitee'. 532
 God luvd -e best with al -is hool'e hert'e
 At al'e tiim'es, dhooukwh -im gaamd or smert'e,
 And dhan -is nai'khebuur rikht as -imselv'e.
 He wold'e thresh and dher'too diik and delv'e, 536
 For Krist'es saak'e, for ev'rii poo're wikht'e,
 Withuut'en hiir, if it lai in -is mikht'e.
 But tiidhes pai'ed hee ful fair and weel,
 Booth of -is prop're swi'qk and -is kat'el'. 540
 In a tab'ard' -e rood upon a meer.

Dher was alsoo' a reev and a mil'eer',
 A sum'nuur and a par'doneer' alsoo',
 A maun'sipl- and miiself, dher weer no moo. 544

26. Dhe Mil'eer'.

Dhe Mil'eer' was a stuut karl for dhe noon'es,
 Ful big -e was of braun, and eek of boon'es;
 Dhat preev'ed weel, for ov'ral dheer -e kaam,
 At rwast'liq hee wold haav'awai' dhe ram. 548
 He was short shuld'ed, brood, a thik'e knar'e,
 Dher n- -as no door'e dhat hee n- -old heev of har'e
 Or brek it with a ren'iq' with -is heed.
 His berd as on'ii suu or foks was reed, 552
 And dheer'to brood, as dhooukwh it weer a spaa'de.
 Upon dhe kop rikht of -is nooz -e had'e

sure; his Ha. against the metre; the omission of the relative *that* before these words is curious, so that Ca. may have the proper reading.

537 for E. Ca. Co. P. L., with Ha. He.

541 meer', I have preferred eliding the essential final e (suprà, p. 388,

col. 1), to adding a superfluous e to milleer, suprà p. 254. The Icelandic *mar*, Danish *mær*, Swedish *märr* also omit the e. Chaucer generally uses the form *mare*.

548 hav' away, Co. P. L., ber' away Ha., hav' alwey E. He. Ca.

- A wert', and theeron stood a tuft of heres,
 Reed as the berstles of a soues eres. 556
 His nose-thirles blake wer' and wyde.
 A swerd and *bouclee*r baar he by his syde.
 His mouth as greet was as a greet *fornays*.
 iii He was a *jangleer* and a *goliardeys*, 560
 And that was moost of sinn' and *harlotryes*.
 Weel coud' he stele corn, and tollen thryes;
 And yet he hadd' a thomb' of goold', *parde*!
 A whyt *coot*' and a blew hood wered he. 564
 A baggepype coud' he blow' and *soune*,
 And theerwithal he browght us out of toune.

27. THE MAWNCIPEL.

- iii A *gentel Mawncipel* was ther of a *tempel*,
 Of which *achatours* mighten tak' *exempel*, 568
 For to be wys in bying' of *vitaille*.
 For whether that he *pay*'d' or took by *taille*,
 Algat' he *wayted*' so in his *achate*
 That he was ay bifoorn and in good *state*. 572
 Nou is not that of God a ful fayr *grace*,
 That swich a lewed mannes wit schal *pace*
 The wisdom of an heep of lern'de men?
 Of *mayster's* hadd' he moo than thryes ten, 576
 That wer' of law' *expert* and *curious*,
 Of which ther wer' a *doseyn* in that hous',
 Worthy to be stiwards of *rent*' and *londe*
 Of any lord that is in Engelonde, 580
 To mak' him lyve by his *propre* good'
 In *honour dett*'lees, but he were wood,
 Or lyv' as *scarsly* as he can *desyre*;
 And *abel* for to helpen al a schyre 584
 In any *caas*' that mighte fall' or happe;
 iii And yit this *mawncipel* sett' her' aller cappe.

28. THE REVE.

- iii The Reve was a sclender *colerik* man,
 His berd was schav' as neygh as e'er he can. 588
 His heer was by his eres *round yschoorn*.
 His top was docked lyk a preest bifoorn.
 Ful longe wer' his legges and ful lene, 592
 Ylyk a staaf, ther was no calf ysene.
 Weel coud' he keep a *gerner* and a binne,
 Ther was noon *auditour* coud' on him winne.
 Weel wist' he by the drought,' and by the reyne,
 The yeelding of his seed' and of his *grayne*. 596

559 *fornays*, see note to v. 202.569 *bying*, see *suprà*, p. 285.564 a blew, E. He. Ca., Co., a
blewe P. L., blewe Ha.572 *state* has only a dative e.

A wert, and dheer'on stood a tuft of heer'es,
 Reed as dhe bers'tles of a suu'es eer'es. 556
 His nooz'e thirl'es blaak'e wer and wiid'e.
 A swerd and buk'leer' baar -e *bii* -is siid'e.
 His muuth as greet was as a greet for'nais'.
 He was a dzhag'leer' and a gool'iardais', 560
 And dhat was moost of *sin* and har'lotri'es.
 Weel kuud -e steel'e korn, and tol'en thri'es;
 And jet -e had a thuumb of goold, pardee'!
 A whiit koot and a bleu hood weered hee. 564
 A bag'epii'pe kuud -e bloou and suun'e,
 And dheer'withal' -e brouk'wht us uut of tuun'e.

27. Dhe Maun'sip'l.

A dzhen't'l Maun'sip'l was dher of a tem'p'l,
 Of whitsh atshaa'tuurz' mi'kht'en taak eksem'p'l, 568
 For to be wiis in *bii*'iq of viitail'e.
 For whedher dhat -e paid or took *bii* tail'e,
 Algaat' -e wait'ed soo in his atshaat'e,
 Dhat hee was ai bifoorn' and in good staat'e. 572
 Nu is not dhat of God a ful fair graas'e,
 Dhat switsh a leu'ed man'es wit shal paas'e
 Dhe wis'doom of an heep of lern'de men?
 Of mais'terz had -e moo dhan thri'es ten, 576
 Dhat wer of lau ekspert' and kyy'rius',
 Of whitsh dher weer a duu'zain' in dhat huus,
 Wurdh'ii to bee sti'wardz' of rent and lond'e
 Of an'ii lord dhat is in Eque'lond'e, 580
 To maak -im liiv'e *bii* -is prop're good
 In on'uur' det'lees, but -e weer'e wood,
 Or liiv' as skars'lii' as -e kan desi're;
 And aa'b'l for to help'en al a shi're 584
 In an'ii kaas dhat mi'kht'e fal or hap'e;
 And j'it dhis maun'sip'l set -er al'er kap'e.

28. Dhe Reeve.

Dhe Reeve was a sklend'er kol'erik man,
 His berd was shaav as nai'kh as eer -e kan. 588
 His heer was *bii* -is eer'es ruund ishoorn'.
 His top was dok'ed liik a preest bifoorn'.
 Ful loqe weer -is leg'es and ful leen'e,
 Iliik' a staaf, dher was no kalf iseen'e. 592
 Weel kuud -e keep a gern'er and a bin'e,
 Dher was noon au'dituur' kuud on -im win'e.
 Weel wist -e *bii* dhe druuk'wht, and *bii* dhe rain'e,
 Dhe jeeld'iq of -is seed and of -is grain'e. 596

578 that, so all six MSS., an Ha.
 587 sclender, all seven MSS.
 agree in the initial *sel* or *shl*.

592 vlyk, so all six MSS., a l
 like Ha., ysene, *suprà*, p. 357,
 art. 61.

- His lordes scheep, his neet, his deyerye,
 His swyn, his hors, his stoor, and his *pultrye*,
 Was hoolly in this reves governing',
 And by his *covenawnt'* yaf the rek'ning, 600
 Sin that his lord was twenty yeer of age ;
 iii Ther coude no man bring' him in *arrerage*.
 Ther n'as *ballyf*, ne herd', ne other hyne,
 That they ne knew' his sleight and his *covyne* ; 604
 They wer' adraad of him, as of the dethe.
 His woning was ful fayr upon an hethe,
 With grene trees yschadwed was his *place*.
 He coude better than his lord *purchase*. 608
 Ful *rich'* he was astored *prively*,
 His lord weel couth' he plese *subtilly*,
 To yeev' and leen' him of his owne good',
 And hav' a thank, and yet a *coot'* and hood. 612
 In youth' he lerned hadd' a good *mesteer* ;
 He was a weel good wright, a *carpenteer*.
 This reve sat upon a ful good stot',
 That was a *pomely* grey, and highte Scot. 616
 A long *surcoat'* of *pers* upon he hadd',
 And by his syd' he baar a rusty blaad.
 Of Northfolk was this reev' of which I telle,
 Bysyd' a toun men callen Baldeswelle. 620
 Tucked he was, as is a *freer'*, aboute,
 And e'er he rood the hind'rest of the *route*.

29. THE SOMNOUR.

- A *Somnour* was ther with us in that *place*,
 That hadd' a fyr-reed cherubynes *face*, 624
 For *sawceflem* he was, with eyghen narwe.
 iii As hoot he was, and *leccherous*, as a sparwe,
 With skalled browes blak', and pyled berd ;
 Of his *rysage* children wer' aferd. 628
 Ther n'as quiksilver, *lytarg'*, or brimstoon,
 iii *Boras*, *ceruce*, ne *oyl* of *tarter* noon,
 Ne *oynement* that wolde clens' and byte,
 That him might helpen of his whelkes whyte, 632
 Nor of the knobbes sitting' on his chekes.
 Weel lov'd' he garleek, *oynouns*, and eek lekes,

597 *deyerye*, the termination seems borrowed from the French, for *dey* see Wedgwood's Etym. Dict. 1, 424.

598 *stoor*, I am inclined to consider this a form of *steer*, ags. *steor*, rather than *store*, as it is usually interpreted, as the swine, horse, steer, and poultry go better together. On the interchange of (ee) and (oo) see *suprà*, p. 476.

612 so He. Ca. Co. P.; and an hoode L., a thank, a cote, and eek an hood Ha., a thank, yet a gowne and hood E.

615 ful E. Ca. Co. L., wel the others.

618 blaad, *suprà*, p. 259.

623 *somnour* Ca. P., *somp-*

His lord'es sheep, -is neet, -is dai'eri'e,
 His swin, -is hors, -is stoor, and his pultri'e,
 Was hool'lii in dhis reev'es guv'erniq',
 And bi' -is kuv'enaunt' jaaf dhe rek'niq', 600
 Sin dhat -is lord was twen'tii jeer of aadzh'e;
 Dher kuud'e noo man briq' -im in ar'ee-raadzhe.
 Dher n- -as bal'iif, nee heerd, nee udher hiin'e,
 Dhat dhai ne kneu -is slai'ht and his kovin'e; 604
 Dhai weer adraad' of him, as of dhe deeth'e.
 His wuun'iq' was ful fair upon' an heeth'e,
 With green'e treez ishad'wed was -is plaas'e.
 He kuud'e bet'er dhan -is lord pur'tshaas'e. 608
 Ful ritsh -e was astoor'ed priv'eli'i,
 His lord weel kuuth -e pleez'e sub'til'lii,
 To jeev and leen -im of -is ooun'e good,
 And haav a thaqk, and yet a koot and hood. 612
 In juuth -e lern'ed had a good mes'teer';
 He was a weel good rwikht, a kar'penteer'.
 Dhis reev'e sat upon' a ful good stot,
 Dhat was a pum'eli'i grai, and hikht'e Skot. 616
 A loq syyrkoot' of pers upon' -e had,
 And bi' -is siid -e baar a rust'ii blaad.
 Of Northfolk was dhis reev of whitsh Ii tel'e,
 Bisiid' a tuun men kal'en Bal-deswel'e. 620
 Tuk'ed -e was, as is a freer, abuut'e,
 And eer -e rood dhe hind'rest of dhe ruut'e.

29. Dhe Sum'nuur.

A Sum'nuur was dher with us in dhat plaas'e,
 Dhat had a fir'reed tsheer-rubiin'es faas'e, 624
 For sau'seflem -e was, with aikh'en nar'we.
 As hoot -e was and letsh'erus, as a spar'we,
 With skal'ed broou'es blaak, and pil'ed berd;
 Of his visaa'dzhe tshil'dren weer aferd'. 628
 Dher n- -as kwik'sil'ver, lii'tardzh', or brim'stoon';
 Boraas', seryys'e, ne uil of tart'er noon,
 Ne uin'ement dhat wold'e klenz and biit'e,
 Dhat him mikht help'en of -is whelkes whiit'e, 632
 Nor of dhe knob'es sit'iq' on -is tsheek'es.
 Weel luvd -e gar'leek', un'juunz', and eek leek'es,

nour Ha., somonour E. He.,
 somynour Co. L. See Temp.
 Pref. to the Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer,
 p. 100, under *citator*.

625 sawceflem, from *salsum*
phlegma, Tyrwhitt's Glossary.

629 or Co. P. L.; this is more
 rhythmical than ne Ha. E. He. Ca.,
 which would introduce a very inhar-
 monious trissyllabic measure.

634 oynons Ha. E. He. Co.,
 onyons L., onyounnys Ca.,
 oynyouns P. The pronunciation
 (un'juunz) is, of course, quite con-
 jectural, and moulded on the modern
 sound, though the more common
 oynons might lead to (uin'unz),
 which seems hardly probable. Com-
 pare the modern vulgar (iq'unz) and
 note on v. 465.

- And for to drinke strong wyn reed as blood.
 Than wold' he spek' and *cry'* as he wer' wood. 636
 And whan that he weel dronken hadd' the wyn,
 Than wold' he speke no word but Latyn.
 A fewe *termes* hadd' he, two or thre,
 That he hadd' lerned out of som *decree* ; 640
 No wonder is, he herd' it all the day ;
 And eek ye knowe weel, how that a *jay*
 Can clepe Wat, as weel as can the pope.
 But whoso coud' in other thing' him grope, 644
 Than hadd' he spent al his *philosophye*,
 Ay, *QUESTIO QUID JURIS?* wold' he *crye*.
 He was a *gentel harlot*, and a kinde ;
 iii A bett're felawe schulde men not finde. 648
 He wolde *suffer* for a *quart* of wyne
 iii A good felawe to haan his *concubyne*
 A twelvemoon'th, and *excus'* him atte fulle.
 And *prively* a finch eek coud' he pulle. 652
 And if he fond oowheer a good felawe,
 He wolde techen him to haan noon awe
 In swich *caas* of the archedek'nes curs,
 But if a mannes sowl wer' in his purs ; 656
 For in his purs he schuld' *ypunisch'd* be.
 Purs' is the archedek'nes hel, seyde he.
 But weel I woot he lyeth right in dede ;
 Of cursing' owght eech gilty man to drede ; 660
 For curs wol sle right as *assoyling saveth* ;
 iii And also war' him of a *SIGNIFICAVIT*.
 In *dawnger'* hadd' he at his owne *gyse*
 The yonge girles of the *dyocyse*, 664
 And knew her' *counseyl*, and was al her' reed.
 A *garland* hadd' he set upon his heed,
 As greet as it wer' for an alestake ;
 A *boucleer* hadd' he maad him of a cake. 668

30. THE PARDONEER.

With him ther rood a *gentel Pardoneer*
 Of *Rouncival*, his freend and his *compeer*,
 That *streyt* was comen from the *court* of Rome.
 Ful loud' he sang, Com hider, love, to me ! 672

648 not, the six MSS., now her
 Ha. felawe, compare v. 395, 650,
 and 653. Hence it seems best to leave
 felawe in 648, although felaw fre-
 quently occurs, see *supra* p. 383, col. 2.

655 such a *caas* Ha. only.
 656 purs, see *supra* p. 367, art.
 91, col. 1, l. 13, it is spelled without
 an *e* in all MSS. but L.

657 *ypunisch'd*; *ypunysshed*
 E. He., *punyssched* Ha. Co., *pun-*
yschede L., *ponyschid* Ca.,
punshed P. The two last readings,
 in connection with the modern pro-
 nunciation (*pən'isht*), lead me to adopt
 (*ipun'isht*) for the old pronunciation,
 notwithstanding the French origin of
 the word. Compare note on v. 184.

And for to driqk'e stroq wiin reed as blood.
 Dhan wold -e speek and krii as hee weer wood. 636
 And whan dhat hee weel druqk'en had dhe wiin,
 Dhan wold -e speek'e noo word but Latiiin.
 A feu'e term'es had -e, twoo or three,
 Dhat hee -ad lern'ed nut of sum dekree'; 640
 Noo wund'er is, -e herd it al dhe dai;
 And eek je knoou'e weel, huu dhat a dzhai
 Kan klep'e Wat, as weel as kan dhe poop'e.
 But whoo'soo' kuud in udher thi'q -im groop'e, 644
 Dhan had -e spent al -is fii'loo'soo'fii'e,
 Ai, Kw est'ioo kwid dzhyr'is? wold -e krii'e.
 He was a dzhen't'l har'lut, and a kind'e;
 A bet're felau'e shuld'e men not find'e. 648
 He wold'e sufer for a kwart of wiin'e
 A good felau'e to haan -is kon'kyybin'e
 A twelv'moonth, and ekskyyz' -im at'e ful'e.
 And priv'eli'i a fintsh eek kuud -e pul'e. 652
 And if -e fund oowheer a good felau'e,
 He wold'e teetsh -im for to haan noon au'e
 In switsh kaas of dhe artsh'edeek'nes kurs,
 But if a man'es sooul weer in -is purs; 656
 For in -is purs -e shuld ipun'isht bee.
 Purs is dhe artsh'edeek'nes hel, said hee.
 But weel Ii woot -e lii'eth rikht in deed'e;
 Of kurs'iq ouk'wht eetsh gilt'ii man to dreed'e; 660
 For kurs wol slee rikht as asuil'iq saav'eth;
 And al'soo waar -im of a signifikaav'ith.
 In daun'dzheer had -e at -is ooun'e giis'e
 Dhe ju'q'e girl'es of dhe di'osiis'e, 664
 And kneu -er kuun'sail, and was al -er reed;
 A gar'land had -e set upon -is heed,
 As greet as it wer for an aa'lestaak'e;
 A buk'leer had -e maad -im of a kaak'e. 668

30. Dhe Pardoneer.

With him dher rood a dzhen't'l Par'doneer
 Of Ruun'sival, his freend and his kom'peer,
 Dhat strait was kum'en from dhe kuurt of Room'e.
 Ful luud -e saq, Kum hid'er, luv'e, too me!

658 sey'd', so all six MSS., quoth Ha.

662 see suprà p. 259.

663 gyse, so all six MSS., assise Ha.

672 to me. To the similar rhymes on p. 318, add:

As help me God, it wol not be, com,
ba me!

I love another, and elles were I to blame, 3709.

On p. 254, n. 3. I marked the usual reading *compame* as doubtful, and gave the readings of several MSS. The result of a more extended comparison is as follows: *compame* Lans. 851, Harl. 1758, Reg. 18. C. ii, Sloane 1685 and 1686, Univ. Cam. Dd. 4, 24,

- This *somnour* baar to him a stif *burdoun*,
 Was never *tromp'* of half so greet a *soun*.
 This *pardoneer* hadd' heer as yelw' as wex,
 But smooth' it heng, as dooth a stryk' of flex, 676
 By *ounces* heng' his lockes that he hadde,
 And theerwith he his schuld'res overspradde,
 Ful thinn' it lay, by *colpoun's* oon and oon,
 And hood, for *jolite*, ne wer'd' he noon, 680
 For it was *trussed* up in his walet.
 Him thowght' he rood al of the newe *get*,
Dischevel', *sawf* his capp', he rood al bare.
 Swich glaring' eyghen hadd' he as an hare. 684
 A *vernik'l* hadd' he sowed on his cappe.
 His walet lay bifoorn him in his lappe,
 Brerdful of *pardoun* com' of Rom' al hoot.
 A *voys* he hadd' as smaal as eny goot. 688
 No berd n' hadd' he, ne never schold' he have,
 As smooth' it was as it wer' laat' yschave ;
 I trow' he weer' a gelding or a mare.
 But of his craft, fro Berwick unto Ware, 692
 Ne was ther swich another *pardoneer* :
 For in his *maal'* he hadd' a pilwebeer,
 Which that, he seyde, was our' lady *veyl'* :
 He seyde' he hadd' a *gobet* of the seyl 696
 aī That *saynt* Peter hadd', whan that he wente
 Upon the se, til Jhesu Crist him hente.
 He hadd' a cros of *latoun* ful of stones,
 And in a glass' he hadde pigges bones. 700
 But with thys' *relyques*, whan that he fond
 A *pore persoun* dwelling' upon lond',
 Upon a day he gat him mor' *moneye*
 Than that the *persoun* gat in mon'thes tweye. 704
 And thus with *feyned flatery'* and japes,
 iii He made the *persoun* and the *pep'l* his apes.
 But trewely to tellen atte laste,
 He was in chirch' a *nob'l ecclesiaste*. 708

and Mm. 2, 5, Bodl. 686, Christ Church, Oxford, MS. C. 6, Petworth, —*cupame*, Univ. Cam. Gg. 4, 27—*com pame* Harl. 7334, Reg. 17, D. xv, Corpus,—*come pame*, Oxf. Barl. 20, and Laud 600—*com pa me*, Hengwrt —*combame*, Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 3, 15, Oxf. Arch. Seld. B. 14, New College, Oxford, MS., No. 314, —*come bame* Harl. 7335, Univ. Cam. Ii. 3, 26, Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 33, Rawl. MS. Poet. 141, —*cum bame*, Bodl. 414. —*bame* Oxf. Hatton 1,—*come ba me*, Rawl. Misc. 1133 and Laud 739. The verb

ba occurs, in :

Come ner, my spouse, let me *ba* thy cheke, 6015,
 and the substantive *ba* in Skelton (Dyce's ed. i. 22), where a drunken lover lays his head in his mistress' lap and sleeps, while
 With *ba*, *ba*, *ba*, and *bas*, *bas*, *bas*,
 She cheryshed hym both cheke and chyn.
 To *ba* basiare (Catullus 7 & 8) was distinct from to *kiss*, *osculari*, compare :
 Thanne kisseth me, syn it may be no bett. 3716.

Dhis sum-nuur baar to him a stif burduun,	673
Was never trump of half so greet a suun.	
Dhis pardoneer had heer as jel-w- as weks,	
But smooth it heq, as dooth a strik of fleks ;	676
Bii uns-es heq -is lok-es dhat -e had-e,	
And dheer-with hee -is shuld-res oversprad-e,	
Ful thin it lai bii kul-puunz oon and oon,	
And hood, for dzhol-itee, ne weerd -e noon,	680
For it was trus-ed up in his wal-et.	
Him thoukwht -e rood al of dhe neu-e dzheth,	
Dishev-el, sauf -is kap, -e rood al baar-e.	
Switsh glaa-riq aikhen had -e as an haar-e.	684
A ver-nikl- -ad -e soored on -is kap-e.	
His wal-et lai bifoorn -im on -is lap-e,	
Brerd-ful of par-duun kum of Room al hoot.	
A vuis -e had as smaal as en-ii goot.	688
Noo berd n- -ad hee, ne never shuld -e haav-e,	
As smooth it was as it wer laat ishaav-e,	
Ii troou -e weer a geld-ig or a maa-re.	
But of -is kraft, fro Ber-wik un-to Waare,	692
Ne was ther switsh anudher pardoneer.	
For in -is maal -e had a pil-webeer,	
Whitsh dhat, -e said-e, was uur laa'dii vail :	
He said, -e had a gob-et of dhe sail	696
Dhat saa-int Pee-ter had, whan dhat -e wente	
Upon dhe see, til Dzhee-syy Krist -im hent-e.	
He had a kros of laa-tuun ful of stoon-es,	
And in a glas -e had-e pig-es boon-es.	700
But with dhiiz rel-ikes, whan dhat -e fond	
A poo-re per-suun dwel-ig up-on lond,	
Up-on a dai -e gat -im moor munaie	
Dhan dhat dhe per-suun gat in moon-thes twai-e.	704
And dhus with fain-ed flaterii and dzhaap-es,	
He maad-e dhe per-suun and dhe pee-pl- -is aap-es.	
But treu-elii to tel-en at-e last-e,	
He was in tshirtsh a noo-bl- eklee-siast-e.	708

Com ba me! was probably the name of a song, like that in v. 672, or the modern "Kiss me quick, and go, my love." It is also probable that Absolon's speech contained allusions to it, and that it was very well known at the time.

677 ounces, so all six MSS., unces Ha., which probably meant the same thing, *suprà* p. 304, and not inches.

679 colpoun's, I have adopted a systematic spelling, *culpons* Ha. P., *colpons* E. He., *culpones*

L., *culpounnys* Ca., *colpouns* ? Co., modern French *coupons*.

687 *brerdful*, the MSS. have all an unintelligible *bret ful* or *bretful*, probably a corruption by the scribes of Orrmin's *brerdful* = *brimful*; *breird*, *brerd* are found in Scotch, see Jamieson.

697 So all the MSS. Either *saynt* is a dissyllable, see note to v. 120, or the line has a defective first measure, to which the extremely unaccented nature of that is opposed.

- + Weel coud' he reed' a *lessoun* or a *storie*,
 + But altherbest he sang an *offertorie* ;
 For weel he wiste, whan that song was songe,
 He moste *prech'*, and weel *affyl'* his tonge, 712
 To winne silver, as he right weel coude ;
 Theerfoor' he sang so mery' and so loude.

CHAWCERES PREYER.

- Nou hav' I toold you schortly in a *clawse*
 Th' *estaat*, th' *array*, the *nomb'*, and eek the *cawse* 716
 Why that *assembled* was this *companye*
 In Southwerk at this *gentel hostelrye*,
 That hight the *Tabbard*, faste by the Belle.
 But nou is tyme to you for to telle 720
 Hou that we baren us, that ilke night,
 Whan we wer' in that *hostelry'* alight ;
 And after wol I tell' of our' *vyage*,
 And al the *rem'naunt* of our' *pilgrimage*. 724
 But first I *prey'* you of your' *curteysye*
 That ye ne rett' it nat my *vilaynye*
 Thowgh that I *playnly* spek' in this *matere*,
 To tellen you her' wordes and her' *chere* ; 728
 Ne thowgh I spek' her' wordes *properly*.
 For this ye knowen al so weel as I,
 Whoso schal tell' a taal' after a man',
 He moost' *rehers'*, as neygh as e'er he can, 732
 — Ev'ry word, if it be in his *charge*,
 Al spek' he ne'er so *rudely* or *large* :
 Or elles he moot tell' his taal' untrewre,
 Or *feyne* thing, or find' his wordes newe. 736
 He may not spare, thowgh he wer' his brother ;
 He moost' as weel sey oo word as another.
 Crist spaak himself ful brood' in holy writ,
 And weel ye woot no *vilayny'* is it. 740
 Eek' PLATO seyth, whoso that can him rede,
 The wordes moot be *cosin* to the dede.
 Also I *prey'* you to foryeev' it me,
 Al haav' I not set folk in her' *degre* 744
 Her' in this taal' as that they schulde stonde ;
 My wit is schort, ye may weel understonde.

711 weel he wiste, so all the six MSS., wel wyst he Ha.

714 so merily P., ful meriely Ha. so meriely Co., the murierly E., the murerly He., the meryerely Ca., so merely L., the regular form would be merie, as in loude, which

follows; compare *thude*, *murie* in the Cuckoo Song, *suprà* p. 427. Hence the above conjectural reading.

727 I playnly spek', so all the six MSS., I speke al pleyn Ha.

733 ev'ry word Ha., eueriche word P., the other MSS. insert *a*,

Weel kuud -e reed a les'uun or a stoorie,
 But al'dherbest -e saq an ofertoorie;
 For weel -e wist'e, whan dhat soq was suq'e,
 He moost'e preetsh, and weel afiil' -is tuq'e, 712
 To win'e sil'ver, as -e rikht weel kuud'e;
 Dheer'foor' -e saq soo mer'i and soo luud'e.

Tshau'seer'es Praie'er.

Nuu naav *Ii* toold ju short'lii in a klauz'e
 Dh- estaat; dh- arai; dhe num'br-, and eek dhe kauz'e 716
 Whii dhat asem'bled was dhis kumpanii'e
 In Suuth'werk at dhis dzhen't'l ostelrii'e,
 Dhat rikht dhe Tab'ard', fast'e bii dhe Bel'e.
 But nuu is tii'me too ju for to tel'e 720
 Huu dhat we baar'en us dhat ilk'e nikht,
 Whan wee wer in dhat ostelrii' alikht;
 And aft'er wol *Ii* tel of uur vii'aadzhe,
 And al dhe rem'naunt' of uur pil'grimaadzhe. 724
 But first *Ii* prai juu of juur kur'taisii'e
 Dhat jee ne ret it nat mii' vii'lai'ni'e,
 Dhooukwh dhat *Ii* plain'lii speek in dhis mateere.
 To tel'e juu -er word'es and -er tsheere; 728
 Ne dhooukwh *Ii* speek -er word'es properlii.
 For dhis je knoou'en al so weel as *Ii*,
 Whoo'soo shal tel a taal aft'er a man,
 He moost reners', as naikh as eer -e kan, 732
 Ev'rii word, if it bee in -is tshardzhe,
 Al speek -e neer so ryyd'elii' or lardzhe;
 Or el'es hee moot tel -is taal untreu'e,
 Or fain'e thiq, or find -is word'es neure. 736
 He mai not spaar'e, dhooukwh -e wer -is broodh'er;
 He moost as weel sai oo word as anoodh'er.
 Krist spaak -imsel' ful brood in hoo'li rwit,
 And weel je woot noo vii'lai'ni' is it. 740
 Eek Plaa'too saith, whoosoo dhat kan -im reed'e,
 Dhe word'es moot be kuz'in too dhe deed'e.
 Alsoo' *Ii* prai juu to forreev' it mee,
 Al naav *Ii* not set folk in her degree' 744
 Heer in dhis taal, as dhat dhai shuld'e stond'e;
 Mii' wit is short, je mai weel un'derstood'e.

as euerich a word E., apparently to avoid a defective first measure.

738 another. I have throughout pronounced *other* as (udh'er), because of the alternative orthography *outher*, *suprà* p. 267. This rhyme, however, shews that there must have also been a sound (oodh'er), which is historically

more correct. Orrmin writes *operr* for the adjective, and both *operr* and *oppr* for the conjunction. That distinction has been carried out in the pronunciation of the Proclamation of Henry III., *suprà* pp. 501-3-5.

744 not set folk, so all the six MSS., folk nat set Ha.

THE HOOSTE AND HIS MERTH.

- Greet *chere* maad' our' *hoost'* us ev'rychoon,
 And to the *soupeer* sett' he us anoon; 748
 And *served* us with *vytayl'* atte beste.
 Strong was the wyn, and weel to drink' us leste.
 A seem'ly man our' *hooste* was withalle
 For to haan been a *marschal* in an halle; 752
 A *large* man was he with eyghen stepe,
 A fair're *burgeys* is ther noon in Chepe :
 Boold of his spech', and wys, and weel ytaught,
 And of manhode lacked' him right nawght. 756
- iii Eek theerto he was right a merye man,
 And after *soupeer* pleyen he bigan,
 And spaak of merth' amanges other thinges,
 Whan that we hadde maad our' rekeninges; 760
 And seyde thus : Lo, lording's, trewely,
 Ye been to me weelcomen hertely,
 For by my trouth', if that I schul not lye,
- vi iii I ne sawgh not this yeer so mery a *companye* 764
 At ones in this herbergh, as is nou.
 Fayn wold I do you merthe, wist' I hou,
 And of a merth' I am right nou bithowght,
 To doon you *ees'*, and it schal *coste* nowght. 768
 Ye goon to Cawnterbery : God you spede,
 The blisful martyr *quyte* you your' mede!
 And weel I woot, as ye goon by the weye,
 Ye schapen you to talken and to pleye; 772
 For trewely *comfort* ne merth is noon
 To ryde by the weye domb' as stoon;
 And theerfoor' wol I make you *dispoort*,
 As I seyde' erst, and do you som *comfort*. 776
- iii And if you lyketh alle by oon *assent*
 — For to standen at my *juggement*;
 And for to werken as I schal you seye,
 To morwe, whan ye ryden by the weye, 780
 Nou by my fader sowle that is deed,
- iii But ye be merye, smyteth of myn heed.
 Hoold up your hond withoute more speche.
 Our' *counseyl* was not longe for to seche; 784
 Us thowght' it n'as not worth to maak' it wys,
 And *grawnted* him withoute mor' *avys*,
 And bad him sey' his verdyt', as him leste.
 Lording's, quoth he, nou herk'neth for the beste, 788

756 lacked' him, this is conjectural; lakkede he Ha., him lackede the six MSS. variously spelled, in which case the final *e* must be pronounced, which is so unusual that I have preferred adopting the order of Ha. and the construction of the other MSS.

759 amanges E. He. Co.
 764 I ne sawgh not, this is a composite reading; I ne saugh Ha., I sawgh not the other MSS. variously spelled. The Ha. has therefore a trissyllabic first measure, which is unusual and doubtful; to write both *ne* and *not* introduces an Alexandrine.

Dhe Oost and his Merth.

Greet tsheer'e maad uur Oost us ev'riitshoon,
 And too dhe suup'eer set -e us anoon; 748
 And serv'eth us with vii'tail at'e best'e.
 Strok was dhe win, and weel to driqk us lest'e.
 A seem'lii man uur oost'e was withal'e
 For to haan been a mar'shal in an hal'e; 752
 A lar'dzhe man was hee with aikh'en steep'e
 A fair're bur'dzhais is ther noon in Tsheep'e:
 Boold of -is speetsh, and wiis, and weel itaukwht,
 And of man hood'e lak'ed him rikht naukwht. 756
 Eek dheer'too hee was rikht a mer'ie man,
 And aft'er suup'eer plai'en hee bigan,
 And spaak of merth amuq'es udh'er thiq'es,
 Whan dhat we had'e maad uur rek'eniq'es; 760
 And said'e dhus: Loo, lord'iqz, treu'eli,
 Je been to mee weel kum'en her'teli,
 For bii mii truuth, if dhat Ii shul not li'e,
 Ii nee saukwh not dhis jeer so mer'i a kumpani'e 764
 At oon'es in dhis her'berkh, as is nuu.
 Fain wold Ii duu ju merth'e, wist Ii nuu,
 And of a merth Ii am rikht nuu bihoukwht,
 To doon juu ees, and it shal kost'e noukwht. 768
 Je goon to Kaunt'erber'ii: God juu speed'e,
 Dhe blis'ful martiir kwiit'e juu juur meed'e!
 And weel Ii woot, as jee goon bii dhe waie,
 Je shaap'en juu to talk'en and to plai'e; 772
 For treu'eli kumfort ne merth is noon
 To riid'e bii dhe waie dumb as stoon;
 And dheer'foor wold Ii maak'e juu dispoort,
 As Ii said erst, and doo ju sum kumfort. 776
 And if ju liik'eth al'e bii oon asent
 For to stand'en at mii dzhyydzhe'ment;
 And for to werk'en as Ii shal ju saie,
 To mor'we, whan je riid'en bii dhe waie, 780
 Nuu bii mii faad'er sooul'e, dhat is deed,
 But jee be mer'ie, smit'eth of miin heed.
 Hoold up juur hond withuut'e moor'e speetsh'e.
 Uur kuun'sail was not loq'e for to seetsh'e; 784
 Us thoukwht it n- -as not worth to maak it wiis,
 And graunt'ed him withuut'e moor' aviis,
 And bad -im sai -is ver'diit as -im leste.
 Lor'diqz, kwoth hee, nuu herk'neth for dhe best'e, 788

We might read the Ha. I ne sawgh
 this yeer, as an Alexandrine with
 a defective first measure. Perhaps I
 is a mistake, and ne sawgh this
 yeer, or this yeer sawgh not,
 may be correct, but there is no autho-
 rity for it. Tyrwhitt reads: I saw not

this yere swiche a compaignie, which
 is probably conjectural. See p. 649.

782 smyteth of myn heed
 Ha., I wol yeve you myn heed
 E. He. Co. P. and Sloane MS. 1685,
 variously spelled, I jeue þowe
 Mine hede L. But if ye E.

- But taak'th it not, I *prey*' you, in *disdeyn*,
 This is the *пойнт*, to speken schort and *playn*;
 That eech of you to schorte with your' weye,
 iii In this *vyage* schal telle tales tweye, 792
 To Cawnterbery-ward, I meen' it so,
 And hoomward he schal tellen other two,
 Of *aventur*'s that whylom haan bifalle.
 And which of you that beer'th him best of alle, 796
 That is to seyn, that telleth in this *caas*
 Tales of best *sentenc*' and moost *solaas*,
 Schal han a *soupeer* at your' alther *cost*
 Heer' in this *place*, sitting' by this *post*, 800
 Whan that we com' ageyn from Cawnterbery.
 And for to make you the more mery,
 I wol myselven gladly with you ryde,
 Right at myn ow'ne *cost*, and be your' *gyde*. 804
 And whoso wol my *juggement* withseye
 iii Schal *paye* for al we spenden by the weye.
 And if ye *vouchesawf* that it be so,
 Tel me anoon, withouten wordes mo, 808
 And I wol erly schape me theerfore.
 This thing was *grawnted*, and our' othes swore
 With ful glad hert', and *prey*'den him also
 He wolde *vouchesawf* for to doon so, 812
 And that he wolde been our' *governour*,
 And of our' tales *jug*' and *reportour*,
 And sett' a *soupeer* at a *certayn prys*;
 We wolde *reuled* be at his *devys* 816
 In hegh and low', and thus by oon *assent*
 We been *accorded* to his *juggement*.
 And theerupon the wyn was fet anoon;
 We dronken, and to reste went' eech oon, 820
 Withouten eny leng're *taryinge*.

WE RYDEN FORTH.

- A morwe whan the day bigan to springe,
 Up roos our' *hoost*, and was our' alther cok,
 And gader'd us togider in a flok, 824
 And forth we ryd' a lytel moor' than *paas*,
 Unto the watering' of *Saynt Thomas*.
 And theer our' *hoost*' bigan his hors *arest*,
 And seyde, Lordes, herk'neth, if you leste. 828
 Ye woot your' foorward, I it you *recorde*,
 If evesong and morwesong *accorde*,

795 whylom E. He. Co. P. L., and so Tyrwhitt, Sloane MS. 1685, omits the word; of adventures that ther han bifalle Ha, which would refer only to the second stories and imply that they should relate to adventures at Canterbury,

which is unlikely, as they must have all known them; whylom' is suitable for both sets of tales, and a word of that kind is wanted. The Sloane MS. 1685 also spells adventures, see p. 635, note 1. The passage is wanting in Ca.

But taakth it not, *li* prai juu, in disdain,
 Dhis is dhe point, to speek'en short and plain;
 Dhat eetsh of juu to short'e with juur wai'e,
 In dhis vii'aadzh'e shal tel'e taal'es twai'e, 792
 To Kaunt'erber'iiward, *li* meen it soo,
 And hoom'ward hee shal tel'en udh'er twoo,
 Of aa'ventyyrz' dhat whiil'om haan bifal'e.
 And whitsh of juu dhat beerth -im best of al'e, 796
 Dhat is to sain, dhat tel'eth in dhis kaas
 Taal'es of best sentens' and moost soolaas',
 Shal haan a suup'eer' at juur al'dher kost,
 Heer in dhis plaas'e, sit'iq' bi' dhis post, 800
 Whan dhat we kum again' from Kaun'terber'ii.
 And for to maak'e juu dhe moore mer'ii,
li wol miiselv'en glad'lii with juu riid'e,
 Rikht at miin oou'ne kost, and bee juur giid'e. 804
 And whoo-soo wol mi' dzhyydzh'ement withsai'e
 Shal pai'e for al we spend'en bi' dhe wai'e.
 And if je vuutsh'esau'f dhat it be soo,
 Tel me anoon' withuut'en word'es moo, 808
 And *li* wol er'lii shaap'e mee dheerfoore.
 Dhis thi'q was graunt'ed, and uur ooth'es swoor'e
 With ful glad hert, and prai'den him alsoo'.
 He wold'e vuutsh'esau'f for to doon soo, 812
 And dhat -e wold'e been uur guu'vernuur',
 And of uur taal'es dzhyydzh and reportuur',
 And set a suup'eer' at a sertain' priis;
 We wold'e ryy'l'ed bee at his deviis' 816
 In haik'h and loou; and dhus bi' oon asent'.
 We been akord'ed too -is dzhyydzh'ement'.
 And dheer-upon' dhe wiin was fet anoon;
 We druq'ken, and to rest'e went eetsh oon, 820
 Withuut'en en'ii leq're tar'i,iq'e.

We riid'en forth.

A mor'we whan dhe dai bigan' to spriq'e,
 Up roos uur oost, and was uur al'dher kok,
 And gad'erd us togid'er in a flok, 824
 And forth we riid a lii't'l moor dhan paas,
 Untoo' dhe waa'teriq' of Saint Toomaas'.
 And dheer uur oost bigan' -is hors arest'e,
 And said'e, Lord'es, herk'neth, if juu lest'e. 828
 Je woot jur foor'ward, *li* it juu rekord'e,
 If eev'esog and mor'wesog akord'e,

798 moost, so all the six MSS.,
of Ha.

sworne, and if the ellipsis be not
assumed before swore it must at
least occur before prey'den.

810 our' othes swore, Prof.
Child points out an ellipsis of we as
in v. 786, see *suprà* p. 376, art. 111,
Ex. b. The past participle would be

824 in a flok He. P. L., Sloane
MS. 1685, the others have alle in
a flock, with various spellings

- Let see nou who schal telle first a tale.
 As ever' moot I drinke wyn or ale, 832
 Whoso be *rebel* to my *juggement*
 iii Schal *paye* for al that by the wey' is spent.
 Nou draweth cut, eer that we forther twinne;
 And which that hath the schortest schal beginne. 836
Syr' knight, quoth he, my *mayster* and my lord,
 Nou draweth cut, for that is myn *accord*.
 Com'th neer, quoth he, my lady *pryoresse*,
 And ye, *syr'* clerk, lat be your schamfastnesse, 840
 iii Ne *studieth* nat; ley hand to, ev'ry man!
 Anoon to drawen ev'ry wight bigan,
 And schortly for to tellen as it was,
 Wer' it by *aventur'*, or *sort*, or *caas*, 844
 The sooth is this, the cut fil to the knight',
 Of which ful blyth' and glad was ev'ry wight,
 And tell' he moost' his tal' as was *resoun*,
 By foorward and by *composicioun*, 848
 As ye haan herd; what nedeth wordes mo?
 And whan this gode man sawgh it was so,
 As he that wys was and *obedient*
 To kep' his foorward by his fre *assent*, 852
 iii He seyde: Sin I schal biginne the game,
 What! Weelcom be the cut, in Goddes name!
 Nou lat us ryd', and herk'neth what I seye.
 And with that word we ryden forth our' weye; 856
 iii And he bigan with right a merye *chere*
 His tal' anoon, and seyde' in this *manere*.

854 the cut, so all the six MSS.,
 thou cut Ha.

858 So E.; his tale and seide
 right in this manere Ha.;

In correcting the proofs of this text and conjectured pronunciation of Chaucer's Prologue I have had the great advantage of Mr. Henry Nicol's assistance, and to his accuracy of eye and judgment is due a much greater amount of correctness and consistency than could have been expected in so difficult a proof.¹ Owing to suggestions made by Mr. Nicol, I have reconsidered several indications of French origin. One of the most remarkable is Powles v. 509,

¹ Some trifling errors escaped observation till the sheets had been printed off, which the reader will have no difficulty in correcting, such as e, o, i for ee, oo, y, etc. The following are more important. Read in TEXT, v. 15 *specially*, v. 69 *poort'*, v. 123 *entuned*, v. 152 *streyt*, v. 208 *Frere*, v. 260 *pore*, v. 289 *soberly*, v. 365 *fresch*, v. 569 *vytaylor*, v. 570 *tailor*, v. 599 *governing*, v. 601 *age*. Read in the PRONUNCIATION, v. 14 *sundree*, v. 23 *kum*, v. 35 *whilz*, v. 48 *ferre*, v. 53

Abuv'en, v. 66 *Ajain*, v. 71 *al*, v. 72 *dzhent'l*, v. 107 *fedh-res*, v. 144 *sakwih*, v. 181, *Dhis*, v. 210 *kan*, v. 241 *ev'ritsh*, v. 265 *his tuq'e*, v. 284 *men*, v. 292 *world'lii*, v. 334 *bii dhe mor'w-*, v. 414 *grundred*, v. 424 *jaaf*. Read in the FOOTNOTES, on v. 60, l. 3 *nob'l*, on v. 120, l. 1 *saynt*, on v. 120, last line but three, "all the six MSS. except L.", and add at the end of the note "and L. omits also," on v. 247, l. 1 *noon*, on v. 305, l. 1 *He*, on v. 512, l. 1, *foolde*.

Let see nuu whoo shal tel'e first a taal'e.
 As ever moot *li driqk'e wiin* or aal'e, 832
 Whoo-soo' be rebel too *mi dzhydzement*
 Shal pai'e for al dhat *bii dhe wai is* spent.
 Nu drau'eth kut, eer dhat we furdh'er twi'n'e;
 And whitsh dhat hath dhe short'est shal big'n'e. 836
Siir knikht, kwoth hee, mi maist'er and mi lord,
 Nu drau'eth kut, for dhat *is miin akord*.
 Kumth neer, *kwoth hee, mi laa'dii prii'ores'e,*
 And jee, *siir klerk, lat bee jur shaam fastnes'e,* 840
 Nee stud'ie'th nat; lai hand too, *ev'rii man!*
 Anoon' to drau'en *ev'rii wikht bigan*,
 And short
 Wer it *bii aa'ventyyr, or sort, or kaas,* 844
 Dhe sooth *is dhis, dhe kut fil too dhe knikht,*
 Of whitsh ful bliidh and glad was *ev'rii wikht,*
 And tel -e moost -is taal as was ree'suun',
Bii foor'ward and bii kompoosiis'iuun; 848
 As jee haan herd; what need'eth word'es moo?
 And whan *dhis good'e man saukwh it* was soo,
 As hee dhat *wis was and obed'ient*
 To keep -is foor'ward *bii -is free asent,* 852
 He said'e: *Sin li shal big'n'e dhe gaam'e,*
 What! weel-kum' bee dhe kut, *in God'es naam'e!*
 Nu lat us *riid, and herkneth what li sai'e.*
 And with dhat word we *riid'en forth uur wai'e;* 856
 And hee bigan with *rikht a mer'ie tsheer'e*
 His taal anoon', and said *in dhis man'eer'e.*

his tale anoon, and seyde MSS. in various spellings.
 as ye may heere, the other

which seemed to have a French pronunciation, but which ought perhaps to be marked Pow'les, the form Powel appearing in v. 13938, *suprà* p. 266, a direct derivative from Orrmin's Pawell with a long *a*. The alterations thus admitted affect the calculation on p. 651, which was made from the MS. As now printed (making the corrections just mentioned), the numbers are as follows:—

Lines containing no French word . .	286, per cent.	33·3
" only one " " . .	359, "	41·7
" two French words . .	179, "	20·9
" three " " . .	29, "	3·5
" four " " . .	4, "	0·5
" five " " . .	1, "	0·1
Lines in Prologue . .	858	100·0

These numbers are not sensibly different from the former. The number of Trissyllabic measures after correction appears as 76, the numbers in the six classes on p. 648 being respectively 25, 6, 3, 4, 29, 9. The number of lines with defective first measures, p. 649, remains 13, as before. The number of lines with two superfluous syllables, p. 649, is now 8, vv. 709, 710, having been added.

§ 2. *Gower.*

Johan Gower, died, a very old man, between 15 August and 24 October 1408, having been blind since 1400, the year of Chaucer's death. His three principal works are *Speculum Meditantis*, written in French, which is entirely lost; *Vox Clamantis*, in Latin, still preserved; and *Confessio Amantis*, in English, of which there are several fine MSS., and which was printed by Caxton in 1483. In this edition Caxton calls him: "Johan Gower squyer borne in Walys in the tyme of kyng richard the second." The district of Gowerland in S. W. Glamorganshire, between Swansea bay and Burry river, a peninsula, with broken limestone coast, full of caves, and deriving its name from the Welsh *gwyrr* = (guu'yr) oblique, crooked, traditionally claims to be his birth place. Now Gower's own pronunciation of his name results from two couplets, in which it is made to rhyme with *power* and *reposer*. The first passage, according to the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, is

Sche axeþ me what was my name
 Madame I feyde Johan Gower.
 Now Johan quod sche in my power,
 Thou muste as of þi loue ftonde. iii 353¹

The other will be found below, pp. 738-9. The sound was therefore (Guu'eer'), which favours the Welsh theory. The modern form of the name is therefore (Geu'ea), and Gowerland is now called (Gœu'ea-land) in English.

But the correctness of this Welsh derivation has been disputed. Leland had heard that he was of the family of the Gowers of Stitenham in Yorkshire, ancestors of the present Duke of Sutherland. The Duke has politely informed me that the family and traditional pronunciation of his patronymic *Gower* is a dissyllable rhyming to *mower*, *grower*, that is (Goo'ea). Now this sound could not be the descendant of (Guu'eer'), and hence this pronunciation is a presumption against the connection of the two families, strengthening the argument derived from the difference of the coats of arms.²

He was certainly at one time in friendly relations with Chaucer, who, in his *Troilus and Cryseyde*, writes:—

O moral Gower, this boke I directe
 To the, and to the philosophical Strode,
 To vouchensauf, ther nede is, to correcte,
 Of youre benignites and zeles goode. 5-77

And Gower, in some manuscripts, makes Venus send a message to Chaucer, as her disciple and poet, which is printed as an example below, pp. 738-9.

The text of Gower has not yet been printed from the manuscripts,

¹ These references throughout are to Pauli's edition, as explained *supra*, p. 256.

² For other particulars of the life of Gower, derived from legal papers, shewing that he was possessed of land in Kent, see the life prefixed to Pauli's

edition of the *Confessio Amantis*, and Sir Harris Nicolas's Notice of Gower, in the *Retrospective Review*, N. S., vol. ii. No weight is to be attributed to his calling himself *English*, when asking to be excused for faults in French, in a French poem. He would have no

or from any one MS. in particular. Pauli's edition is founded on Berthelette's first edition, 1532, "carefully collated throughout" with the Harl. MSS. 7184 and 3869. Of the first Pauli says: "This volume, on account of its antiquity and its judicious and consistent orthography, has been adopted as the basis for the spelling in this new edition." Pauli says that he has also used Harl. MS. 3490, and the Stafford MS. where it was important, and that his "chief labour consisted in restoring the orthography and in regulating the metre, both of which had been disturbed in innumerable places by Berthelette." As the result is eminently unsatisfactory, it has been thought best, in giving a specimen of Gower, to print the original in precise accordance with some MSS.

The following MSS. of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* are described by Pauli. At Oxford, having the verses to Richard II, and those on Chaucer: MS. Laud. 609, Bodl. 693, Selden, B. 11, Corp. Chr. Coll. 67;—without these verses: MS. Fairfax 3, Hatton 51, Wadham Coll. 13, New Coll. 266;—with the first and without the second, MS. Bodl. 294;—dedicated to Henry of Lancaster, and with verses on Chaucer; MS. New Coll. 326. In the British Museum, Harl. 7184, 3869, 3490. MS. Stafford, in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland. Pauli does not mention the MS. 134, of the Society of Antiquaries.

The MSS. most accessible to me were the four cited *suprà* p. 253. Of these the orthography of Harl. 3869 appeared to me the best, and I have therefore printed it in the first column. In the second column I have given the text of Harl. 7184, which Pauli professes to follow; and in the third the text of the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 134.¹ The fourth column contains the conjectural pronunciation. By this means the diversities of the orthography and the uniformity of the text will be made evident. It is the former in which we are most interested. The passage selected for this purpose is the story of Nebuchadnezzar's punishment, as being unobjectionable in detail, and sufficient in length to give a complete conception of the author's style.

But as the Message from Venus to Chaucer possesses great interest from its subject, I have added a copy of it according to Harl. MS. 3869, from which Pauli states that he has taken the copy printed in his edition. In the second column I have annexed the same text according to the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, and, since the passage does not occur in the other two MSS., in the third column I have added my own systematic orthography, and in the fourth column the conjectured pronunciation. For these two last columns a composite text has been chosen, founded on a comparison of the two MSS.

In all cases the phonetic transcript has been constructed on the same principles as that of Chaucer in the preceding section.

doubt considered himself an Englishman, as he spoke English and was an English subject and landowner, even if he had been born in Wales.

¹ As this MS. makes no distinction

between z ȝ, but writes the guttural with the same z that it uses in Nabugodonozor, I have used z throughout its transcription.

THE PUNISHMENT OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Harl. MS. 3869, folio 49b to 52a.

i 136

Ther was a kinge þat mochel myhte
 Which Nabugadonofor hihte
 Of whom þat .I. spak hier tofore
 ȝit in þe bible his name is bore
 For al þe world in Orient
 Was hol at his comandement
 As þanne of kinges to his liche
 Was non so myhty ne so riche
 To his empire and to his lawes
 As who seiþ al in þilke dawes
 Were obeissant and tribut bere
 As þogh he godd of Erþe were
 Wiþ strengþe he putte kynges vnder
 And wroghte of pride many a wonder
 He was so full of veine gloire
 That he ne hadde no memoire
 That þer was eny good bot he
 For pride of his prosperite
 Til þat þe hihe king of kinges
 Which seiþ and knoweþ alle þinges
 Whos yhe mai noþing asterte
 The priuetees of mannes herte

i 137

Thei speke and sounen in his Ere
 As þogh þei lowde wyndes were
 He tok vengeance vpon þis pride
 Bot for he wolde a while a bide
 To loke if he him wolde amende
 To him aforetokne he fende
 And þat was in his slep be nyhte
 This proude kyng a wonder fyhte
 Hadde in his sweuene þer he lay
 Him þoght vpon a merie day
 As he behield þe world a boutē
 A tree fulgrowe he syh þeroute
 Whiche stod þe world amidde euene
 Whos heihte fraghte vp to þe heuene
 The leues weren faire and large [fol. 50]
 Of fruit it bar so ripe a charge
 That alle men it mihte fede
 He sih also þe bowes spriede
 A boue al Erþe in which were
 The kynde of alle briddes þere
 And eke him þoght he sih also
 The kynde of alle bestes go
 Vnder þis tree a boutē round
 And fedden hem vpon þe ground
 As he þis wonder stod and sih
 Him þoghte he herde a vois on hih
 Criende and seide a bouen alle
 Hew down þis tree and lett it falle
 The leues let defoule in haste
 And do þe fruit destruye and wafte

Harl. MS. 7184, folio 23, a, 1 to 24, a, 2.

i 136

Ther was a king that mochel miȝte
 Which Nabugadonofor highte,
 Of whom that I spak hiere tofore.
 Yit in the bible his name is bore
 For al the world in the orient
 Was holl at his commaundement
 And of kinges to his liche
 Was non so miȝti ne so riche
 To his empire and to his lawes
 As who seiþ all in thilke dawes
 Were obeissant and tribut bere
 As thouȝ he god of erthe were
 With strengthe he put kinges vnder
 And wrouȝt of pride many a wonder,
 He was so full of veingloire,
 That he ne had no memoire,
 That ther was any good but he
 For pride of his prosperite
 Til that the high king of kinges
 Which feth and knoweth alle thinges
 Whoz yhe may no thing asterte
 The priuetees of mannes herte

i 137

To speke and sounen in his here
 As thouȝ thei loude wyndes were
 He toke vengeance vpon this pride
 But for he wolde a while abide
 To loke if he wolde him amende
 To him a fore tokene he fende [fo. 23, a, 2]
 And that was in his slep be nyȝte
 This proude king a wonder fighte
 Hadde in his sweuene ther he lay
 Him thouȝt vpon a mery day
 As he behield the world aboute
 A tree full growe he siȝh theroute
 The which stode the world amidde euene
 Whoz heichte fraught vp to the heuene
 The leues weren faire and large
 Of fruit it bar so ripe a charge
 That alle men it might fede
 He siȝh also the bowes spriede
 Aboutē all erthe in which were
 The kinde of alle briddes there
 And eke him thouȝt he siȝh also
 The kinde of alle bestes go
 Vnder the tre aboutē round
 And fedden hem vpon the ground
 As he this wonder stode and siȝh
 Him thouȝte he herde a vois on high
 Criend and seide abouen alle
 Hew down this tree and let it falle
 The leues let defoule in haste
 And do the fruit deströie and wafte

FROM GOWER'S "CONFESSIO AMANTIS," LIB. 1.

*Society of Antiquaries, MS. 134, folio
56, b, 2 to 58, a 2.*

i 136

There was a kinge þat moche myzte
Whiche Nabugodonozor hyzte
Of whom þat .y. spak here to fore
Zit in þe bible his name is bore
For all þe orient world in orient
Was hool at his comaundement
As þanne of kinges to his liche
Was noun þo myzty ne fo riche
To his empire and to his lawis
As who fayej all in þilke dawis
Were obeyfant and tribute bere
As þouz he god of erþe were
With strengþe he putte kynges vndir
And wrouzte of pride many awondir
He was so full of vayne glorye
That he ne hadde no memorye
That þer was eny god but he
For pride of his prosperite.
Till þat þe hyze kinge of kinges
Whiche seþ and knowej all þinges
Whos ye may no þynge asterte
The priuete of mannis herte

i 137

They speke and fownen in his ere
As þouz þey loude wyndis were
He tok veniaunce vp on þis pride
But for he wole awhile abyde
To loke yf he him wolde amende
To him a fore token he fende
And þat was in his slepe benyzte
This proude kyng a wondir syzte
Hadde in his sweuen þer he lay [fo. 57,
Him þouzte vp on a mery day a, 1]
As he behelde þe world aboute
A tre full growe he syze þeroute
Whiche stod þe world amidis euene
Whos heyzte strauzte vp to þe heuene
The leuis weren fayre and large
Of frute it bare so ripe a charge
That all men it myzte p' fede
He syze also þe bowis sprede
About all erþe in whiche were
The kynde of all briddis þere
And eek him þouzte he syze also
þe kynde of all bestis goo
Vndir þis tre aboute rounde
And fedden hem vp on þe grounde
As he þis wondir stod and syze
Him þouzte he herde auoys on hyze
Criende and feyde abouten alle
Hew down þis tre and lete it falle
The leuis let do foule in haste
And to þe frute destrui and waste

Conjectured Pronunciation.

i 136

Dher was a kīg dhat mutsh'el mikh'te,
Whitsh Naa'buu'goo'doo'nooz'or hikh'te,
Of whom dhat *li* spaak heer tofoore.
Jet in dhe Bib'l- -is naam is boor'e,
For al dhe world in Oo-rient
Was hool at his komaund'ement.
As dhan of ki'qes too -is liitsh'e
Was noon soo mikh't'i nee soo ritsh'e;
To his empir' and too -is laues,
As whoo saith, al in dhalk'e daues
Wer oo'baisaunt; and trii'byyt beer'e,
As dhooukwh -e God of Erth'e weere.
With strenght -e put'e ki'q'es under,
And wroukht of prii'de man'i a wun'der.
He was so ful of vain'e gloorie
Dhat hee ne had'e noo memoor'ie
Dhat dher was en'i God but hee,
For priid of his prosperitee.
Til dhat dhe hikh'e Kīq of ki'qes,
Whitsh saith and knoo'eth al'e thi'q'es,
Whoos i'e mai noo' thi'q' asterte,—
Dhe prii'veteez' of man'es herte,

i 137

Dhai speek and suun'en in -is eer'e,
As dhooukwh dhai laud'e wind'es weere—
Hee took vendzhauns' upon dhis prii'de.
But, for -e wold a whil abiid'e
To look if hee -im wold amende,
To him a fooretokn- -e send'e,
And dhat was, in -is sleep bi' nikh'te,
Dhis pruu'de kīq a wun'der sikh'te
Had, in -is sweev'ne dheer -e lai.
Him thoukwt upon a mer'i dai,
As hee beneeld' dhe world abaut'e,
A tree fulgroot' -e sikh dheerut'e
Whitsh stood dhe world amid'es eev'ne,
Whoos hikh'te straukwt up too dhe heev'ne
Dhe leev'es weeren fair and lardzh'e,
Of fryyt it baar soo riip a tshardzh'e
Dhat al'e men it mikh'te feed'e.
He sikh al'soo' dhe boou'es spreed'e
Abuv' al erth, in whitsh'e weere
Dhe kind of al'e brid'es dheere.
And eek -im thoukwt -e sikh al'soo'
Dhe kind of al'e beest'es goo
Under dhis tree abaut'e round'
And feed'en hem upon dhe grund.
As hee dhis wun'der stood and sikh,
Him thoukwt -e herd a vuīs on hikh
Crii'end, and said abuv'en al'e:
"Hen duun dhis tree, and let it fal'e!
"Dhe leev'es let defuul' in haste,
"And doo dhe fryyt destrui and wast'e!

Harl. MS. 3869.

i 138

And let of schreden euery branche
 Bot a Rote let it staunche
 Whan al his Pride is cast to grounde
 The rote schal be faste bounde
 And schal no mannes herte bere
 Bot euery lust he schal forbere
 Of man. and lich an Oxe his mete
 Of gras he schal pourchache and ete
 Til pat þe water of þe heuene
 Haue waiffen him be times feueene
 So pat he be þurgknowe ariht
 What is þe heueneliche myht
 And be mad humble to þe wille
 Of him which al mai faue and spille
 This kyng out of his sweine abreide

And he vpon þe morwe it feide
 Vnto þe clerkes which he hadde
 Bot non of hem þe soþe aradde
 Was non his sweuene cowþe vndo
 And it stod þilke time so
 This kyng hadde in subieccion
 Jude. and of affeccion
 A boue alle opre on Daniel
 He loueþ. for he cowþe wel
 Diuine þat non oper cowþe
 To him were alle þinges cowþe
 As he it hadde of goddes grace
 He was before þe kinges face
 Afent. and bode þat he scholde
 Vpon þe point þe king of tolde

i 139

The fortune of his sweuene expounde
 As it scholde afterward be founde
 Whanne Daniel þis sweuene herde [fo.
 He stod long time er he answerde 50b]
 And made a wonder heuy chiere
 The king tok hiede of his manere
 And bad him telle þat he wiste
 As he to whom. he mochel trifte
 And feide he wolde noght be wroþ
 Bot Daniel was wonder loþ
 And feide vpon þi fomen alle
 Sire king þi sweuene mote falle
 And napeles. touchende of this
 I wol þe tellen how it is
 And what defese is to þee schape
 God wot if þou it schalt ascape
 The hihe tre which þou haft sein
 Wiþ lef and fruit so wel befein
 The which stod in þe world amiddes
 So pat þe bestes and þe briddes
 Gouerned were of him al one :
 Sire king betokneþ þi persone
 Which stant a boue all erþli þinges
 Thus regnen vnder þe þe kinges
 And al þe poeple vnto þe louteth
 And al þe world þi pouer doubteth

Harl. MS. 7184.

i 138

And let of schreden eueri braunche
 But ate roote let it staunche
 Whan all his pride is cast to grounde
 The roote shall be fast bounde
 And shall no mannes hert bere
 But eueri lust he shall forbere
 Of man and lich an hoxe his mete
 Of gras he shall purchace and ete
 Til that the water of the heuene
 Haue waffhen him be tymes feueene
 So that he throuȝ knowe ariht
 What is the heuenlich might
 And be mad humble to the wille
 Of him which al may faue and spille
 This king out of his sweuene abreide

And he vpon the morwe it feide
 Vnto the clerkes which he hadde
 But non of hem the soth aradde
 Was non his sweuene couthe vndo
 And it stode þilke time soo
 This king had in subieccion
 Judee. and of affeccion
 Aboue al othir oon Daniell
 He loueth. for he couthe well
 Diuine that non othir couthe [fo. 23, b,
 To him were all thinges couthe 1]
 As he it hadde of goddes grace
 He was before the kinges face
 Afent and bode that he shulde
 Vpon the point the king of tolde

i 139

The fortune of his sweuene expounde
 As it shuld afterward be founde
 Whan Daniel this sweuene herde
 He stod long tyme or he answerde
 And made a wonder heuy chiere
 The king took hiede of his manere
 And bad him telle that he wiste
 As he to whom that mochel trifte
 And feid he wolde nouȝt be wroth
 But Daniel was wonder loth
 And feide vpon thi fomen alle
 Sir king thi sweuene mot falle
 And natheles touchend of this
 I wol the tellen hou it is
 And what defese is to the shape
 God wot if thou it shall escape
 The high tree which thou haft sein
 With lef and fruit so wel befein
 The which stood in the world amiddes
 So that the bestes and the briddes
 Gouerned were of him alone
 Sir king betokeneth thi persone
 Which stant aboue all ertheli thinges
 Thus reignen vnder the kinges
 And all the people vnto the louteth
 And all the world thi power doubteth

Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

i 138

And lett of schreden euery branche
 But at rote lete it staunche.
 Whan all þis pride is caste to grounde
 The rote schall be faste bounde
 And schall no mannis herte bere.
 But euery luste he schall forbere
 Of man and liche an oxe his mete
 Of gras he schall purchase and ete
 Till þat þe water of þe heuen
 Hauē waschen him be timis seuen.
 So þat hee þurgh knowe aryzte
 What is þe heuen liche myzte.
 And he made vmbles to þe wille.
 Of him whiche all may saue and spille.
 This kyngē oute of his sweuen
 abreyde.

And hee vp on þe morow it seyde
 Vn to þe clerkes whiche he hadde
 But none of hem þe soþe aradde.
 Was nonn his sweuen couþe vndoo.
 And it stood þilke tyme soo [fo. 57, a, 2]
 This kyngē hadde in subiecioun
 Jude and of affeccioun
 Aboue alle oþer onn daniell
 He loueþ for he couþe well
 Diuise þat nonn oþer couþe
 To him were all þinges couþe
 As he hadde of goddis grace
 He was tofore þe kyngis face
 Asent and bode þat he schulde
 Vp on þe poynte þe kyngē of tolde

i 139

The fortune of his sweuen expoude
 As it schulde aftirwarde be founde
 Whan daniell þis sweuen herde
 He stood longe tyme er he anwerde
 And made a wondir heuy chere
 Þe kyngē tok hede of his manere
 And bad him telle þat he wiste.
 And he to whom he mochel trifte
 And seyde he wolde nouzt be wroþ
 But daniel was wondir loþ
 And seyde vp on þy fomen alle
 Sere kyngē þy sweuen mot falle
 And napeles touchende of þis
 I wol þe tellen how it is
 And what defese is to þe schape
 God wot yf .þou. it schall afschape
 The hyze tre which .þou. hast feyne
 With leef and frute fo wel befeyne
 The whiche stod in þe world amidde
 So þat þe bestis and þe briddis
 Gouernid were of him allone
 Sere kyngē bitokeneþ þy persone
 Whiche stante aboue all erþely þynges
 Thus regnen vndir þe þe kynges
 And of þe peple vn to þe loutēþ
 And all þe world þy power douteþ

Conjectured Pronunciation.

i 138

"And let of shreed-en ev'rii brauntsh'e,
 "But at'e root'e let it stauntsh'e.
 "Whan al -is priid is kast to grund'e,
 "Dhe root'e shal be fast'e bund'e.
 "He shal noo man'es herte beere,
 "But ev'rii lust -e shal forbee're
 "Of man, and liitsh an oks -is meet'e
 "Of gras -e shal purtshaas', and eet'e,
 "Til dhat dhe waa'ter of dhe heevne
 "Haav waish'en him bi' tim'es seev'ne,
 "Soo dhat he bee thurk'uh'knoou' arikt,
 "What is dhe heev-enliitsh'e mikht,
 "And bee maad um'b'l too dhe wil'e
 "Of Him, whitsh al mai saav and spil'e."
 Dhis kiq uut of -is sweev'n- abraid'e.

And hee upon' dhe mor'w- it said'e
 Untoo' dhe klerk'es whitsh -e had'e,
 But noon of hem dhe sooth arad'e,
 Was noon -is sweev'ne kuuth undoo'.
 And it stood dhiik'e tiim'e so,
 Dhis kiq had in subdzhek'siuun'
 Dzhyydee', and of afek'siuun'
 Abuv' al udh'r- oon Daa'niel'
 He luv'eth, for he kuuth'e wel
 Divi'ne dhat noon udh'er kuuth'e.
 To him weer al'e thi'q'es kuuth'e
 As hee it had of God'es graa'se.
 He was befoor' dhe kiq'es faa'se
 Asent', and boode dhat -e shold'e
 Upon' dhe pint dhe kiq of toold'e,

i 139

Dhe fortyyn' of -is sweev'n- ekspuun'de,
 As it shold afterwar'd be fund'e
 Whan Daa'niel' dhis sweev'ne herd'e
 He stood loq tiim eer hee answard'e,
 And maad a wun'der hev'ii tsheere.
 Dhe kiq took heed of his manee're
 And baad -im tel'e dhat -e wist'e,
 As hee to whom -e mutsh'e trist'e,
 And said -e wold'e nouk'cht be rwooth.
 But Daa'niel' was wun'der looth,
 And said: "Upon' dhii foo'men al'e,
 "Siir kiq, dhii sweev'ne moo'te fal'e!
 "And, naa'dhelees, tutsh'end' of dhis,
 "I wol dhee tel'en huu it is,
 "And what diseez' is to dhee shaa'pe.
 "God wot if dhuu it shalt eskaa'pe!
 "Dhe hik'h'e tree whitsh dhuu nast sain'
 "With leef and fryyt soo wel besain',
 "Dhe whitsh stood in dhe world amid'es,
 "So dhat dhe beest'es and dhe brid'es
 "Guverned weer of him aloon',
 "Siir kiq, betook'neth dhii persoon',
 "Whitsh stant abuv' al erth'lii thi'q'es,
 "Dhus reen'en un'der dhee dhe kiq'es,
 "And al dhe peep'l- untoo' dhe lunt'eth,
 "And al dhe world dhii puu'eer' duut'eth,

Harl. MS. 3869.

So þat wiþ vein honour deceiued
 Thou haft þe reuerence weyued
 Fro him which is þi king a boue
 That þou for drede ne for loue

i 140

Wolt noþing knowen of þi godd
 Which now for þe hap mad a rodd
 Thi veine gloire and þi folie
 With grette peines to chaftie
 And of þe vois þou herdest speke
 Which bad þe bowes for to breke
 And hewe and felle down þe tree
 That word belongeþ vnto þee
 Thi regne schal ben ouerþrowe
 And þou despoiled for a þrowe
 Bot þat þe Rote scholde stonde
 Be þat þou schal wel vnderfonde
 Ther schal a biden of þi regne
 A time aȝein whan þou schalt regne

And ek of þat þou herdest feie
 To take a mannes herte a weie
 And sette þere a bestial
 So þat he lich an Oxe schal:
 Pasture. and þat he be bereined
 Be times sefne and fore peined
 Til þat he knowe his goddes mihtes
 [fol. 51]

Than scholde he stonde aȝein vprihtes
 Al þis betokeneþ þin astat
 Which now wiþ god is in debat
 Thi mannes forme schal be lassed
 Til seuene yer ben ouerpaffed
 And in þe liknesse of a beste
 Of gras schal be þi real feste
 The weder schal vpon þe reine
 And vnderfond þat al þis peine

i 141

Which þou schal soffre þilke tide
 Is schape al only for þi pride
 Of veine gloire and of þe sinne
 Which þou haft longe stonden inne
 SO vpon þis condicion
 Thi sweuene hath expoficion
 Bot er þis þing befallē in dede
 Amende þee. þis wolde .I. rede
 ȝif and departe þin almeffe
 Do mercy forþ wiþ rihtwisnesse
 Besech. and prei. þe hihe grace
 For so þou miht þi pes purchace

Wiþ godd. and stond in good acord
 Bot Pride is loþ to leue his lord
 And wol noght soffre humilite
 Wiþ him to stonde in no degree
 And whan a schip hap loft his stiere
 Is non so wys þat mai him stiere

Harl. MS. 7184.

So that with vein honour deceiued
 Thou haft the reuerence weyued
 Fro him which is thi king aboute
 That thou for drede ne for loue

i 140

Wolt no thing knowen of this god
 Which now for the hath made a rod
 Thi veingloire and thi folie
 With gret peines to chaftie
 And of the vois thou herdest speke
 Which bad the bowes for to breke
 And hewe and felle down the tree
 That word belongeth vnto the
 Thi reigne shall be ouerthrowe
 And thou despoiled for a throwe
 But that the roote shall stonde
 But that thou shalt wel vnderfonde
 Ther shall a biden of thi reigne
 A tyme aȝein whan thou shalt regne
 [fol. 23, b, 2]

And eke of that thou herdest feie
 To take a mannes hert aweie
 And sette there a bestiall
 So that he like an oxe shall
 Pasture. and that he be bereined
 Be tymes sefne and fore peined,
 Till that he knowe his goddes miȝtes,

Than shuld he stonde aȝein vprihtes
 All this betokeneth thine estat
 Which now with god is in debat
 Thi mannes forme shall be lassed
 Til seuene yere ben ouerpaffed
 And in the liknesse of a beste
 Of gras shall be thi roiall feste
 The weder shall vpon the rayne
 And vnderfonde that all his peine

i 141

Which thou shalt suffre thilke tide
 Is shape all only for thi pride
 Of veingloire and of the sinne
 Which thou haft longe stonden inne
 So vpon this condicion
 Thi sweuene hath expoficion
 But er this thing befallē indede
 Amende the this wold I rede
 Yif and departe thine almeffe
 Doth mercy forth with rihtwisnesse
 Beseche and praie the high grace
 For so thou miȝt thi pees purchace

With god and stonde in good acord.
 But pride is loth to leue his lorde
 And wol not suffre humilite
 With him to stonde in no degree
 And whan a ship hath loft his stiere
 Is non so wys that may him stiere

Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

So þat with veyne honoure deceyued.
Thou hast þe reuerence weyued
Fro him whiche is þy kynge aboue
That þou for drede ne for loue.

i 140

57, b, 1]

Wolte no þynge knowen of þy god [fo.
Whiche now for þe hap made arod
Thy vayne glory and þy folye
Wip gret peynis to chaſtye
And of þe voyce þou herdest ſpeke.
Whiche bad þe bowis for to breke
And hewe and falle down þe tre
That worde bilongeþ vn to þe
Thy regne ſchall ben ouerþrowe
And þou deſpouled for a þrowe
Bot þat þe rote ſchulde ſtonde
Be þat .þou. ſchalt wel vndirſtonde
Ther ſchall abiden of þy regne
A tyme azen whan þou ſchalt regne

And eek of þat þou herdest ſay.
To take amannis herte away
And sette þer a beſtiall
So þat he liche an oxe ſchall
Pasture and þat he be bereynid
Be tymes ſeuen and fore peyned
Till þat he knowe his goddis myztis

Than ſchulde he ſtonde azen vpryztis
Al þis betokeneþ þyne aſtate
Whiche now with god is indebate
Thy mannis forme ſchall be laffid
Til ſeuen zere ben ouerpaffid
And in þe likeneſſe of aſteſte
Of gras ſchall be þy riall feſte
The wedir ſchall vp on þe reyne
And vndirſtonde þat all þis peyne

i 141

Whiche .þou. ſchalte ſuffre þilke tyde
Is ſchape all only for þy pryde
Of vayne glory and of þy fynne
Whiche .þou. haſte longe ſtonden in
So vp on þis condicioun
Thi ſweuen hap expoſicioun
But er þis þynge be falle in dede
Amende þe þis wolde y rede
Zif and departe þyn almeſſe
Do mercy forþ with ryztwifneſſe
Beſeche and preye þe hyze grace.
For ſo .þou. myzte þy pees purchaſe
[fo. 57, b, 2]

With god and ſtonde in good acorde
But pride is loþ to leue his lorde
And wolde nouzt ſuffre humilite
With him to ſtonde in nodegre
And whanne a ſchip hap loſte his ſtere
Is noun ſo wiſ þat may him ſtere

Conjectured Pronunciation.

"Soo dhat, with vain on'uur' desaiv'ed,
"Dhuu hast dhe reverens'e waiv'ed
"Froo him, whitsh is dhi kig abuv'e,
"Dhat dhuu for dreed'e nee for luv'e

i 140

"Wolt noo'thiq knoou'en of dhis God,
"Whitsh nuu for dhee hath maad a rod,
"Dhi vaine gloo'ri and dhi foli'e
"With greet'e pain'e to tshasti'e.
"And of dhe vuis dhuu herd'est speak'e,
"Whitsh baad dhe boou'es for to break'e,
"And heu and fel'e duun dhe tree,—
"Dhat word beloq'eth un'to dhe.
"Dhi reen'e shal been overthroou'e,
"And dhuu despuil'ed for a throou'e.
"But dhat dhe root'e shold'e stond'e,
"Bi dhat dhuu shalt wel understond'e,
"Dher shal abiid'en of dhi reen'e
"A tiim again' whan dhuu shalt reen'e.

"And eek of dhat dhuu herd'est saie,
"To taak a man'es hert awaie,
"And set'e dheer a bees'tiaal',
"So dhat -e lik an oks'e shal
"Pasty'r, and dhat -e bee berain'ed
"Bi tiim'e seev'n- and soore pain'ed
"Til dhat -e knou -is God'es miht'es,

"Dhan shold -e stond again' uprikt'es—
"Al dhis betook'neth dhiin estaat',
"Whitsh nuu with God is in debaat',
"Dhi man'es forme shal be las'ed
"Til seev'ne jeer been overpas'ed,
"And in dhe lik'nes' of a bees'te
"Of gras shal bee dhi ree'al feest'e
"Dhe wed'er shal upon dhe rain'e.
"And un'derston'd' dhat al dhis pain'e

i 141

"Whitsh dhuu shalt sufer dhi k'e tiid'e,
"Is shaap al oon'lii for dhi priid'e
"Of vaine gloo'ri and of dhe sin'e
"Whitsh dhuu hast loqe stonden in'e.
"Soo up'on' dhis kondi'sioun
"Dhi sweev'n- -ath eksposi'sioun.
"But eer dhis thi q befal' in deed'e
"Amend'e dhe. Dhis wold i reed'e,
"Jiv, and departe dhiin almes'e,
"Doo mers'i forth with riht'w'snes'e,
"Besectsh' and prai dhe riht'e graas'e.
"For soo dhuu miht dhi pees purtshaas'e

"With God, and stond in good akord'."
But priid is looth to leev -is lord,
And wol nouk'ht sufr- ymii'li'tee'
With him to stond in noo deegree'.
And when a ship hath lost -is steer'e
Is noon soo wiis dhat mai -im steer'e

Harl. MS. 3869.

Aȝein þe wawes in a rage
 This proude king in his corage
 Humilite haþ fo forlore
 That for no fweuene he fiþ tofore
 Ne ȝit for al þat Daniel
 Him haþ conſeiled eueridel
 He let it paffe out of his mynde
 Thurgh veine gloire. and as þe blinde
 He ſeþ no weie. er him be wo
 And fell wiþinne a time fo
 As he in babiloine went
 þe vanite of pride him hente

i 142

His herte aros of veine gloire
 So þat he drowh into memoire
 His lordſchipe and his regalie
 Wiþ wordes of Surquiderie
 And whanne þat he him moſt auauȝteþ
 That lord which veine gloire daunteþ
 Al fodeinliche as who ſeiþ treis [fo.
 Wher þat he ſtod in his Paleis 51b]
 He tok him fro þe mennes ſihte
 Was non of hem. ſo war þat mihte
 Sette yhe. wher þat he becom
 And þus was he from his kingdon
 Into þe wilde Foreſt drawe
 Wher þat þe mihti goddes lawe
 Thurgh his pouer dede him tranſforme
 Fro man into a beſtes forme
 And lich an. Oxe vnder þe fot
 He grafeþ as he nedes mot
 To geten him his liues fode
 Tho þoght him colde grafes goode
 That whilom eet þe hote ſpices
 Thus was he torned fro delices
 The wyn which he was wont to drinke

He tok þanne of þe welles brinke
 Or of þe pet or of þe ſlowh
 It þoghte him þanne good ynowh
 In ſtede of chambres wel arraied
 He was þanne of a buiſſh wel paid
 The harde grounde he lay vpon
 For oþre pilwes haþ he non

i 143

The ſtormes and þe Reines falle
 The wyndes blowe vpon him alle
 He was tormented day and nyht
 Such was þe hihe goddes myht
 Til ſeueȝe yer an ende toke
 Vpon himſelf þo gan he loke
 In ſtede of mete gras and ſtres
 In ſtede of handes longe cles
 In ſtede of man a beſtes lyke
 He ſeiþ and þanne he gan to ſyke
 For cloþ for gold and for perrie
 Which him was wonte to magnifie

Harl. MS. 7184.

Aȝein the wawes in a rage
 This proude king in his corage
 Humilite hath ſo forlore
 That for no fweuene he ſigh tofore
 Ne ȝit for all that Daniel
 Him hath counſeiled eueridell
 He let it paffe out of his mynde
 Throuȝ veingloire and as the blinde
 He ſeth no weie er him be wo
 And fel withinne a tyme fo
 As he in Babiloine wente
 The vanite of pride him hente

i 142

His herte aros of veingloire
 So that he drough into memoire
 His lordſhip and his regalie [fo. 24,
 With wordes of furquideie a, 1]
 And whan that he him moſt auauȝteth
 That lord which veingloire daunteth
 Al fodeinlich as who ſeiþ treis
 Wher that he ſtood in his paleis
 He tok him fro the mennes ſighte
 Was non of hem ſo war that miȝte
 Sette yhe wher that he becom
 And was he from his kingdom
 In to the wilde foreſt drawe
 Wher that the mighti goddes lawe
 Throuȝ his pouer dede him tranſforme
 Fro man in to a beſtes forme
 And lich an oxe vnder the fote
 He grafeþ as he nedes mote
 To geten him his lyues fode
 Tho thouȝt him colde grafes goode
 That whilom eet the hote ſpices
 Thus was he torned fro delices
 The wyn which he was wont to drinke

He took thanne of the welles brinke
 Or of the pit or of the ſlough
 It thouȝt him thanne good Inouȝ
 In ſtede of chambres well arraied
 He was thanne of a buſſh wel paid
 The harde ground he lay vpon
 For othir pilwes had he non

i 143

The ſtormes and the reines falle
 The windes blowe vpon him alle
 He was tormented day and night
 Such was the high goddes miȝt
 Til ſeueȝe yere. and ende took
 Vpon him ſelf tho gan he look
 In ſtede of mete gras and tres
 In ſtede of handes long cles
 In ſtede of man a beſtes like
 He ſigh and thanne he gan to ſike
 For cloth of gold and of perrie
 Which him was wont to magnifie

Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

Azen þe wawis in a rage
 This proude kyng in his corage
 Humilite haþ fo for lore
 That for no fweuen he fyze to fore
 Ne zit for all þat daniell
 Him haþ counfeylid *euery* deell
 He lete it paffe oute of his mynde
 Thorow vayne glorye and as þe blynde
 He seþ no wele er him be woo
 And fell *withinne* a tyme foo
 As he in babiloyne wente
 Pe vanite of pride him hente

i 142

His herte aros of vayne glorye
 So þat he drow in to memorye
 His lordschipe and his regalye
 With wordis of furquidrye
 And whanne þat he him most auaunteþ
 That lorde whiche vayne glorye daunteþ
 All fodeyneliche as who fayeth treis
 Where þat he stood in his paleys
 He toke him fro þe mennis fyzte
 Was nonn of hem fo war þat myzte
 Sette ye where þat he bicomme
 And þus was he from his kingdomm
 In to þe wilde forest drawe
 Where þat þe myzty goddis lawe
 Thorow his power did him transforme
 Fro man in to abestis forme
 And liche an oxe vndir þe fote
 He grafeþ as he nedis mot
 To geten him his livis foode
 Tho þouzte him colde graffis goode
 That whilom eet þe hoot spicis
 Thus was he turnid fro delicis.
 The wyne whiche he was wonte to
 drynke [fo. 58, a, 1]

He tok þanne of þe wellis brynke
 Or of þe pitte or of the floghe
 It þouzte him þanne good y nowe
 In ftede of chambris wel arrayed
 He was þanne of a busche wel payed
 The harde grounde he lay vp on
 For oper pilowis haþ he none

i 143

The stormis and þe raynis falle
 The wyndis blowe vp on him alle
 He was turmentid day and nyzte
 Whiche was þe hyze goddis myzte
 Til feuen zere an ende tok
 Vp on him selfe þo gan he loke
 In ftede of mete gras and treis
 In ftede of handis longe clees
 In ftede of man a bestis like
 He fyze and þanne he gan to fike
 For cloþ for golde and þe perry
 Whiche him was wonte to magnifye

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Aʒain· dhe wau'es in a raadzh'e.
 Dhis prunde kiq in his kooradzh'e
 Yymi-liitee· hath soo forloore,
 Dhat for noo sweev'n- -e siKh to foore
 Ne jit for al dhat Daan'ieel·
 Him hath kunsail'ed ev'rii deel—
 He let it pas uut of -is mind'e
 Thrukwh vain'e gloori, and, as dhe blind'e,
 He seeth noo wai, eer him be woo.
 And fel within a tiim'e soo,
 As hee in Babiloon'ie went
 Dhe vaan'itee of priid -im hent.

i 142

His hert arooz· of vain'e gloorie,
 So dhat he drooukwh intoo' memoor'ie,
 His lord'shiip, and -is reegaliie
 With word'es of syyrkiideriie,
 And, whan dhat hee -im moost avaunt'eth,
 Dhat Lord, whitsh vain'e gloorie daunt'eth,
 Al sud'ainliitsh, as who saith: Trais!
 Wheer dhat -e stood in his palais,
 He took -im froo dhe men'es siKh't'e.
 Was noon of hem soo waar, dhat miKh't'e
 Set ii'e wheer that hee bekoom',
 And dhus was hee from his kiq'doom·
 Intoo· dhe wild'e for'est draue,
 Wheer dhat dhe miKh't'ii God'es laue
 Thrukwh his puu'er, ded him transform'e
 Fro man intoo· a beestes form'e.
 And liitsh an oks un'der dhe foot'e
 He graaz'eth, as -e need'es moot'e
 To get'en him -is liiv'es food'e.
 Dhoo thoukweht -im koold'e gras'es good'e,
 Dhat whiloom eet dhe hoot'e spii's'es,
 Dhus was -e turn'ed froo deliis'es.
 Dhe wiin, whitsh -e was woont to driqk'e,

He took dhan of dhe wel'es briqk'e,
 Or of dhe pit, or of dhe sluukwh.
 It thoukweht -im dhan'e good inuukwh.
 In steed of tshaum'berz wel arai'ed,
 He was dhan of a bush wel pai'ed.
 Dhe hard'e grund -e lai upon·
 For udh're pil'wes hath -e noon.

i 143

Dhe storm'es and dhe rain'es fale,
 Dhe wind'es bloou' upon· -im al'e.
 He was torment'ed dai and niKh't—
 Sutsh was dhe niKh'e God'es miKh't—
 Til seev'ne jeer an end'e took'e.
 Upon· -imself' dhoo gan -e look'e.
 In steed of meet'e gras and streez,
 In steed of hand'es loqe kleez,
 In steed of man a beestes liik'e
 He siKh, and dhan -e gan to siKh'e
 For klooth of goold and for peri'e,
 Whitsh him was wont to magnifiie.

Harl. MS. 3869.

Whan he behield his Cote of heres
 He wepte. and with fulwoful teres
 Vp to þe heuene he caste his chiere
 Wepende. and þoghte in þis manere
 Thogh he no wordes mihte winne
 Thus seide his herte and spak withinne
 O myhti godd þat al haft wroght
 And al myhte bringe aȝein to noght
 Now knowe .I. wel. bot al of þee
 This worlde haþ no prosperite.
 In þin aspect ben alle liche [fo. 52]
 þe pouere man and ek þe riche
 Wiþoute þee þer mai no wight
 And þou a boue alle opre miht
 O mihti lord toward my vice
 Thi mercy medle wiþ iustice
 And .I. woll make a couenant
 That of my lif þe remenant

i 144

I schal it be þi grace amende
 And in þi lawe so despende
 That veine gloire I schal efchiue
 And bowe vnto þin hefte and fieu

Humilite. and þat .I. vowe
 And so þenkende he gan dounbowe
 And þogh him lacke vois and speche
 He gan vp wiþ his feet a reche
 And wailende in his beftly steuene
 He made his pleignte vnto þe heuene
 He kneleþ in his wife and braieþ
 To feche merci and affaieþ
 His god. whiche made him noþing
 strange

Whan þat he fih his pride change
 Anon as he was humble and tame
 He fond toward his god þe same
 And in a twinklinge of alok
 His mannes forme aȝein he tok
 And was reformed to the regne
 In which þat he was wont to regne
 So þat þe Pride of veine gloire
 Euere afterward out of memoire
 He let it paffe. and þus is schewed
 What is to ben of pride vnþewed
 Aȝein þe hihe goddes lawe
 To whom noman mai be felawe.

Harl. MS. 7184.

Whan he behield his cote of heres
 He wepte. and with wofull teres
 Vp to the heuene he cast his chiere
 Wepend and thouȝt in this manere
 Thouȝ he no wordes miȝte winne
 Thus said his hert and spak withinne
 O mighti god that haft all wrouȝt
 And al miȝt bringe aȝein to nought
 Now knowe I wel but all of the
 This world hath no prosperite [fol. 24,
 In thine aspect ben alle liche a, 2]
 The pouer man and eke the riche
 Withoute the ther may no wight
 And thou aboue all othere miȝt
 O miȝti lord toward my vice
 Thi mercy medle with iustice
 And I woll make a couenant
 That of my lif the remenaunt

i 144

I shall be thi grace amende
 And in thi lawe so despende
 That veingloire I shall efcheue
 And bowe vnto thine hefte and fieu

Humilite. and that I vowe
 And so thenkend he gan doun bowe
 And thouȝ him lacke vois and speche
 He gan vp with his feet areche
 And weiland in his beftli steuene
 He made his pleinte vnto the heuene
 He kneleth in his wife and braieth
 To feche mercy and affaieth
 His god. which made him nothing
 strange

Whan that he figh his pride change
 Anon as he was humble and tame
 He fond toward his god the fame
 And in a twinkeling of a look
 His mannes forme aȝein he took
 And was reformed to the regne
 In which that he was wont to reigne
 So that the pride of veingloire
 Euer affirward out of memoire
 He let it paffe and thus is shewed
 What is to ben of pride vnthewed
 Aȝein the high goddes lawe
 To whom noman may befelawe.

Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

Whan he bihilde his cote of heris
 He wepte and *with* fulwofull teris
 Vp to þe heuen he caste his chere
 Wepende *and* þouzte in þis manere
 Thouz he no wordis myzte wyne
 Thus seyde his herte and spak *with*inne
 O myzty god þat all hast wrouzte
 And all myzte brynge azen to nouzt
 Now knowe .I. well but all of þee
 This world haþ no prosperite
 In þyn aspet ben all liche
 þe pouere men and eek þe riche
With oute þe þer may no wyzte
 And þou. aboue all oþer myzte
 O myzty lorde towarde my vice
 Thy mercy medle *with* iustice
 And .I. wol make a couenaunte
 That of my lyf þe remenaunte

i 144

I schall it be þy grace amende
 And in þy lawe so despende
 That vayne glorie .y. schall eschiue
 And bowe vn to þyne hefte and fise
 [fo. 58, a, 2]

Humilite and þat .y. vowe
 And so þenkende he gan doun bowe
 And þouz him lacke voys of speche
 He gan vp *with* his feet areche
 And waylende in his bestly steuen
 He made his playnte vn to þe heuen
 He kneleþ in his wife *and* prayeþ
 To feche mercy and affayeth
 His god whiche made him no þynge
 straunge

When þat he fyze his pride chaunge
 Anonn as he was vmblye and tame
 He fonde towarde his god þe fame
 And in a twynkelynge of a loke
 His mannis forme azen he tok
 And was reformid to the regne
 In whiche þat he was wonte to regne
 So þat þe pryde of vayne glorie
 Euer afterward oute of memorie
 He lete it paffe and þus it schewid
 What is to ben of pride vnþewid.
 Azen þe hyze goddis lawe
 To whom no man may be felawe.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

Whan hee beneeld· -is koot of heeres,
 He wept, and *with* ful woo·ful teeres
 Up too dhe heev·n· -e kast· -is tsheere,
 Weep·end·, and thoukwht in dhis maneere.
 Dhooukwsh hee noo word·es mikh·t·e win·e,
 Dhus said· -is hert, and spaak *with*in·e.
 "Oo mikh·t·ii God! dhat al hast r·woukwht,
 "And· al mikh·t briq· again· to noukwht!
 "Nuu knoou *Ii* wel, but uut of· dhe
 "Dhis world· -ath noo prosper·iitee·.
 "In dhiin aspekt· been al·e liitsh·e,
 "Dhe poov·re man, and eek dhe ritsh·e.
 "Withuut·e dheer dher· mai noo wikht,
 "And dhuu abuv· al udh·re mikh·t.
 "Oo mikh·t·ii Lord, toward· mii viis·e,
 "Dhi· mers·ii med·'l *with* dzhystiis·e,
 "And *Ii* wol maak a kuu·venaunt,
 "Dhat of mii liif dhe rem·enaunt·

i 144

"*Ii* shal it bii dhi· graas amend·e,
 "And in dhi· laur·e soo despend·e,
 "Dhat vain·e gloo·ri *Ii* shal estshyy·e,
 "And buu untoo· dhiin nest, and syy·e

"Yymi·liitee·, and dhat *Ii* vuu·e!"
 And soo theq·k·end· -e gan duun buu·e,
 And dhooukwsh -im lak·e vu·is and speetsh·e,
 He gan up *with* -is feet areetsh·e,
 And wail·end· in -is beest·lii steev·ne,
 He maad· -is plaint untoo· dhe heev·ne.
 He kneel·eth in -is wiis and brai·eth,
 To seetsh·e mers·ii, and asai·eth
 His God, whitsh maad· -im noo·thiq·
 straundzh·e,

Dhan dhat· -e sikh· -is priid·e tshaundzh·e.
 Anoon· as hee was um·bl· and taam·e
 He fund toward· -is God dhe saam·e,
 And, in a twiq·k·liq· of a look,
 His man·es form again· -e took,
 And was reform·ed too dhe reene·,
 In whitsh dhat hee was woont to reene·,
 Soo dhat dhe priid· of vain·e gloori·e
 Eer afterward· uut of memoor·ie
 He let it pas. And dhus is sheu·ed
 What is to been of priid· untheu·ed
 Again· dhe hikh·e God·es laur·e,
 To whom noo man mai bee fel·aur·e.

MESSAGE FROM VENUS TO CHAUCER

Harl. MS. 3490, fo. 214, b, 2.*Soc. of Antiquaries MS.* 134. fo. 248, a. 1.

iii 372

Myn holy Fader graunt mercy.
 Quod I to hym. and to the qweene.
 I felle on knees vppon the grene.
 And toke my leue for to wende.
 Bot the that wolde make an ende.
 As therto with I was moſte able.
 A peire of bedes blakke as ſable.
 She tooke and henge my nekke aboute.
 Vppon the gaudes al withoute.

iii 373

Was write of golde pour repofir.
 Lo thus ſhe ſeide Johan Gower.
 Now thou art at the laſte caſte.
 This haue I for thyne eaſe caſte.
 That thou no more of loue ſeche.
 Bot my wille is that thou beſech.
 And prey here aftir for the pees.

* * * *

For in the lawe of my comune.
 We benot ſhapen to comune.

iii 374

Thi ſelf and I neuer aftir this.
 Nowe haue I ſeide althat ther is.
 Of loue as for thy fynal ende.
 A dieu for I mote fro the wende.
 And grete welle Chaucer whan ye mete.
 As my diſciple and my poete. [fo. 215,
 For in the flouris of his youth. a, 1]
 In fondry wiſe as he wel couth.
 Of dytees and of ſonges glade.
 The wich he for my ſake made.
 The londe fulfilled is ouer alle.
 Whereof to hym in ſpecialle.
 Aboue alle othir I am moſt holde.
 For thi nowe in his daies olde.
 Thou ſhalle hym telle this meſſage.
 That he vppon his later age.
 To ſett an ende of alle his werke.
 As he wich is myn owne clerke.
 Do make his teſtament of loue.
 As thou haſt do thie ſhriſte aboue.
 So that my court it may recorde.

Madame I can me wel accorde.
 Quod I to telle as ye me bidde.
 And with that worde it ſo bitidde.
 Oute of my ſiht alle ſodeynly.
 Encloſed in a ſterrie ſkye.
 Vp to the heuene venus ſtrauht.
 And I my riht wey cauht.
 Home fro the wode and forth I wente.
 Where as with al myn hole entente.
 Thus with my bedes vpon honde.
 For hem that true loue fonde.
 I thenke bidde while I lyue.
 Vppon the poynt wich I am ſhriff.

iii 372

Myn holy fadir graunt mercy.
 Quod I to him and to þe quene.
 I fel on kneis vp on þe grene.
 And took my leue for to wende.
 But ſche þat wolde make an ende
 As þerto whiche I was moſt able.
 A peyre of bedis blak as ſable.
 Sche took and hinge my nekke aboute.
 Vp on þe gaudis all with oute.

iii 373

Was write of golde pur repoſer.
 Lo þus ſche ſeyde Johan Gower.
 Now þou arte at þe laſte caſte
 This haue I for þine eaſe caſte.
 That þou no more of loue ſeche.
 But my wille is þat þou biſeche.
 And praye here aftir for þe pees.

* * * *

For in þe lawe of my comune. [fo. 248,
 We be not ſchapen to comune. a, 2]

iii 374

Thi ſelfe and I neuer aftir þis
 Now haue I ſeyde all þat þer is:
 Of loue as for þi final ende.
 A dieu for I mot fro þe wende.
 And grete wel chaucer whan ze mete.
 As my diſciple and my poete
 For in þe flouris of his zouþe
 In fondry wiſe as he wel coupe
 Of diteis and of ſongis glade.
 The whiche he for my ſake made.
 The londe fulſilde is oueral.
 Whereof to him in ſpeciall.
 A boue alle oþer I am moſt holde.
 For þi now in his dayes olde.
 Thou ſchalt him telle þis meſſage.
 That he vp on his latter age.
 To ſette an ende of all his werke
 As he whiche is myn owen clerke.
 Do make his teſtament of loue.
 As þou haſt do þi ſchryfte aboue.
 So þat my courte it may recorde.

Madame I can me wel acorde.
 Quod I to telle as ye me bidde.
 And with þat world it ſo bitidde.
 Oute of my ſyztte all ſodenly. [fo. 248,
 Encloſid in a ſterrid ſky. b, 1]
 Vp to þe heuen venus ſtrauzte
 And I my ryzt wey cauhte.
 Hom fro þe wode and forþ I wente
 Where as with all myn hool entente.
 Thus with my bedis vp on honde.
 For hem þat trewe love fonde.
 I thenke bidde while I lyue.
 Vp on þe poynte which I am ſchryue.

SENT THROUGH GOWER AFTER HIS SHRIFT.

Systematic Orthography.

iii 372

"Myn holy Fader grawnd mercy!"
 Quod I to him, and to the quene
 I fel on knees upon the grene,
 And took my leve for to wende.
 But sche, that wolde mak' an ende,
 Ar theertowith I was most abel,
 A pair' of bedes blak' as sabel
 She took, and heng my nekk' aboute.
 Upon the gawdes al withoute

iii 373

Was writ of gold' *Pour reposer.*
 "Lo!" thus she seyde, "John Goueer,
 "Nou thou art at the laste caste,
 "This have I for thyne ese caste,
 "That thou no moor' of love seche,
 "But my will' is that thou biseche,
 "And prey' hereafter for thy pees.

* * * *

"For in the law' of my comune,
 "We be not shapen to comune,

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"Thyself and I, never after this,
 "Nou have I seyde al that ther is
 "Of lov' as for thy fynal ende.
 "Adieu! for I moot fro the wende.
 "And greet wel Chawcer, whan ye mete,
 "As my discypl', and my poete.
 "For in the floures of his youthe,
 "In sondry wys', as he wel couthe,
 "Of dytees and of songes glade,
 "The which he for my sake made,
 "The lond fulfil'd is overal.
 "Wherof to him, in special,
 "Abou' all' oth'r' I am moost holde.
 "Forthy nou in his dayes oolde
 "Thou shalt him telle this message:
 "That he upon his later age
 "To sett' an end' of al his werk,
 "As he which is myn ow'ne clerk,
 "Do mak' his testament of love,
 "As thou hast do thy schrifft' above,
 "So that my court it mai recorde."

"Madam, I can me wel acorde,"

Quod I, "to tell' as ye me bidde."

And with that word it so bitidde,
 Out of my sight', al sodainly
 Enclosed in a sterred sky
 Up to the heven Venus strawghte.
 And I my righte wey [then] cawghte
 Hoom fro the wod', and forth I wente
 Wheeras, with al myn hool entente,
 Thus with my bedes upon honde,
 For hem that trewe love fonde
 I thinke bidde, whyl' I lyve,
 Upon the poynt, which I am schryve.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

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"Miin hoo'lii Faader, graund mersii!"
 Kwod I to him, and too dhe kween'e
 Ii fel on kneez up'on' dhe green'e,
 And took miil leev'e for to wend'e.
 But shee, dhat wold'e maak an end'e
 As dheer'towith' Ii was most aa'b'l,
 A pair of beed'es blak as saa'b'l
 She took, and heq miil nek abuu't'e.
 Up'on' dhe gaud'es al withuut'e

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Was rwit of goold, Puur reepoo'seer.
 "Loo!" dhus she said'e, "Dzhon Guu'eer,
 "Nuu dhuu art at dhe last'e kast'e,
 "Dhis haav Ii for dhiin ee'ze kast'e,
 "Dhat dhuu noo moor of luv'e seetsh'e,
 "But miil wil is dhat dhuu biseetsh'e,
 "And prai -eerafter for dhiil pees.

* * * *

"For in dhe lau of miil komynn'e
 "We bee not shaap'en too komynn'e,

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"Dhiself and Ii, neer aft'er dhis.
 "Nuu haav Ii said al dhat dher is
 "Of luv', as for dhiil fiin'al ende.
 "Adeu' for Ii moot froo dhe wende.
 "And greet weel Tshau'seer, whan je meet'e,
 "As miil disii'pl' and miil pooet'e.
 "For in dhe fluur'es of -is juuth'e,
 "In sun'drii wiis, as hee wel kuuth'e,
 "Of dii'tees and of soq'es glaad'e,
 "Dhe whitsh -e for miil saak'e maad'e,
 "Dhe lond fulfild' is overal'.
 "Wherof to him, in spes'iaal'
 "Abuv' al udh'r' Ii am moost hold'e.
 "Fordhiil' nuu in -is dai'es oold'e
 "Dhuu shalt -im tel'e dhis mesaa'dzhe:
 "Dhat hee upon -is laa'ter aad'zhe
 "To set an end of al -is werk,
 "As hee whitsh is miin oou'ne klerk,
 "Doo maak -is testrament' of luv'e,
 "As dhuu hast doo dhiil shrift' abuv'e,
 "Soo dhat miil kuurt it mai rekord'e."
 "Madaam, Ii kan me wel akord'e,"

Kwod Ii, "to tel as see me bid'e."

And with dhat word it soo bitid'e,
 Uut of miil siikht, al sud'ainlii
 Enkloozed in a stered skii,
 Up too dhe heeven Vee'ns straukwh't'e.
 And Ii miil rikht'e wai [dhen] kaukwh't'e
 Hoom froo dhe wood, and forth Ii went'e,
 Wheeras, with al miin hool entente,
 Dhus with miil beed'es up'on' hond'e,
 For hem dhat treu'e luv'e fond'e
 Ii thiik'e bide, whii' Ii liiv'e,
 Up'on' dhe puint, whii' Ii am shriiv'e.

§ 3. *Wycliffe.*

John Wycliffe born 1324, died 1384, is supposed to have commenced his version of the Scriptures in 1380, just as Chaucer was working at his Canterbury Tales. We are not sure how much of the versions which pass under his name, and which have been recently elaborately edited,¹ are due to him, but the older form of the versions certainly represents the prose of the XIVth century, as spoken and understood by the people, on whose behalf the version was undertaken. Hence the present series of illustrations would not be complete without a short specimen of this venerable translation. The parable of the Prodigal Son is selected for comparison with the Anglosaxon, Icelandic, and Gothic versions already given (pp. 534, 550, 561), and the Authorized Version, with modern English pronunciation, inserted in Chap. XI., § 3.

The system of pronunciation here adopted is precisely the same as for Chaucer and Gower, and the termination of the imperfect of weak verbs, here *-ide*, has been reduced to (*id*), in accordance with the conclusions arrived at on p. 646-7.

OLDER WYCLIFFITE VERSION, LUKE XV. 11-32.

Text.

11. Forsothe he seith, Sum man hadde tweye sones;

12. and the ȝongere seide to the fadir, Fadir, ȝyue to me the porcioun of substaunce, *ethir catel*, that byfallith to me. And the fadir departide to him the substaunce.

13. And not aftir manye dayes, alle thingis gederid to gidre, the ȝongere sone wente in pilgrymage in to a fer cuntree; and there he wastide his substaunce in lyuynges lecherously.

14. And aftir that he hadde endid alle thingis, a strong hunger was maad in that cuntree, and he bigan to haue nede.

15. And he wente, and cleuyde to oon of the citeseyns of that cuntree. And he sente him in

Conjectured Pronunciation.

11. Forsooth -e saith, Sum man had'e twai'e suu'nes;

12. and the juq'ere said'e to dhe faa'dir, Faa'dir, ȝiiv'e to mee dhe por'siun of sub'stauns, edh'ir kat'el, dhat bifal'eth to mee. And dhe faa'dir depart'id to him dhe sub'stauns.

13. And not aft'ir man'ie dai'es, al'e thi'q'is ged'erid to gid're, dhe juq'ere suu'ne went in pil'grimaadzh in to a fer kun'tree; and dher -e was'tid -is sub'stauns in liv'inge letsh'eruslii.

14. And aft'ir dhat -e had end'id al'e thi'q'is, a stroq huq'gir was maad in dhat kun'tree, and -e bigan' to naav need'e.

15. And -e went'e, and klee'vid to oon of dhe sit'izainz of dhat kun'tree. And hee sent

¹ The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal books, in the Earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers, edited by the Rev. Josiah For-

shall, F.R.S., etc., late fellow of Exeter College, and Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., F.R.S., etc., keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, Oxford, 1850, 4to., 4 vols.

Text.

to his toun, that he schulde feede hoggis.

16. And he coueitide to fille his wombe of the coddis whiche the hoggis eeten, and no man ȝaf to him.

17. Sothli he, turned aȝen in to him silf, seyde, Hou many hirid men in my fadir hous, han plente of looues; forsothe I perische here thurȝ hungir.

18. I schal ryse, and I schal go to my fadir, and I schal seie to him, Fadir I haue synned aȝens heuene, and bifore thee;

19. now I am not worthi to be clepid thi sone, make me as oon of thi hyrid men.

20. And he rysinge cam to his fadir. Sothli whanne he was ȝit fer, his fadir syȝ him, and he was stirid by mercy. And he rennyng to, felde on his necke, and kiste him.

21. And the sone seyde to him, Fadir, I haue synned aȝens heuene, and bifore thee; and now I am not worthi to be clepid thi sone.

22. Forsoth the fadir seyde to his seruauntis, Soone bringe ȝe forth the firste stooles, and clothe ȝe him, and ȝyue ȝe a ring in his hond, and schoon in to the feet;

23. and brynge ȝe a calf maad fat, and sle ȝe, and ete we, and plenteuously ete we.

24. For this my sone was deed, and hath lyued aȝen; he perischide, and is founden. And alle bigunnen to eat plenteuously.

25. Forsoth his eldere sone was in the feeld; and whanne he cam, and neiȝede to the hous,

Conjectured Pronunciation.

-im in to -is tuun, dhat -e shuld'e feed'e hog'is.

16. And -e kuv'ait'id to f'el -is womb'e of dhe kod'is wh'itsh'e dhe hog'is eet'en, and noo man ȝaav to him.

17. Sooth'lii hee, turn'id aȝen in to him silf, said'e, Huu man'i hiirid men in mi faa'dir huus, haan plent'e of loo'vis; forsooth'e Ii per'ishe heer thurk'wh huq'g'ir.

18. Ii shal riise, and Ii shal goo to mi faa'dir, and Ii shal saie to him, Faa'dir, Ii -aav sin'ed aȝens' heev'ene, and bi-foo're dhe;

19. nuu Ii am not wurdh'ii to be klep'id dhii suu'ne, maa'ke mee as oon of thii hiirid men.

20. And hee, riis'iq kaam to his faa'dir. Sooth'lii whan -e was ȝit fer, his faa'dir sikh -im, and hee was stir'id bi mer'si. And hee, ren'iq to, feld on -is nek'e, and kist -im.

21. And dhe suu'ne said'e to him, Faa'dir, Ii -aav sin'ed aȝens' heev'ene, and bifoo're dhe; and nuu Ii am not wurdh'ii to be klep'id dhii suu'ne.

22. Forsooth' dhe faa'dir said'e to -is ser'vaun'tis, Soone briq'e ȝe forth dhe first'e stoo'le, and kloodh'e ȝe him, and riiv ȝe a riq in -is hond, and shoon in to dhe feet;

23. and briq'e ȝe a calf maad fat, and slee ȝe, and eete we, and plentevuslii eete we.

24. For dhis mi soone was deed, and hath li'v'ed aȝen; hee per'ish'id, and is fund'en. And al'e bigun'en to eet'e plentevuslii.

25. Forsooth' his el'dere suu'ne was in dhe feeld; and whan -e kaam, and naikh'id to dhe huus,

Text.

he herde a symphonie and a crowde.

26. And he clepide oon of the seruauntis, and axide, what thingis thes weren.

27. And he seide to him, Thi brodir is comen, and thi fadir hath slayn a fat calf, for he receyuede him saf.

28. Forsoth he was wroth, and wolde not entre. Therefore his fadir, gon out, bigan to preie him.

29. And he answeringe to his fadir, seide, Lo! so manye jeeris I serue to thee, and I brak neuere thi comaundement; thou hast neuere jouun a kyde to me, that I schulde ete largely with my frendis.

30. But aftir this thi sone, which deuouride his substaunce with hooris, cam, thou hast slayn to him a fat calf.

31. And he seide to him, Sone, thou ert euere with me, and alle myne thingis ben thyne.

32. Forsothe it bihofte to ete plenteuously, and for to ioye; for this thy brother was deed, and lyuede aȝeyn; he peryschide, and he is founden.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

he herd a sim-fonii'e and a kruud.

26. And -e klep'id oon of dhe ser-vaunt'is, and aks'id, what thiq'is dheez weeren.

27. And -e said'e to him, Dhi'i broo'dir is kuum'en, and dhi'i faa'dir hath slain a fat calf, for hee resaiv'id -im saaf.

28. Forsooth hee was wrooth, and wold'e not entre. Dheer-foore his faa'dir, goon uut, bigan to prai -im.

29. And hee aun'sweriq to -is faa'dir, said'e, Loo! soo man'ie jee'ris Ii serv to dhee, and Ii braak nev're dhi'i komaun'dement; dhuu hast nev're joo'ven a kid'e to mee, dhat Ii shuld'e eet'e laard'zheli with mi freend'is.

30. But aft'ir dhis dhi'i suu'ne, whitsh devuu'rid -is sub-stauns. with hoo'ris, kaam, dhuu -ast slain to him a fat calf.

31. And -e said'e to him, Suu'ne, dhuu ert ev're with me, and al'e mi'ne thiq'is been dhiin'e.

32. Forsooth it bihoofte to eete plentevuslii, and for to dzhui'e; for dhis dhi'i broo'dir was deed, and liv'id aȝen; he per'ish'id, and -e is fund'en.

CHAPTER VIII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1.

William Salesbury's Account of Welsh Pronunciation, 1567.

THE account which Salesbury furnished of the pronunciation of English in his time being the earliest which has been found, and, on account of the language in which it is written, almost unknown, the Philological and Early English Text Societies decided that it should be printed in extenso, in the original Welsh with a translation. This decision has been carried out in the next section, where Salesbury's treatise appropriately forms the first illustration of the pronunciation of that period. But as it explains English sounds by means of Welsh letters, a previous acquaintance with the Welsh pronunciation of that period is necessary. Fortunately, the appearance of Salesbury's dictionary created a demand to know the pronunciation of Welsh during the author's lifetime, and we possess his own explanation, written twenty years later. The book containing it is so rare, that it is advisable to print it nearly in extenso, omitting only such parts as have no phonetic interest. Explanatory footnotes have been added, and the meaning of the introduced Welsh words when not given by Salesbury, has been annexed in Latin, for which I am chiefly indebted to Dr. Benjamin Davies of the Philological Society. It has not been considered necessary to add the pronunciation of the Welsh words as that is fully explained in the treatise, and the Welsh spelling is entirely phonetic. A list of all the English and Latin words, the pronunciation of which is indicated in this tract, will form part of the general index to Salesbury given at the end of the next section.

There are two copies of this tract in the British Museum, one in the general and the other in the Grenville library. The book is generally in black letter (here printed in Roman type,) with certain words and letters in Roman letters (here printed in italics). The Preface is Roman, the Introductory letter italic. It is a small quarto, the size of the printed matter, without the head line, being $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and including the margin of the cut copy in the general library, the pages measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It contains $6\frac{3}{4}$ sheets, being 27 leaves or 54 pages, which are unpagged and

unfolioed. In this transcript, however, the pages of the original are supposed to have been numbered, and the commencement of each page is duly marked by a bracketed number. The title is lengthy and variously displayed, but is here printed uniformly. In the Roman type (here the italic type) portion, VV, vv, are invariably used for W, w, and as there is curious reference to this under the letter W, this peculiarity has been retained in the following transcript. Long f is not preserved except in the title.

- [1] A playne and a familiar Introductiõ, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Brytishe tongue, now commonly called Welshe, whereby an Englysh man shall not onely wyth ease reade the sayde tonge rightly: but marking the same wel, it shal be a meane for hym wyth one labour to attayne to the true pronounciation of other expedient and most excellent languages. Set forth by VV. Salesbury, 1550. And now 1567, pervsed and augmēted by the same.

This Treatise is most requisite for any man, yea though he can indifferently well reade the tongue, who wyl be thorowly acquainted with anie piece of tranflation, wherein the sayd Salesbury hath dealed. (*)

Imprinted at London by Henry Denham, for Humfrey Toy, dwellyng at the fygne of the Helmet in Paules church yarde. The .xviij. of May. 1567.

- [3] *To my louing Friende Maister Humfrey Toy.*

[4] . . . Some exclaimed . . . that I had peruerted the whole Ortophraphie of the [English] tounge. Wher in deede it is not so: but true it is that I altered it very litle, and that in very few wordes, as shall manifestlye appeare hereafter in the latter end of this booke. No, I altered it in no mo wordes, but in suche as I coule not fynde in my hart to lende my hand, or abuse my penne to wryte them, otherwyse than I haue done. For who in the time of most barbarousnes, and greatest corruption, dyd euer wryte euery worde as he souled it: As for example, they than wrate, *Ego dico tibi*, and yet read the same, *Egu deicu teibei*, they wrate, *Agnus Dei qui tollis*, but pronounced *Angnus Deeī quei towllys*.¹ And to come to [5] the English tung. What yong Scoler did euer write *Byr Lady*, for *by our Lady*? or *nunkle* for *vnkle*? or *mychgoditio* for *much good do it you*? or *sein* for *signe*?²

¹ These Latin mispronunciations were therefore (eg'u dei'ku tei'bei, Aq'nus Dee'i kwei tooul'is). Probably (Dee'i) should be (Dee'ei), but it is not so marked. The phonetisation is not entirely Welsh. The pronounciation (tooul'is) was in accordance with the

general sound of long o before l, see *suprà* p. 194.

² The English examples were probably pronounced (bei'r laa'di, nuqk'l, mitsh-gud-it-yu, sein). It seems scarcely probable that an (o) should have been used in a familiar pronounciation of

And thus for my good wil molested of such wranglers, shal I con-
discend to confirme their vnskyflful custome Or shall I proue
what playne Dame Truth, appearing in hir owne lykenes can
woorke against the wrynckled face neme¹ Custome?
Sourning at your house in Paules Churchyarde, the 6, of Maij.
1567. *Your, assuredly, welwyller W. Salesbury.*

[6] ¶ To hys louing Friende Maister Richard Colyngborne,
Wylliam Salesburie wyssheth prosperous health and perfect felicitie.

[These two pages have no interest. They are dated—] [7] At
Thauius Inne in Holburne more hastily, then speedily. 1550.

[8] Wylliam Salesbury to the Reader.

[These two pages set forth that after the publication of his
dictionary persons wanting to know Welsh asked him whether his
dictionary would serve their purpose, and] [9] . . . amongst
other communication had, they asked, whither the pronounciation
of the Letters in Welsh, dyd dyffer from the Englysh sounding of
them: And I sayde very muche. And so they perceiuing that they
could not profite in buildyng any further on the Welsh, lackyng
the foundation and ground worke (whyche was the Welsh pronoun-
ciation of the letters) desired me eftsoones to write vnto them (as
they had herd I had done in Welsh to my Country men, to intro-
duct them to pronounce the letters Englysh lyke) a fewe English
rules of the naturall power of the letters in our tounge.

And so than, in as much as I was not onelye induced wyth the
premises, but also further perswaded, that neither any inconuenience
or mischiefe might ensue or grow thereof, but rather the encrease
of mutual amitie and brotherly loue, and continuall friendship (as
it ought to be) and some commodity at the least wyle, to suche as
be desirous to be occupied there aboutes. As for all other, euen as
it shall neuer worke them pleasure, so shall it no displeasure.

Euen therefore at the last, I haue bene so bolde as to enterprise
(condescending to such mens honest request) to inuent and wryte
these playne, simple, and rude rudimentes of the Welsh pronouncia-
tion of the letters, most humbly desiring the Readers to accept them
with no lesse benouolent humanitie, then I hartily pretended to-
wardes them, when I went about to treate of the matter.

[10 Blank.]

[11] ¶ *The pronounciation of the Letters in the Brytysh tungue.*

The letters in the British tungue, have the same figure and
fashion as they haue in Englysh, and be in number as here vnder-
neath in the *Alphabet* appeareth.

good, you, which was not pronounced in the sustained form. See p. 165, l. 24, for Cotgrave's account of this phrase. Salesbury does not recognize (j, w) as different from (i, u), but I have always used (j, w), as the difference of orthography is merely theoretical (p. 185).

¹ Thus printed in the original; the word has not been identified. Wright quotes William de Shoreham for *kepe neme*, pay attention.—Dict. of Obs. and Prov. English.

A. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ff. g.¹ h. i. k.² l. ll. m. n. o. p.³ r.
s. t. th. v. u. w. y.⁴

¶ w. in auncient bookes hath the figure of 6: and perhaps because it is the sixt vowell.⁵

¶ These be the vowels.

a e i o u w y.

These two vowels

a. w. be mutable.⁶

¶ The diphthonges be these, and be pronounced wyth two soundes, after the verye Greeke pronunciation.

Ae ai au aw ay

ei ew

ia ie io iw

oe ow oy

uw

wi

wy⁷

¶ These letters be called consonautes ;

b. c. ch. d. dd. f. g. ff. k. l. ll. m. n. o. p. r. s. t. th. v.

[12] ¶ An aduertisment for Writers and Printers.

¶ Ye that be young doers herein, ye must remember that in the lynes endes ye maye not deuide these letters *ch*, *dd*, *ff*, *ll*, *th*: for in this tounge euery one of them (though as yet they haue not proper figures) hath the nature of one entiere letter onely, and so as vnaturall to be deuided, as *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, or *t*, in Englysh.

¶ *The pronounciation of A.*

A In the British in euery word hath y^e true pronounciation of *a* in Latine.⁸ And it is neuer sounded like the diphthong *au*, as

¹ Here the modern Welsh alphabet introduces *ng* = (g).

² Not used in Modern Welsh.

³ Here *ph* (f) is introduced in modern Welsh but only for proper names, and as a mutation of *p*.

⁴ Salesbury's explanations give the following values to these letters,—A aa a, B b, C k, CH kh, D d, DD dh, E ee e, F v, FF f, G g, NG q, H h, I ii i, K k, L l, LL lh, M m, N n, O oo o, P p, PH f, R r, S s, T t, TH th, V v, U y, W u, Y y. The pronounciation of the Welsh U and Y will be specially considered hereafter.

⁵ This is of course merely fanciful.

⁶ The vowel *o* is also mutable: "Compare the German *Umlaut*, thus *bardd* [sacerdos], pl. *beirdd*; *corn* [cornu], pl. *cyrn*; *dwrn* [pugnus], pl. *dyrnau*.—B.D."

⁷ This is by no means a complete list of modern Welsh diphthongs, and no notice has been taken of the numerous Welsh triphthongs. The Welsh profess to pronounce their diphthongs with each vowel distinctly, but there is much difficulty in separating the sounds of *ae ai au ay* from (ai), and *iw* from *uw* (iu, yu), *oe*, *oy* fall into (oi), and *ei* sounds to me as (ai). In *ia ie io* initial, Welshmen conceive that they pronounce (ja je jo), and similarly in *wi, wy* they believe they say (wi, wy). This is doubtful to me, because of the difficulty all Welshmen experience, at first, in saying *ye woo* (ji wuu), which they generally reduce to (i uu).

⁸ That is the Welsh pronoun Latin *a* as their own *a*. Wallis evidently heard the Welsh *a* as (ææ, æ), *supra* p. 66, l. 18. Compare p. 61, note.

the Frenchmen sounde it commyng before *m* or *n*, in theyr tounge,¹ nor so fully in the mouth as the Germaynes sound it in this woord wagen :² Neyther yet as it is pronounced in English, when it commeth before *ge*, *ll*, *sh*, *tch*. For in these wordes and such other in Englyshe, damage, heritage, language, ashe, lashe, watch, calme, call, *a* is thought to decline toward the sound of these diphthonges *ai*, *au*, and the wordes to be read in thys wyse, domaige, heritaige, language, aish, waitche, caul, caulme.³ But as I sayd before *a* in Welsh hath alwayes but one sound, what so euer letter it folow or go before, as in these wordes ap, cap, whych haue the same pronounciation and signification in both the tongues.⁴

[13] Much lesse hath *a*, such varietie in Welshe, as hath *Aleph* in Hebrue (which alone the poynts altered) hath the sound of euerye vowell.⁵ Howbeit that composition, and deriuation, do oft tymes in the common Welsh speache chaunge *a* into *e*, as in these wordes, *vnvveith* [semel] *seithfed* [septimus]. So they of olde tyme turned *a* into *e* or *ai* in making their plural number of some wordes reseruing the same letter in the termination, and the woord not made one sillable longer, as *apostol* [apostolus], *epestyl* [apostoli]: *caeth* [servus], *caith* [servi]: *dant* [dens], *daint* [dentes], *map* [filius], *maip* [fili]; *sant* [sanctus], *saint* [sancti]: *tat* [pater], *taid* [patres], etc., where in our tyme they extend them thus, *apostolion*, or *apostolieit*, *caethion*: *dannedd* or *dannedde*: *maibion*, *santie* or *seinie*: *taidie* or *tadeu*. But now in Northwales *daint* & *taid* are become of the singuler number, *taid* [avus] being also altered in signification Neuertheles *e* then succeedeth, & is also wrytten in the steede of *a*: so that the Reader shall neuer be troubled therewith.

¶ The sound of *B*.

B in Welsh is vniuersally read and pronouced as it is in Englyshe. Albeit whan a woorde begynneth wyth *b*, and is ioyned wyth moe woordes commyng in a reason, the phrase and maner of the Welshe speach (muche like after the Hebrue idiome) shal alter the sound of that *b*, into the sound of the Hebrue letter that they call *Beth* not daggesed, or the Greek *Veta*,⁶ either els of *v* being consonant in Latine or English: as thus where as *b*, in thys

¹ Suprà p. 143, l. 1, and p. 190.

² Meant to be sounded as (*vaag'en*, *vaab'g'en*, *vaag'en*)? The ordinary pronounciation of modern Saxony sounds to me (*bhaag'h'en*).

³ Probably (*dum'aidzh*, *her'itaidzh*, *laq'waidzh*, *aish*, *waitsh*, *kaul*, *kaulm*). For the change to *ai* see pp. 120, 190; for that to *au* see pp. 143, 194.

⁴ Probably *ap* means *ape*; it does not occur in Salesbury's own dictionary, but he has "*ab ne siak ab An ape*," and "*kap a cappe*." The word *siak* is meant for (*shak*), and (*shak*) for (*dzhak*).

The Welsh now sometimes pronounce *si* as (*sh*), as *ceisio* *petere* (*kai'sho*), and they use it to represent English (*sh*, *tsh*; *zh*, *dzh*), which sounds are wanting in their language. Hence the passage means (*ab ne dzhak-ab*), an ape or a Jack-ape, as I learn from Dr. Davies.

⁵ As *aleph* is only (ʾ) or (ʿ) in pointed Hebrew, (p. 10,) it has no relation to any vowel in particular.

⁶ The Greek β, is called (*vii'ta*) in modern Greek (pp. 518, 524). Salesbury seems to have pronounced (*vee'ta*).

So doe these welsh words *cuvit*, *cuvicul*, *vices*, which be deriued of *cubitus*, *cubiculum*, *bisextus*.

Walshe [14] word *bys* a fynger, is the primitiue (or if I should borrow the Hebrue terme) the radical letter, which comming in the context of a reason, shall not than be calle d *b*, but *v*, as in thys text: *ei vys* his finger. And sometyme *b* shall be turned into *m*, as for an example: *vymys* my fynger: *dengmlvvydd* for *decblvvydd*, ten yeare old. And yet for all the alteration of thys letter *b*, and of diuers other (as ye shall perceyue hereafter) whych by their nature be chaungeable one for an other, it shall nothyng let nor hynder anye man, from the true and proper readyng of the letters so altered.

For as soone as the ydiome or proprietie of the tungue receyueth one lettter for an other, the radicall is omitted and left away: and the accessorie or the letter that commeth in steede of the radical, is forthwith written, and so pronounced after his own nature and power, as it is playne inough by the former example. Whych rule, wrytyng to the learned and perfectly skyled in the idiome of the tongue, I do not alwayes obserue, but not vnblamed of some, but how iustly, let other some iudge.

Prouided alwayes that such transmutation of letters in speakyng (for therein consisteth all the difficultie) is most diligently to be marked, obserued, and taken hede vnto, of him that shall delite to speake Welsh a right.¹

¶ *How C. is pronounced.*

C maketh *k*, for look what power hath *c* in Englishe or in Latine, when it commeth before *a*, *o*, *u*, that same shall it haue in Welshe [15] before any vowell, diphthong, or consonant, whatsoeuer it be. And as *M. Melanchthon* affirmeth, that *c. k. q.* had one sound in times past wyth the Latines: so do al such deducted wordes thereof into the Welsh, beare witnes, as, accen of *accentu*, Caisar *Cæsare*, cicut of *cicuta*, cist of *cista*, croc of *cruce*, raddic of *radice*, Luc of *Luca*, lluc also of *luce*, Lluci of *Lucia*, llucern of *lucerna*, Mauric of *Mauricio*: natalic of *nataliciis*.

How be it some of our tyme doe vse to wryte *k*. rather than *c*. where Wryters in tymes past haue left *c*. wrytten in their auncient bookes, specially before *a*, *o*, *u*, and before all maner consonantes, and in the latter end of wordes. Also other some there be that

¹ The initial permutations in the Welsh (and Celtic languages generally) are a great peculiarity. Some consonants have three, some two, and some only one mutation, and the occasions on which they have to be used do not seem capable of being reduced to a general principle. The mutations in Welsh are as follows:—

radical	p	t	c	b	d	g	ll	rh	m
vocal	b	d	g	f	dd	-	l	r	f
nasal	mh	nh	ngh	m	n	ng			
aspirate	ph	th	ch						

The (-) indicates the entire loss of *g* as *gafr* goat, *dy afr* thy goat; *mh nh ngh* are not (*mh*, *nh*, *gh*), but (*mh* *nh* *gh*) and consequently if there is no

preceding vowel which can be run on to the (*m*, *n*, *q*), a murmur is inserted as (*'mh*, *'nh* *'qh*).

sound now *c*, as *g*, in the last termination of a word: Example, *oc* [juventus], *coc* [moles], *lloc* [agger]: whych be most commonly read, *og*, *cog*, *llog*.¹

Furthermore, it is the nature of *c*. to be turned into *ch*, and other whyles into *g*. But I meane thys, when a word that begynneth wyth *c*. commeth in construction as thus: *Carvv* a Hart, *Evvic* a' *Charvv*, a Hynde and a Hart. Either els when *c*. or *k*. (for they be both one in effect) is the fyrst letter of a word that shall be compounded, as for an example, *Angraff*, *angred*, *angrist*, which be compoūded of *an* and of *craff*, *cred*, *Christ*.²

¶ The sound of *Ch*.

CH doth wholly agree with the pronounciatiō of *ch* also in the Germaine³ or *Scottyshe⁴ toungue, of the Greeke *Chy*,⁵ or the Hebrue [16] *Cheth*,⁶ or of *gh* in English.⁷ And it hath no affinitie at all wyth *ch* in English, except in these wordes, *Mychael*, *Mychaelmas*,⁸ and a fewe such other. *ch* also when it is the radical letter in any Welsh worde, remaineth immutable in euery place. But note that their tongue of Southwales giueth them to sound in some wordes *h* onely for *ch*,⁹ as *hvech*, for *chvech* [sex], *hvaer* for *chvaer* [soror]. Further *ch* sometyme sheweth the feminine gender, as well in Verbes as in Nownes, as *ny thal hon y chodi* [non digna illa quæ levetur]: *y char hi* [amator illius mulieris]: for if the meanyng were of any other gender, it shuld haue been sayd *i godi* and not *i chodi*, *i gar*, and not *i char*. &c.

Constructiō is taken here for the ioynng together of wordes otherwise called a reason. Carw is the absolut word.

Namely as the Scotishe Scrieneners obserue, as richt, mycht, &c.

¶ The sound of *D*.

D is read in Welshe none otherwyse then in Englyshe, sauynge onelye that oftentymes *d* in the fyrst syllables shalbe turned into *dd*, resembling much *Daleth* the Hebrue *d*.¹⁰ And sometyme

¹ Mr. E. Jones observes that "this is in accordance with a general tendency in modern Welsh to use the medial for the tenuis." Dr. Davies doubts this tendency.

² The modern Welsh forms are *annghraff* hebes, *anngfred* infidelitas, *anngchrist* anti-Christus.

³ Where it has really three sounds (*kh*, *kh*, *kwh*) dependent on the preceding vowel (p. 53). Probably Salesbury only thought of (*kh*).

⁴ The Scotch words cited in the margin, are pronounced (*rekht mekht*).

⁵ The modern Greek χ, according to one account I received, is always (*kh*), never (*kh*), but Prof. Valetta (p. 517, n. 2) used both (*kh*, *kh*).

⁶ The Hebrew ך and ך are by Euro-

peans confounded as (*kh*); taking the Arabic pronounciation of the corresponding ح they are (*h*, *krh*).

⁷ This therefore confirms the existence of a sufficiently distinct (*kh*) in English, which may have been occasionally (*kh*).

⁸ It is not to be supposed that *ch* in these words was (*kh*) at that time. But the text certainly implies that the *ch* was not (*tsh*), and was therefore probably (*k*) as at present. All that is meant, then, probably, is that (*kh*) is more like (*k*) than (*tsh*).

⁹ The modern use in South Wales is to say (*wh*) initially for (*kwh*), as (*whekh*) for (*kwhekh*).

¹⁰ Hebrew ך ך = (*d*, *dh*).

when a word begynnyng wyth *d*, is compounded wyth *an*: the *d* shall slyp away, as *anavrn* [in-donum] of *an* [in] and *davrn* [donum]; *anoeth* [in-doctus] of *an* [in] and *doeth* [doctus].

Dd is nothing lyke of pronounciation to *dd* in Englysh or Latine. For the double *dd* in Welsh hath the very same sound of *dhelta*¹ or *dhaletth*, dashed wyth *raphe*,² or of *d* betwyxt .ij. vowels in the Hispanish tongue,³ eyther els of *th*, as they be comonly sounded in these Englysh wordes, the, that, thys, thyne.⁴ Neither do I meane nothyng lesse then that *dd* in Welshe is sounded at any tyme [17] after the sound of *th* these wordes of Englishe, wyth thynne, thanke.⁵ But ye shall fynde in olde wrytten Englysh bookes, a letter hauing the fygure of a Romaine *y*, that your auncesters called *dhorn*, which was of one efficacie wyth the Welsh *dd*.⁶ And this letter *y*^t I speake of, may you see in the booke of the Sermon in the Englyshe Saxons tonge, which the most reuerend father in God D. M. P. Archbishop of *Canturbury* hath lately set forth in prynt.⁷ And ther be now in some countries in England, that pronounce *dd* euen

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in these wordes **addes*, *fedder*,⁸ according as they be pronouced in the Welsh. And ye must note that *dd*, in Welsh is not called double *dd*, neither is it a double letter (though it seemeth so to be) wherefore it doth not fortify nor harden the sillable that it is in, but causeth it to be a great deale more thicke, soft, and smoothe. For he that first added to, the second *d*, ment thereby to aspirate the *d*,⁹ and signifie that it should be more lightly sounded, and not the contrary.

¹ Modern Greek δ is (dh). This, and the sound given above to β (p. 747 note 6), shews that the present modern Greek system of pronounciation (p. 523) was then prevalent in England, see pp. 529–530 and notes. Sir Thomas Smith's book, advocating the Erasmian system of pronouncing Greek, was not published till 1568, a year after this second edition of Salesbury's book.

² "Formerly, when דגֶשׁ was not found in any of the בְּנִדְכָפֶת letters, a mark called רָפֶה *Rā-phé*, was placed above it, in order to shew that the point had not been omitted by mistake. With the ancient Syrians this was nothing more than a point made with red ink. The Hebrews probably wrote it in the same way: but, as this point might be mistaken for the vowel *Khôlem*, when printed, or, for one of the accents, the form of it was altered for a short line thus (-), which is still found in the Hebrew manuscripts, though very rarely in printed books." *S. Lee*, Grammar of the Hebrew Language, 3rd edit. p. 21. Hence רָפֶה with *raphe* was equivalent to the ordinary רָ = (dh).

³ If the Spanish *d* in this place is not true (dh), it is so like it that Spaniards hear English (dh) as that sound, and English that sound as (dh). Don Mariano Cubi i Soler, a good linguist, who spoke English remarkably well, in his *Nuevo Sistema . . . para aprender a leer i pronunciar . . . la lengua inglese*, Bath, 1851, gives (p. 8) the Spanish *deidad* deity, as a threefold example of (dh). Yet the Spanish sound may be (e), p. 4.

⁴ Pronounced (dhe, dhat, dhis, dhein).

⁵ Pronounced (with, thin, thaqk).

⁶ This alludes to the common practice of printing *y* for *þ*, which letter is usually called (thorn) not (dhorn), but see p. 541, note 2.

⁷ As this was first written in 1550, the Archbishop must have been Cranmer.

⁸ *Addis addice*, now written *adze*, is generally called (ædz). *Fedder* is perhaps meant for *feather* (fedh·i) but may be *father*, provincially (fee·dhr).

⁹ The Welsh has *dd*, *ff*, *ll* (dh, f, lhh), all meant as so-called aspirations of their *d*, *f*, *l* (d, v, l). Similarly Salesbury has *rr* for modern *rh* (infra

But I thynke it had be easier, more meete, and lesse straunge to the Reader, if that he had put *h*, after the former *d*, in a signe of asperation, than to adde an other *d* thereto.

And as it semeth it is not passing three or foure C. yeares ago, synce they began to double their *d*, for before that tyme by lykely-hood they vsed one constant maner of pronounciation of their letters euen as the Hebrues did at the beginning.

[18] *Dd* also begynning a word, sheweth that it commeth in construction: for there is no woord commying absolutely that his fyrst syllable begynneth wyth *dd*.

Moreouer, *dd* relateth the masculyne gender, as (*Ai ddeuwraich ar ei ddwyron*) [illius hominis brachia duo super illius hominis pectora duo] for in an other gender, it would be sayd, *Ai dewwraich ar ei dwyron* [illius mulieris, &c. ut suprà].

How E ought to be sounded.

E without any exception hath one permanent pronounciation in Welsh,¹ and that is the self pronounciation of *Epsilon* in Greke,² or of *e* in Latine, being sounded aryght, or *e* in Englyshe, as it is sounded in these woordes, a *vvere*, *vvreke*, *breke*, *vvreste*.³

And the learner must take good hede that he neuer do reade the said *e* as it is red in these English wordes, *vve*, *beleue*:⁴ For than by so doing shall he eyther alter the signification of the word wherin the same *e* is so corruptly reade, either els cause it to betoken nothing at all in that speche. Example: *pe* [si] signifieth in English and if, now, ye rede it *pi*, than wil it betoken this letter *p*, or the byrd that ye call in Englyshe a Pye. And so *gvve* is, a webbe: but if ye sound *e* as *i* reading it *gvvi*, then hath it no signification in the Welshe.

And least peradventure the foresayd example of the Welch or straunge tong be somewhat obscure, [19] then take this in your own mother tong for an explanation of that other: wherby ye shall perceiue that the diuersitie of pronounciation of *e* in these English woordes subscribed hereafter, wyll also make them to haue diuers signifiatiōs, and they be these woordes, *bere*, *pere*, *hele*, *mele*.⁵

p. 758); and Dan Michel and others use *ss* for (sh), (suprà pp. 409, 441) which many consider as an aspirate of *s*. Of course there is no aspiration, though the writing (dh), as Salesbury goes on to suggest, has arisen from this old error. Compare the Icelandic *hj*, *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, *hv*, suprà p. 544.

¹ The modern Welsh *e* is, and seems to have always been (ee, e) and never (ee, e), and hence I so transcribe it.

² Meaning (e) of course.

³ (Weer, wreck rweek, breek, wrest, rwest).

⁴ (Wii, biliiv) as appears from what immediately follows.

⁵ (Biir) bier or beer, (beer) bear, (piir) peer, (peer) pear, (hiil) heel, (heel)

heal, (miil) meel = meddle?, (meel) meal, p. 79. Mr. Murray suggests that *meal* in the sense of food consumed at one time, German *mahl*, ags. mæl, Scotch (miel) may have been (meel), and *meal* in the sense of flour, German *mehl*, ags. melu, Scotch (mil) may have been (miil) and that these were the two sounds Salisbury meant to distinguish. This is à priori most likely, but the orthographies leave the matter in great perplexity. Promptorium: meel of mete; mele or mete, *commestio cibatus*; meele of corne growndyn', *farina far*. Palsgrave: meale of corne *farine*, meale of meate *repast*. Levins: meale *farina*, by flock meale *minutum*, meele *cana*, which would seem to indi-

Neither yet doe we vse in Welsh at any time to write *e* in the middle or last sillables, & to leaue it vnspoken in reading: as it is done by *scheua* in Hebrue, or as the maner of wrytyng and read- yng of the same is accustomed in Englysh, as it shall be more manifest by these wordes that followe: *golde, sylke, purenes, Chepe- syde*: wherein (as I suppose) *e* is not written to the entent it might be read or spoken, but to mollifye the syllable that it is put in.¹

But now I am occasioned to declyne and stray somewhat from my purpose, and to reueale my phantasie

An obseruation for wrytyng of English whych in prynting cannot so well be kept.

to yong wryters of Englishe, who (me thinketh) take ouer muche paynes, and bestowe vnrequisite cost (hauing no respect to the nature of the Englysh ending

e) in doublyng letters to harden the syllable, and immediatly they adde an *e*, whych is a signe of mittigatyng and softning of the syllable, after the letters so doubled, as thus: *manne, vvorshippe, Godde, vvotte, vvyshe, goodnesse, hemme, uette*:² whych woordes wyth such other lyke, myght with lesse labour, and as well for the purpose, be wrytten on thys wyse: *maun, vvorshypp. Godd, vvott, vvyshe, goodness, hemm, nett*: or rather thus: *man vvorshyp, God, vvott, goodness, hem, net*.

[20] And though thys principle be most true *Frustra id fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora*, that is done in vayne by the more, that maye be done by the lesse: yet the Printers in consideration for iustifyng of the lynes, as it is sayde of the makers to make vp the ryme, must be borne wythall.³

How F. is commonly sounded.

F In Welsh being syngle, and *v* when it is consonant in Welsh, English, or Latine, be so nygh of sounde, that they vse moste commonly to wryte in Welsh indifferently the one for the other. And I my selfe haue heard Englysh men in some countries of England sound *f*, euen as we sound it in Welsh.⁴ For I haue marked their maner of pronounciation, and specialle in soundyng these woordes:

cate the difference (meel, miil) in an exactly opposite direction, but as Levins has: eale eel *anquilla*, beale beel *spe-lunca*, deale deele *portio*, he may have meant to imply that these words were in a transition state. The meaning of the two words (miil, meel) then, intended by Salesbury, must remain doubtful.

¹ The utter extinction of the feeling for the final *e* is here well shewn. How a syllable can be "mollified" without any utterance, is not apparent. The words are (goold, silk, pyyrnes, Tsheep'seid').

² (Man, wursh'p, God, wot, wish, gud'nes, hem, net), since *uette* must be a misprint for *nette*.

³ This may be partly an explanation of the varieties of orthography in the xvith century in printed books, but will not explain the nearly equal varieties in manuscript. I have noted at least ten ways of spelling *tongue* in in Salesbury's own book: *tongue, tonge, tong, tounge, tounge, tung, tunge, tung, toũg*; ags. *tunge*.

⁴ This is west country, still heard in Somersetshire and Devonshire. In early English books of the West of England *u* is constantly used for *f*. We also find it in Dan Michel's Kentish dialect 1340 (p. 409). The same places give also *z* for *s*.

voure, viue, disvigure, vish, vox: where they would say, *foure, five, disfigure, fysh, Fox*, &c.¹

But who soeuer knoweth the sounde of the letter called *Digamma* (whose figure is much lyke F, but ouerwhelmed Eolicum ¶ psydedowne, as ye see here ¶) he shall also know thereby the verye sounde of the syngle f in Welsh.² They of South-wales rather vse *v*,³ where Northwales writers commonly occupye *f*.

¶ *The sound of ff.*

ff In Welsh hath but the same sounde that the syngle *f* hath in Englysh. And they are faine to vse the double *ff* for the syngle *f*, because [21] they haue abused *f* in steede of *v* a consonant. But in such wordes as haue *p* for the fyrst letter of their originall (for to keepe the *orthographie*) the Learned wryte *ph*, and not *ff*, as thus, *Petr a' Phavv*, Peter and Paule.

¶ *The pronounciation of G.*

G In euery word in Welsh soundeth as the Hebrue *Gymel*:⁴ or *g* in Dutche,⁵ or as *g* in Englyshe soundeth before *a, o, u*. And marke well that *g* neuer soundeth in Welshe as it doth in English in these woordes, *George, gynger*.⁶ G also in Welsh sometyme (when it commeth in a reason) shall be turned into *ch*, and somtyme elided or left cleane out of the word as thus, *a chevedy hynny* [ac postquam] *iavvn ne'vrad* [satisfactio vel sanguis]: *koch ne 'las* [rufus vel viridis]: and not *koch ne glas*: *dulas* [viridis nigrescens] of *du* [niger] and *glas* [viridis].

G is but very seldom turned into ch. *Gweddy Gwad, Glas*

And otherwhyle wordes compounded shall put away *g*, as these do, *serloyvv, dulas*: whose symple be these, *ser* [aster], *gloyvv* [purus], *du* [niger] *glas* [viridis].

Also *g* is added to the beginning of such words as be deriued of the Latine, whych begyn wyth *v*, as *Gvvilim, gvvic, gvvynt, Gvoent, gvvin, gosper* of *VVilielmus, vicus, ventus, Venta, vinum, vesper*.⁷

Moreouer, *g* intrudeth wrongeously into many wordes, namely after *n*, as *Llating* for *Llatin*, *Katering* for *Katherin*, *pring* for *prin* [vix].

[22] *Of the aspiration of H.*

H In euery word that is wrytten in Welshe, hath hys aspiration in speakyng also, and is read, euen as in these woordes of Englysh, *hard, heard, hart, hurt*:⁸ And therefore whersoever *h* is wrytten in Welshe, let it be read wythall, and not holden styll,

¹ (Foour, feiv, disfig:yyr, fish, foks).

² That is, when the sound of the digamma has been previously settled. Was it (f, v, wh, bh)? See *suprà* p. 518, note 3.

³ "Not now.—B.D."

⁴ ȝ = (g), ȝ = (gh).

⁵ *G* in *high* Dutch or German generally = (g) and occasionally = (gh, gh),

in *low* Dutch or Dutch of Holland = (gh), or more nearly (grh, r). *Suprà* p. 209, note.

⁶ (Dzhordzh, dzhin'dzher.)

⁷ This is common in French and Italian. In endeavouring to say (wa) they say (gwa), and then (ga).

⁸ (Hard, herd, hard, hart, hurt).

as it is done in French and Englysh, in such wordes as be deriued out of Latyne, as these: *honest, habitation, humble, habite*.¹ &c. Except when *h* is settled betwene two vowels in Welshe, wordes: for then it forceth not greatlye whether *h* be sounded or not, as in these wordes that followe: *deheu* [dexteritas], *kyhyr* [musculus] *mehein* [adept], *gvvcheu, heheu*,² *gvvchydd* [textor], *gohir* [mora]. &c.

Moreouer, *h* sometime sheweth the gender, & somtyme the number of the word that it is set before, as in this word, *Ar y hael*: vpon her, or their brow. Further, *h* oftentimes is caused or engendred of the concourse of vowels, *oi hervvydd*, for *oi ervvydd*, and sometimes by accenting, as *trugarha*, for *trugará*. Then becaus *eh* is not of the essence of the word, I leaue it for most part vnwrytten.

The sound of I.

I In Welsh hath the mere pronunciation of *i* in Latine, as learned men in our time vse to soūd it, and not as they y^e with their Iotacisme corrupting the pronunciation make a [23] diphthong of it, saying: *veidei, teibei* for *vidi, tibi*. But looke how *i* soundeth in Englysh, in these words, *singing, ringing, drinking, vvinking, nigh, sight, might, right*.³ So then *i* in euery syllable in Welshe hath euen the same sounde as *e* hath in Englyshe in these wordes, *vvee, see, three, bee*. And *i* is neuer sounded so broade in Welsh as it is in thys English word *I.⁴ And besyde that *i* is neuer consonant in Welsh,⁵ but euer remaining a vowel, as it doth in y^e

* *Ego* Germayne tonge, or as *Iota* in the Greke. And because they that haue not tasted of the preceptes of Grammer do not lightly vnderstande what thys terme consonant meaneth: I wyll speake herein as playne as I can, for to induce them to vnderstand my meanyng.

when <i>i</i> is consonant,	Therefore when we say in spellyng <i>ma</i> , <i>ma: i e, ie: st e, ste: maieste:</i> or <i>I e, Ie: s u s, sus: Jesus:</i> now in these two wordes, <i>maieste</i> , and <i>Jesus</i> , <i>i</i> is consonant.
when <i>i</i> is vowel.	But when I spell on thys wyse: <i>i per se i, o r k, ork,</i> and wyth doying them togyther, reade <i>iork</i> : then <i>i</i> is not called consonant, but hath the name of a vowel.

¹ (On'est, abitee'shun, um-bl, ab-it). See above p. 220.

² The words *gvvcheu, heheu*, have not been identified.

³ (Siq'iq, riq'iq, driqk'iq, wiqkiq, n'ikh, sikht, m'ikht, r'ikht). Salesbury here however means (i) not (i), which he generally marks by *y* Welsh. Yet Welshmen at present do not seem acute in distinguishing (i, i), but use sometimes one sound and sometimes the other, *suprà* p. 112, note 1. The (n'ikht) and not (nei) or (neikht) sound of *nigh* is here pointed out by the context.

⁴ Meaning (ei).

⁵ That is, never has the sound of *i* consonant or *j* in English, that is, (dzh). Salesbury never thinks of (j) as a consonant, but only as the vowel (i). This must be borne in mind in reading what follows, in which a curious example of the mode of spelling out words in old English is presented. Of course his argument is perfectly worthless. There is a dispute, as already mentioned, concerning the Welsh *i* preceding another vowel. Mr. E. Jones and Dr. Davies both consider Welsh *i* to be (j) in such words *iawn iach, Iesus*. In English, Smith and Hart consider (j) and (i) to be the same sounds, *suprà* p. 185.

And therefore if ye lyst to reade ryghtly Welshe woordes wherein *i* is wrytten, an other vowell immediatlye folowing (for therein else is there no hinderaunce for the straunge Reader) than must you harken how *i* (whyche I wryte for *y*) is sounded in these Englysh woordes: *i-ane, i-arde, ielde, i elk, i elle, ielovv, iere, iok, iong, ioughth, Iorke, iou*: And thoughe theese woordes bee wrytten here [24] now wyth *i*, in the first letter of euery one, yet it is ment that you should reade them as the *i* were *y*, and as they had been wrytten on thys fashion: *yane, yarde, yelde, yell, yelovv, yere, yok, yong, youghth, yorke, you*.²

Now I trust that the dullest witted chylde that neuer read but two lynes, perceaueth so familiar a rudiment.

¶ *The sound of K.*

K Foloweth the rule of *c* in euery poynt, and therefore looke for the effect of *k*, where it is treated of the letter *c*.

¶ *The sound of L.*

L Hath no nother differēce in soūd in Welsh than in Englysh.

And note that it neyther causeth *a*, nor *o*, when they come before it, to sounde anye more fuller in the mouth, than they do else where sounde; commyng before anye other letter.³ And for the playner vnderstandyng therereof, looke in the rules that do treat of the sounde of *a* and *o*.

And marke whan soeuer ye see *l* to be the fyrst letter of a worde, that eyther the same word commeth in construction, eyther else the word is of an other language, and but vsurped in Welsh.

A worde beginning wyth *l* hauyng *ll* in hys [25] radical, maketh relation of the masculin gender, as *yn y llavv* in his hand: for *yny llavv* is in her hand.

Item thys lysping letter *l* is now smotheley receyued in some wordes, contrary to their original nominations, as *temestl* for *tempest*; *rriscl*, *trisclyn*, for *rrisc* or *rriscyn* [cortex]: *pymysl* or *pymysl* for *pemblys* [quinque digiti]: so named of the resemblāce that the rootes haue wyth mans fingers: which is now better knowen by a more vnapte name euen *Cecut y dvvr*, and in Englysh Water small-edge.⁴

So likewyse to this letter *l* a loytring place is lent to lurk in this English word *syllable*.⁵ And thus much, that the wryters hereafter maye be more precise and circumspect in accepting the vnlettereds pronounciation by the authority of theyr hand wryting.

¹ I have not met with this form *iye* elsewhere, except in the Heng. MS. of C. T. v. 10. The sound seems to be (ii) as in the Scotch word *ee* for *eye*.

² (Jaun, jard, jild, jel, jel'ouu, jiir, jook, juq, juuth, Jork, juu). The orthography *youghth* for *youth* is peculiar.

³ This alludes to the old English

pronounciation of *tall*, *toll* as (taul, tooul), *suprà* p. 193-4

⁴ Apparently *cicuta virosa*, Water cowbane, Water Hemlock, now spelled *cegid* in Welsh.

⁵ This, in conjunction with the preceding, is meant to point out the syllabic ('l), see p. 195.

¶ *Of the straunge sound of double ll.*

Ll can not be declared anye thyng lyke to the purpose in wryting, but onely by mouth: if ye thē wyll learne how it ought to be sounded: For (as it is sayd before of *d*) so the second *l* is added

Vide *Oecolampadium*.¹

in stede of *h*:² but looke how *Lambda* coming before *Iota* is sounded in the Greeke:³ euen so pronounce we *ll* in the Welsh. And if ye could hyt kyndely on the right and iust pronunciation of *lh* thus aspirated: not leauyng unsoüded the entire energie, and the whole strength of the aspiration: than shoulde not you bee farre dissonant from the true [26] sound of our Welsh *ll*.

For the Welsh *ll* is spoken the tongue bowed by a lyttle to the roufe of the mouth, and with that somewhat extendyng it selfe betwyxt the fore teeth the lypes not all touching together)but leauing open as it were for a wyndow) the right wyke of the mouth for to breathe out wyth a thyecke aspirated spirite the same *ll*. But as I sayde before, and if ye wyll haue the very Welsh sounde of

¹ Joannes Oecolampadius, the Latinized name of Johann Hausschein, the reformer, 1482-1531, who studied Greek under both Reuchlin and Erasmus, the teachers of the rival Greek Pronunciations.

² The Welsh *ll* is not (lh) the whisper of (l), for in (lh) the breath escapes smoothly on both sides of the tongue, and the sound may be frequently heard, with very little escape of breath, in French, *table* (tablh) for (tabl') see p. 52, and in Icelandic, p. 545. But for the Welsh *ll*, one side (generally the left) of the tongue lies along the whole of the palate so as entirely to prevent the passage of air, just as for the English cl'ck (*l*) p. 11, by which we excite horses, and the breath is forcibly ejected from the right side, making it vibrate, at the same time that there is a considerable rattle of saliva, thus much resembling (kh) or rather (krlh), and the sound is, perhaps for this reason, conceived as a guttural aspirate by Welsh grammarians. The Welsh *ll* is a voiceless or whispered consonant which I represent by (lhh) p. 6, the second (h) to the right typifying the ejection of breath on the right side, and the initial (lh) the resemblance of the sound to (lh) which when energetic may be substituted for it without loss of intelligibility, although the Welsh ear immediately detects the difference. The lips may be fully open, or only opened on the right; the effect is entirely due to the

action of the tongue and is very peculiar. At a distance *llan* (lhhan) when shouted sounds like (tlan). There is no resemblance to (thlan) which Englishmen generally substitute for it. When the table of palaeotype was drawn up I had never heard the voiced form of (lhh), which for convenience, may be written (zhh). It is possible also to have palatalised varieties of both, which must then be written (ljhh, zjhh). All these forms with (hh) are very awkward, but they are sufficiently distinctive, and the sounds are very rare. In: Il Vangelo di S. Matteo volgarizzato in dialetto Sardo Sassarese dal Can. G. Spano accompagnato da osservazioni sulla pronunzia di questo dialetto e su varj punti di rassomiglianza che il medesimo presenta con le lingue dette Celtiche, sia ne' cambiamenti iniziali, sia nel suono della lettera L, del *Principe Luigi-Luciano Bonaparte*, Londra 1866, it is stated that (lhh, zhh, ljhh) occur in the Sardinian dialect of Sassari, and (lhh, zhh) in the dialect of the Isle of Man. The Prince pronounced all these sounds to me, but he laid no stress on their unilateral character, or rather disowned it. In this case (zh, dzh) were really the sounds uttered for (lhh zhh), according to Mr. M. Bell's views, *Visible Speech*, p. 93, and Mr. Bell on hearing them, analyzed them thus.

³ Here Salesbury most probably elevated (li) first into (lj) and then into (ljh). See also p. 546, n. 1.

thys letter, geue eare to a Welshmā when he speaketh *culltell*, which betokeneth a knyfe in Englysh: or *ellyll* a ghoste.

The Welshman or the Hispaniarde compose their mouthes much after one fashion whan they pronounce their *ll*,¹ sauynge that the Welshman vttereth it with a more thicker and a more mightier spirite. The Englyshe mans toungue when he would sound *ll*, slydeth to *tl*.

The Germanes lykewyse, as writeth *John Auentin*, as we do now, did in auncient time aspirate *l*, but pronouncing it somewhat hardish in the throte. And in an other place he recordeth that in old Charters he findeth *l* aspirated, nameelye in proper names, and after thys manner H L.² Thus you see how tonges though far distant, haue som affinitie in one thyng or other.

The sound of M.

[27] M In Welsh hath such a sound as ye heare it haue in

Englysh or Latine: but yet it is one of the letters that be channgeable in construction as thus: *mvvy*, moe, *llai ne vvy*, lesse ormore, *mvvyvvy*, more and more: *mal hyn*, or *val hyn*, as thus: *megis* or *vegis*, as.

The sound of N.

N Is none otherwyse sounded in Welshe then in Englyshe: but sometyme, after the Latine maner, whan it commeth before *b* or *p* in composition, it is than turned into *m*, as *ymblaen* [coram], which is compounded of *yn* and *blaen*: *amparch* [contumelia] of *an* [in] and *parch* [reverentia]: *ampvvyll* [impatientia], or *an & pvvyll* [prudentia].

N also is often times accessory, I meane such as intrudeth into many wordes, namely beginning with *c* or *k*, as *vyncear* [meus carus] *vy-car*, *vyndevv* [meus deus], for *vy-devv*, or *vynyvv*.

And because in suche woordes it is nothyng of the essence thereof, I doe, but not without offence to some Readers, oftentimes omit the writing of it, thynckynge that it is not more meete to admyt *n* in our so sounded wordes, than in these Latine vocables *agnus*, *magnus*, *ignis*, at what tyme they were thus barbarously sounded, *angnus*, *mangnus*, *ignis*. After this sort crept *n* into *messenger* coming of *message*. By y^e like analogie *potanger* (which I thynke no man doth so write) must be written for *potager*, and so corrupt *Portingal* for *Portugal*.³

[28] But I will prescribe nothing herein, least of some Remission I be termed a Precisian.

¹ The Spanish *ll* is (lj), so that Salesbury has elevated it to (ljh), see preceding note. No doubt in attempting to imitate it he put his own tongue into the familiar Welsh position, and took it for the Spanish.

² On the ags. and Icelandic *hl* see *suprà* pp. 513, 546.

³ Compare nightingale ags. *nihte-gale*, Leffrington ags. *Leofric*, *passenger* fr. *passagier*, *porringer* quasi *porridger*, *Arminger* lt. *armiger*, *popinjay*, old e. *popingay*, old fr. *papegai*. See these and other examples of an inserted *n* in *Mätzner*, *Englische Grammatik*, 1860, vol. i. p. 174.

The sound of O.

O In Welsh is sounded accordyng to the right sounding of it in

Latin: eyther else as the sounde of *o* is in these Englyshe wordes: a *Doe*, a *Roe*, a *Toe*:¹ and *o* neuer soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these words of Englysh: *to*, *do*, *two*.² But marke that *o* in Welshe going before *ll*, snundeth nothing more boystous,³ that is to say, that it inclineth to the sounde of the diphthong *ou* (as it doth in Englishe)⁴ no more than if it had gone before any other letter.

The sound of P.

P in Welsh differeth not from the Englysh sound of *p*, but *p* comyng in construction foloweth the rules of the Hebrue *Phe*,⁵ sauving that somtyme it is turned into *b*, as thus: *pedvvar neu bemp* [quatuor vel quinque], for *pemp*. And sometyme *p* in composition is chaunged also into *b*, as whan we say *ymbell* [longe], for *ympell*. And one whyle it is left out of the compounde woordes: as whan these wordes: *kymell*, *kymorth*, be wrytten for *kympell* [compello], *kymport* [comporto].

And an other whyle our tongue geueth vs to sound it as it were an *h*, as whan we say: *ymhle* [29] *ymhlevy*, *ymhlas* for *ymple* [?], *ym-plvvy* [in plebe] *ym-plas* [in palatio].

But *p* turned into *ph*, maketh relation of the feminine gender, as *O'i phlant*, of her children, *gvrisc i phen*, the attire of her head.

The sound of Q.

Q Is not receiued amōg the nombre of the letters in Welshe as yet,

but *k* supplyeth his rowme, and vsurpeth his office in euery place. And the Greekes are fayne to practice the same feate, as ye may see done. *Luc. ii* and *Ro. 16*. where *Kyrynion* is written for *Quirino*, *Kuartos* for *Quarto*.⁶

The sound of R.

R Is sounded a like in Welsh and Englysh, but *r*, in Welsh for the most part is pronounced wyth aspiration, especially being the first letter of the word. And for the aspiration *h*, they commonly

¹ (Doo, roo, too). In my observations of Welsh, the long and short *o* were invariably (oo, o). The sounds (oo, o) seem practically unknown, and not appreciated by Welchmen. That these were also the English sounds in the xvth century I infer as in p. 95.

² (Tu, duu, tuu).

³ *Boystous*, probably (buistrus) does not appear to be a misprint, but a more correct form than the modern *boisterous*. The Promptorium has *boystows*, the Catholicon *bustus*, the Ortus Voc. *boystous*, Chaucer *boystously* 8667 (Wright reads *boystrouslly* incorrectly, the *r* not occurring in Harl, 7334,

Cam. Univ. MS. Dd. 4. 24. has *boistously*), and in several other places, the Wycliffite version has *bostous*, Math. 9, 16, as pointed out by Mr. Way on the word in the Promptorium. The origin seems to be the Welsh *bwyst* wildness, *bwyst* savage, *bwystfil* wild beast, *bwystus* brutal ferocious, which account properly for the diphthong in the first syllable. Mr. R. Morris refers the word to *boast*, Welsh *bost*.

⁴ This again refers to the English *toll* = (tooull).

⁵ *Ð* = (p), *Ð* = (ph) not (f).

⁶ Luke 2, 2, *Κυρηνίου*, Rom. 16, 23, *Κοβαρτος*.

put to *r*,¹ as they play by *d* and *l*, euen thus: *rrvvygvvyd* [fractus], *rrodres* [vanitas], *rringell* [miles], *Rufain* [Roma]. But the maner of some is to wryte one great capitall R (when it is the fyrst letter of a woord) for the twoo double *rr*. Also *r* serueth the turne that *n* doth in Englysh, that is to wyt, to be put betwene vowels meeting together in two sundry wordes, for to stop the vncomely gaping in spech, as ye shall perceyue by these woordes of both the [30] tongues: *yr-avvr*: a-n houre: for mother nature wyll not admyt that we should pronounce *y avvr*, or *a hour*. But stepmother Ignorance² receyueth both *r* and *n* into some places where they are abused, as *yr Llatin g*, for *y Llatin*.

¶ *The sound of S.*

S Soundeth in Welsh as it doth in Latin: neither hath it two diuers soundes as it hath in Englishe or Frenche, for when it commeth betwene two vowels in these two languages, it is so remissely and lithly sounded, as it were *z*, as by these two wordes of both the speaches it is manifestly proued, *Feisant* a Fesant.³

¶ *The sound of T.*

T Lykewyse hath but one sounde, and that as the Latines sound it in these wordes: *atat*, *tute*, *tegit*: Neyther do I meane that *t* in Welsh is sounded at any tyme lyke *th*, as some barbarous lypers do, who deprauē the true Latine pronounciation, reading *amath*, for *amat*, *dederith*, for *dederit*, &c.⁴

Now be it marke well thys exception, that *t* is neuer read lyke *c* thorowout the Welsh tongue, as it is commonly read of Englyshemen in Latine verbales ending in *tio*, as Exception *pronunciatio*, *electio*, *subiectio*.

[31] Marke also, that it is the nature of *t* to be turned into *d*, and sometime into *th*, and some other tyme it is so lightly spoken, that the *t* is quite left away, and there remayneth but the *h* in steede of the *t*. But thys is to be vnderstande when *t* is the fyrst letter of a word set in construction to be construed or buylt together on thys fashion: *Na thrice yuhy dvy avvr ne dair* [Ne mane in domu duas horas vel tres]. For before they be hewed, squared, and ioyned together wyth theyr tenantes and mortesses, they lye in rude and vndressed timber after this maner of sort: *Na tryc yn ty dvy avvr ne tair*. Furthermore *t* in deriuation is left out of the deriued wordes or turned in *n*, that they myght sound more pleasaunt to the eare, as ye may take these for an example: *chvvanoc* or *chvva*

The absolute
wordes

¹ To *r*, that is, two *r*'s, or *rr*. The modern form is *rh*, rather (*rh*) than (*rh*), so that *Rhys* (*Rhys*) sounds more like (*his*) than (*ris*).

² Of course "*an hour*" is the old form, and "*a*" comes from the omission of *n* before a consonant. The ignorance is therefore rather in Salesbury.

³ This occasions difficulties in writ-

ing the sounds of English words in Welsh letters.

⁴ Palsgrave says of the French *d* that he sees "no particular thyng wherof to warne the lernar saue that they sounde nat *d* of *ad* in these words *adultere*, *adoption*, *advice*, like *th*, as we of our tonge do in these wordes of Latine *ath athinuandum* for *ad adinuandum* corruptly."

noc; *gvnoc* or *gvnnroc monvveni* or *monvvenni*: *heinieu* or *heinnieu* of *chrvant* [libido], *gvvynt* [ventus], *monvvent* [monumentum], *haint* [pestis].

¶ *The sound of Th.*

Th hath the semblable and lyke sound in Welsh as it hath in

Englysh in these woordes, *thorove*, *thycke*, and *thynne*:¹ but it is neuer so lythly spoken as it is commonly sounded in these other words: *that*, *thou*, *thine*, *this*.²

Moreouer *th* wrytten for the fyrst letter of any worde, sheweth the same word to be than in construction. For there is no Welshe worde standing absolutelye that hath *th* for hys fyrst letter: but *t* is hys natue and originall letter, for the [32] which in construction *th* is commonly vsed. Neither yet do we vse to wryte *th*, in any word, and to reade the same as *t* or *d*, as is commonlye done in these English wordes: *Thomas*, *throne*, *treasure*, *Thauius Inne*:

Thauius In which be most uniuersally spoken after this sorte:
Tomas, *trone*, *treasure*, *Davies Inne*.³

Item *th* sometyme signifieth the word to pertyne to the feminine gender, as *Oi thuy* of her house, otherwyse said, *oi duy*, of hys house.

The sound of V being consonant.

V specially being wrytten in thys maner of fashion *v*, soundeth in Welshe as in Englyshe or Latine, when it is a consonant.⁴ And

it lightly neuer begynneth a worde, except
There is no worde in welsh that beginneth with *v* being radicall. the word be constructed and ioyned wyth one or more wordes. For other *b* or *m*, being the originall or radicall letter, is transmuted or chaüged (according to the congruitie of the

tounge into *v* a consonant.

But Latine wordes begynnyng with *v*, and vsurped in the Welsh, shall receyue *g* to their fyrst letter, as is declared more at large in the treatice of the letter *G*, and sometyme *B*, as *bicar* of *vicarius*.

¶ *The sound of u being a vowell.*

But *u* wrytten after this manner *u*, is a vowel, and soundeth as the vulgar English people sound it in these wordes of English: *trust*, *bury*, *busy*, *Hu*[33]*berden*.⁵ But know well that it is neuer sounded in Welsh, as it is done in any of these two Englyshe wordes (notwithstanding the diuersitie of their sound) *sure*, *lucke*.⁶ Also

¹ (Thur·oou, thik, thin).

² (Dhat, dhau, dhein, dhis).

³ (Tom·as, truun), see next section under *Th*. (tree·zyr, Dav·iz In).

⁴ The use of *v* is quite discontinued in Welsh, and *f* is always used in its place.

⁵ No doubt that he meant the sound of (trist, biri, biz·i, Hib·erden). (Trist) still occurs in Scotland, (biri) was even then more usually (beri) but is the common Scotch now, and (biz·i)

remains. *Huberden* is probably *Hubertden*, but I cannot find such place. There is a *Hubberston* in South Pembroke, which therefore may have the *u* pronounced in the Welsh manner and an *Ibberton* in North Dorset. These are the nearest names I can find.

⁶ (Syyr, luk). Bullokar gives (syyer) and he is particular in identifying the sound with the French *u*. Hart has (siur) meaning (syyr), p. 167, and Salesbury writes *suwr*, with the

the sound of *n*, in French, or *û*, wyth two prickes ouer the heade in Duch, or the Scottish pronunciation of *u*¹ alludeth somewhat nere vnto the sound of it in Welshe, thoughe yet none of them all, doeth so exactly (as I thynk) expresse it, as the Hebraick *Kubuts* doeth.²

For the Welsh *u* is none other thing, but a meane sounde betwyxte *u* and *y* beyng Latyne vowels.³ And therefore who so euert wyll distinctlye learne the Welsh sound of *u* let hym once geue eare to a Northen Welsh man, whan he speaketh in Welsh, the wordes that signifie in English obedient (or) * chaff singlerly: whych be these in Welshe, *uwudd*, *usun*.⁴ And this vowell *u* alone amonge all the letters in Welsh, swarueth in sound from the true Latine pronunciation.

Thys *u* is more in vre wyth vs of Northwales than wyth theim of the South parteis: whose wryters abuse it, whan they wryte thus, *un yn* for *yn un* ⁵

The sound of W.

W In Welshe and Englyshe hath but one fygure and power, though it chaunceth to haue .ij. diuers names: for in English ye call it double *uu* and in Welshe we geue it the [34] name of a

same meaning, pp. 165, 172, and indeed this passage is sufficient to shew that he did *not* mean (*syur*). Smith and Bullokar both give (*luk*).

¹ All meant for the sound of (*yy*), although at present there are occasional faint differences of sound, but not acknowledged, French (*yy*), German (*ii*), Swedish (*uu*), Scotch (*æ*).

² This of course means that Salesbury pronounced the Hebrew קִיבּוּץ (*kibbus*), generally considered as (*û*) in the same way as Welsh *u*; also he shews by writing the name *kubuts*, that he gave the same sound to the first vowel in the name, generally identified with (*i*). This serves to shew, in conjunction with his opening sentence, that his sound of Welsh *u* did not much differ from (*i*, *î*), and that where he uses it for the representation of English sounds, he certainly meant (*i*) or (*î*).

³ It is difficult to determine what sounds the Welshman gave to Latin *u*, *y*, because these are precisely the Welsh vowels about which there is a difficulty. The next sentence but one, however, would lead us to suppose that his Latin *u* was (*u*), as it was different from the Welsh; but what his Latin *y*, properly (*y*), may have been, cannot be said. Assuming, however, that it was (*î*), then the mean sound ought to

be (*i*). By the kindness of Dr. Davies I had an opportunity of consulting three Welsh students at the Regent's Park College about the Welsh *u*, *y*. The sound of *u* in *Duw* appeared to be (*î*), in *Uewyrchu* it was not distinguishable from (*i*), in *dechreuad*, *goluni*, I could not distinguish the diphthong *eu* from the English (*oi*), though the sound of *ai* in *gair* was distinctly (*ai*) and occasionally (*aai*), but *ai*, *ae*, *au* were nearly if not quite indistinguishable; at most (*ai*, *ae*, *ai*) would mark the distinctions. I understood from Dr. Davies that the theoretical pronunciation of *u* was (*y*), and that in solemn declamation an attempt was made to preserve the sound, but that usually *u* became (*ii*, *i*) or even (*î*). This is perfectly similar to the common German substitution of (*ii*) for (*yy*) in the pronunciation of their *û*, an alteration never made in French. In Danish and Swedish the *y*, theoretically (*y*), becomes (*i*) or, to my ear, practically (*î*, *i*).

⁴ Theoretically (*yyv*·*yd*h, *yy*·*syn*), practically (*îiv*·*îdh* *îi*·*sîn*) or even (*iiv*·*îdh*, *iî*·*sîn*) which latter sounds, perfectly easy to English organs, would be intelligible throughout Wales.

⁵ This refers only to the orthography. See below under *y*.

syngle *u* but than soundyng it after the Latine pronūciatiō or ells as you now sounde your *oo*.¹

But the lesser Greeke *o* ioyned togyther wyth the Greke *y* made a diphthong,² or Hebraic *Vau cum puncto schurek in ventre*,³ either *oo* in these English vocables: booke, looke, boorde, woorde,⁴ shall rather expresse hys name, than hys proper nature.

But hys owne power, and peculier office in Welshe, shall there no letter nor letters more precisely set it forth than the *vv* it selfe, or *oo* wyth the Englysh pronunciation. For all though the Germanes vse a *vv* yet in some wordes sounde they it (to my hearing) as the forther *u* were a vowel, and the latter *o* consonant,⁵ wher we the Britons sounde both *uu* wholly togyther as one vowell, wythout anye seuerall distinction, but beyng always eyther the forther or the latter parte of a dyphthonge in Englyshe on thys wyse: wyth aw: and in Welshe as thns: *vvyth*, *avven*.⁶

And though, as I sayd before, I fynde in som auncient writers 6 for *vv*, yet in other I find *vv* in words now vsually written w^t *v* or *f* as *eithavv*, for *eithav* or *eithaf*. In which kynde of wordes, bycause they of Southwales vse yet to kepe y^e pronūciatiō of it, saying *tavvly* where we saye *tavlu* or *taflu* [jacio]), I doe rather vse for the more indifferencie to wryte *v* than *f*, evē that they may the more aptly resolute [35] it into their woonted vowell *vv*, and we maye sounde the same after our more consonaunt acceptation. But contrarily, we saye *devnydd* where they sound *devnydd* or *defnydd* [substantia], and some corrupters *denvydd*.

The sound of X.

X Is not founde as yet in the Welshe Alphabet: For the Welshe speache hath no neede of hys office: because that suche Walshe woordes as be deducted of the Latine, turne their *x* into *s*, as doe these: *nos*, *estenna*, *escommun*, *estran*, *biceses*, *escuso*, *escutio*, *Sas* or *Sais*, which come of *nox*, *extendo*, *excommunicatus*, *extraneus*, *bisextus*, *excuso*, *excutio*, *Saxo*.

¹ Meaning (uu, u).

² Modern Greek pronunciation (uu) for *ou*.

³ Hebrew שוּרֵק (shuureek'), meaning ו = (uu).

⁴ (Buuk, luuk, buurd, wuurd). Bullock and Gill also give (luuk), the shortening of the vowel into (luk) or rather (lūk) is quite modern. North country pronunciation is still (luuk), though Mr. Melville Bell and Mr. Murray consider the difference between the Scotch and south country sounds to be merely qualitative, the former (luk), the latter (lūk). Gill has (wurd), Butler (wuurd, wurd). *Boorde* was the spelling at that time for *board*, as in the *Promptorium*, Levins has *boord*, and Butler pronounces (buurd).

⁵ The meaning of this is difficult to

comprehend, and the difficulty is increased by the misprint *o*, for *u* or *a*. He divides *w*, as he prints it, into *vv*, which he immediately calls *uu*, but which of these two letters he considers "the forther" and which the "latter," is not plain. The best I can make out is, that he heard German *w* as (vu), thus *wann* = (vuan), nearly (vwan) or perhaps (vwan). The last is not a very inapt way of representing (bhan), and one which I have heard given by many persons, as the best means of indicating the sound of initial (bh) to English or French speakers.

⁶ Here, in *vvyth*, *vv* is in the "forther" part, and in *avven* in the "latter" part of the diphthong, which ought to make Salesbury's German *vv* = (uv), as (uvan), which being dissyllabic is im-

¶ *The sound of Y.*

Y Is sounded in Welsh, as it is in these English words: *yn, synne, ys, thynne, vvyinne*.¹ Neyther yet as it is sounded of the commune people in anye of these two woordes followyng: *vvyde, vvyng*.² Also *y* beyng a woorde, counteruayleth the sygnification of *the* in Englysh, and of *Le* in Frenche, or of the Articles *Ha, Ho*, in Hebrue and Greeke, as thus: *y dyn*, whose proper sygnification in Englyshe is not comunlye vsed, except a man shoulde saye, the person: [36] but *Le homme* shall well declare it to any that shal be skilled in the French: And by meanes hereof we vse to expresse the excellencie that the Euangelistes attribute to *Iesus*, when they adde the Greeke article thereto: whych they seeme aduisedly to do, omitting to write it when they speake in the name of the Iewes or Gentiles.

The sound of Z.

Z In Welsh is vnknownen, in so muche that it was neuer placed in

possible. As Salesbury does not recognize (j) he also does not recognize (w), hence *wyth aw* = with awe, is to him (uith au), not (with au). It is hopeless to look for agreement upon this point of theory. Suprà p. 513, n. 2.

¹ (*In, sin, iz, thin, win*). There can be little doubt as to the pronunciation of these words because *sin, thin, win*, also occur in Smith. Mr. E. Jones remarks: "Y has two sounds in Welsh, and it is the only letter that has two sounds. In monosyllables as *dyn* it is nearly = *ee* Eng. as *deen* (diin), in polysyllables as *dynion* = *u* in *but* (dân-ion)." On which Dr. Davies observes, "rather *i* in *hint*" = (dân-ion). In the examination of this sound as pronounced by the Welsh students at Regents Park College, (suprà p. 761, note 3,) the word *dynion* seemed more like (dân-ion) than (dân-ion), but I noted the following pronunciations, *gyd* (gød), *yn y* (øn ø), *trwyddo* (truu'idho), *ynddo* (øn'dho) *bywyd* (bau'id), *sydd* (siidh), *llewyrchu* (lhewørk'h-i), *tywyllwch* (tawllhh-ukh) and (tawllhh-ukh) in North Wales; the words are all in John i., 1-5. According to Dr. Davies the theoretical sound in all places is (ø), which is aimed at in solemn or stately style, but in South Wales the universal sound is (i, i). In North Wales (ø, i), or (æ, i) are heard. The sound may be (y). The sound (ø), or (a), is quite familiar. Salesbury evidently only knew one sound, and it is im-

portant with regard to his English to be sure that he did not know the sound (ø), which we do not find recognized in English till the xviith century, see p. 174. The following are the rules usually accepted for the pronunciation of Welsh *y*. In the monosyllables *dy, dyd, dyt, fy, myn, y, yd, ydd, ym, yn, yr, ys*, it is pronounced (ø), in all other monosyllables (y). In final syllables it is always (y). In the prefix *cyd*, and sometimes *cyn*, as *cydeistedd, cynoesoedd*, and in adjectives and adverbs prefixed as *eryf-arfog*, it is also (y). After *w* it is generally (y) as *gwynfyd, mwynhau, bwyt*, but to this rule there are several exceptions especially if *w* is short or follows a vowel, as *chwyrnu, chwysu, llewyrchu, tywyllu, awyddu, ewyllys* in which it is (ø). In all other cases not specified in these rules it is (ø).

² (Weid, weind). The first word is clear, but the second is doubtful. *Wynge* should = *wing*, which was certainly called (wiq). There is a Norfolk word *winge* to shrivel, in Wright's Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English, but that is probably (windgh). Most likely *vynge* is a misprint for *vvynde*, which, even as a substantive, is called (weind) by Bullokar, and (weind) by Gill.

³ The Greek *u* was originally (y), but was (i) at the time Salesbury wrote. What he alludes to in this marginal observation is not clear.

any Welshe woord hytherto:¹ Neither needed I once to speake of it, but because I would put the reader vtterly out of doubt in this behalfe. How be it, z may conueniently hereafter be vsurped in woordes borrowed of straunge tongues, euen that they keeping their *orthographie*, maye the more apparantlye declare them selues, at the least, to the learned.

Of the Abbreuations.

[This section has no interest.]...[37]

[38] *Annotation.* [This also has no interest.].....[39]

[40] *A brieft rehersall of all the rules before, vvith certayne other additions thereto pertayning.*

A comparisō of the pronuntiatiō of the letters in Welshe, to the pronnciatiō of the Greeke and Hebrue letters.

A Is most vnylike of pronounciation to the Hebrues *Aleph*.

B most entirely resembleth the nature of *Beth*.

C and **K** be not vnylike in sound vnto *Caph* and *Koph*.²

Ch, *chi*, *cheth* and *caph* wyth *raphe*,³ be of one sounde.

D soundeth as *Daleth*, *Daghessata*.⁴

Dd containeth the power but of one letter, and that of *Dhelta*, or of *dhalet* not *daggesset*.⁵

[41] **E** is much spoken after the sounde of the vowels *Segol* or *Epsilon*.⁶

F and *Beth* wythout the poynt *Dagges* or the Grek *Veta* be as one in sounde.⁷

ff (or) *ph* agre in pronounciation with the Greke *Phy* or the Hebraick *phe* not poynted wyth *Dages*.⁸

G is sounde as *Gimel* or the Dutch *g*.⁹

H and th' aspiration *He* be equal in power.¹⁰

I in euerye poynt agreeth wyth the Greke *Iota*.¹¹

L *Lamedh*, and *Lambdha*, disagre not in sound.¹²

Ll countreuayleth *Lambda* comming before *Iota*.¹³

M N, *Mem Nun* and *My Ny* differ not in sound.¹⁴

¹ Hence in his transcript of English words the sound of (z) must be given to his s when necessary, as indicated by other authorities.

² כ = (k) in כֶּ = (kaph), ק = (k) in קֶ = (kooph).

³ That is כ without the dagesh point = (kh).

⁴ ד = (d). ⁵ דָ = (dh), דֶ = (dh).

⁶ עֶ = (seeghool) is the short (e),
 € was the same.

⁷ ב = (bh), β = (v) or (bh), suprā p. 518. E. A. Sophocles (Romaic Grammar accompanied by a Chrestomathy with a vocabulary, Hartford, U.S. 1842, and without the vocabulary, London, Trübner 1858) distinctly assigns (bh)

as the modern pronounciation of β. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte says that this is a mistake, and that the Constantinopolitan Greeks invariably say (v). See remarks on Icelandic v. suprā p. 549.

⁸ φ = (f) or (ph) see suprā p. 513, note 2; ψ = (ph).

⁹ ג = (g), German g = (g) generally.

¹⁰ ה = (h).

¹¹ "Except in being occasionally a consonant as (j).—B.D."

¹² λ, λ = (l).

¹³ λι = (li), see above p. 756, note 3, and p. 757, note 1.

¹⁴ מ, נ, נ = (m, n).

O and *Omega* shall sound as one.¹

P doeth as well imitate *Phe* and *Phy* in sound as in other conditions.²

R hath a peculiar concinnitie with *Rho*.³

S *Sameck* and *Sigma* may go togyther well inough for their tune.⁴

T soundeth as *Teth* or *Tav dageset* in the Hebrew.⁵

Th hath the very sound of *Theta* or *Tav* hauing no *Dages*.⁶

V beyng consonante soundeth as *Beth* wythoute *Dages* or as *Veta* doeth.⁷

V beyng vowell is read as *Kibûts* and not much vnylyke vnto *Ypsilon*.⁸

Y hath the verye sound *Ypsilon*.⁹

¶ *What further concinnitie the Letters in Welsh chaue vvyth the Greeke Letters.*

[This only comes to dividing the consonants as follows:] [42]

The thynne letters be these, *c* or *k*, *b p t l*.

The thycke letters are these, *ch ph ll*.

The middle letters be these, *g v dd*.

Of the sounde of ch, g, i.

Ch in welsh is
but one letter.

These thre letters *ch, g, i* haue neuer the like sounde in the Welshe tong, as they haue in these Englysh wordes, *chere, gentle, Iacke*.⁹

[43] *Of contraction used in welshe.*

[This section possesses no interest].

Of accentte.

The obseruation of *accentte* is it that shall do muche towarde the attaynyng of the natiue pronuniation of any language, in so muche that somtyme the alteration of *accentte* shal altere also the signification of the word, as in these woordes in Greke: *Neos, Tomos, pharos*. and these in Welshe: *gvydd, gvvyll, gvvyr*: and in Englishe: these, *differ, prouide, denye*. &c.¹⁰

¹ Ω=(oo) in modern English pronunciation of Greek, but (oo) in modern Greek, *suprà* p. 523, as in modern Welsh, where *poob peth* is called (poob peth) not (poob peth), and the older English, p. 96.

² *Phe* means Ð=(p), but what does *phy* mean? It should be φ, but that has been already appropriated to ff=(f). Probably *phy* is a misprint for *py*=π.

³ The "peculiar concinnitie" refers perhaps to the aspirated form ϖ which Salesbury accepts as his *rr*, modern *rh*, now (ʀh) rather than (rh).

⁴ Ð, σ taken as =(s), as they were certainly then pronounced though the determination of the original sound of each letter presents difficulties.

⁵ ὤ=(t), ῥ=(t), they are generally confounded.

⁶ θ, ῥ=(th).

⁷ *Suprà* p. 747, n. 6, and p. 764, n. 7.

⁸ *Kibûts* here is *kubuts* on p. 761, where see note 2. Greek υ=(i), formerly (y).

⁹ (Tsheer, dzhent-l, Dzhak).

¹⁰ Νέος young, νέος fresh land, fallow and the Ionic gen. of ναῦς a ship; τέμνος a cut, a piece cut off, τομή cutting, sharp; φάρος any large piece of cloth, a cloth, sheet, shroud, cloak, φάρος lighthouse from the island Φάρος. In the first three words the position of the accent mark causes a difference in modern Greek pronunciation, (ne'os, neos, to'mos, tomos') but both the latter words are (fa'ros). But the accent mark in Welsh is only used to indicate length, and is generally omitted both in printed books (even dictionaries) and writing. Gŵydd (guu'ydh) pasture

*Certayne Englishe wordes wher of ye may gather the Welshe pronun-
ciation of the letters.*

Archangell, Beynge, Called, Michael, Discomfyted *Dde, Euer
*Fillaynous. Fend, Gget Him, Itch I-eldyng, Kest,
Dd for th Laye, Mellett, Murmuryng, Not Ouer, Preuayled,
F for V Rauenyng, Horrible, Satan, Tormented, Thorowe,
Ualiant, Busines, Worthye, Yll.¹

*Certaine wordes wherin the letters be most vnlikely sounded to Welshe
pronunciation of them.*

[44] All, Combe, Dombe, Ceasse, Cyue, Checke, Adder, Ele,
Fyshe, Gender, Engyn, Humour, Honour, In, laundice, Fall,
*Osyll, Reason, Season, Thomas, *Thauires Inne*,
The blacke byrd That, Vncle, Ydle, Synging.²

The signification of A. in Welsh.

[This has no reference to pronunciation.]

The signification of Y.

[This has also no reference to pronunciation.]

ground that has been formerly ploughed; a weaver, *gwŷdd* (gwyydh) wood, or a weaver's loom; *gwyll* (guwylh) a hag, goblin, ghost; *gwŷll* (gwelhh) shade; *gwyŷr* (guwyyr) oblique, sloping, see *suprà* p. 726; *gwŷr* (gwiir) fresh vigorous verdant. The English examples are more difficult; *differ* is probably *differ defer*; *provide* is unintelligible for only *provide* occurs, not *próvide*, though we have *próvident*. Mr. Brock suggests that *próvide* may be meant for *proved*; *denye* only occurs as *deny*, but *denier* is both *dénier* a French coin, accented *dénier* (deneer) in Shakspeare, Richard III., act 1, sc. 2, last speech, v. 252—the other two passages in which it occurs are in prose,—and *denier* one who denies.

¹ These words seem to be, *Archangel* (ark'an·dzhel), *being* (biir·iq), *called* (kaul·ed), *Michael* (Meik·el?), *discomfited* (diskum·fited), *the* (dhe), *ever* (er·er), *villanous* (vil·anus), *fiend* (feend), *get* (get), *him* (him), *itch* (itsh), *yielding* (jild·iq), *kest* this is hardly likely to be Spenser's word "which forth she kest," F. Q. 6, 12, 15, it is more probably an error for *kist* = *kissed*, but the word is doubtful; *lay* (lai), *mellett* has the second *l* battered and

looks like *mellett*, but the *l* is plainer in the Grenville copy, it is possibly meant for *millet* (mil·et), *murmuring* (murmuriq), *not* (not), *over* (oov·er, ov·er), *prevailed* (prevaild·), *ravening* (rav·eniq), *horrible* (hor·ib'l), *Satan* (saa·tan), *tormented* (torment·ed), *thorough* (thur·u), *valiant* (val·jant), *business* (biz·ines), *worthy* (wurth·i), *ill* (il).

² Probably *all* (aul), *comb* (kuum) as a hill, *dumb* (dum), *cease* (sees), *sieve*? "as water in a *sieu*" Much ado, act 5, sc. 1, v. 6, 1623 ed., (*siv*), *check* (tshek), *adder* (ad·er), *eel* (iil), *fish* (fish), *gender* (dzhend·er), *engine* (en·dzhin), *humour* (hyy·mur), *honour* (on·ur), *in* (in)? *jaundice* (dzhaun·dis), *fall* (faul); *osyll* is explained in the margin as the *black-bird*, which answers to the *ousyll* of Levins, *ousyl* of Huloet, the modern *ousel* or *ousel* (uuz·el) is sometimes used for a blackbird *merula vulgaris*, though more commonly for the water ousel, dipper, water crow or pyet *merula aquatica*, *cinclus aquaticus*, *reason* (reez·un), *season* (seez·un), *Thomas* (Tom·as), *Thauires Inn* (Dav·iz in), *that* (dhat), *uncle* (uqk·l) or perhaps (nuqk·l) see p. 744, and note 2; *idle* (eid·l), (*sindzh·iq*) *singeing* because (*siq·iq*) would be like the Welch sound of the letters.

[45] ¶ *A generall rule for the readyng of VWelsh.*

T Hough there be diuers precepts here tofore wrytten of the Welsh pronounciation of the letters, I would thinke it not ouermuch dissonant, nor yet to wyde from the purpose, to admonishe you in thys behalfe, that is, that you ought not to reade the Welsh accordyng as ye do the Englyshe or French, but euen after the reading of the latin. For in reading English or French, ye do not rede some wordes so fully as they be wrytten.

And in many other ye seme to sound the sillables more fully thā the expressed letters do giue. Which maner of reading is so vtterlye eschued in Welsh, as ye perceyue it to be exactly obserued of them that perfiteley reade the Latine tonge: Nei[46]ther do I meane here to cal them perfite and Latinelike Readers as many as do reade *agnus*, *māgnus*, for *agnus*, *magnus*, *ignis*, for *ignis*, *santus*, for *sanctus*, *savvl*, for *sal*: *sorvl*, for *sol*: and for *mihi*, *meichei*: and *egorr*, for *ego*: *tuuv* for *tu*: and *quith ligith*, in stede of *quid legit*. &c.¹ Therefore ye must learne to forget such maner of pronounciation, agaynst ye prepare your selues to reade y^e Welsh. Moreouer, ye ought to know, that these wordes: *dringo* [scandere], *grrvingo* [calcitrare], *kynga* [sermo], *myngen* [juba], *anglod* [reprehensio], *angred* [infidelitas], and the most part of suche like Welsh wordes, hauing *ng* in them, and being of moe sillables then one, shal be red as these English wordes be (but ye must admit them to be red now as of two sillables euery word) *Kynges*, *rynges*, *bryngeth*, *syngeth*: For euen as ye do not rede them *Kyn-ges*, *ryn-ges*, *bryn-geth*, *syn-geth*: but rather in thys wyse, *Kyng-es*, *ryng-es*, *bryng-eth*, *syng-eth*:² euen so do we sound *dring-o*, and not *drin-go*: *grrving-o*, not *grrvin-go*: *myng-en* and not *myn-gen*. Albeit, yet as *ng* may be seuered and parted in this Englysh word *syn-geth* (but the signification alfred)³ so haue we some wordes in Welsh (when they are spoken) in whom the sillables may be seuered in *ng*, as in these: *an-gerth*, *Llan-gvrm*, *tringyrch*, &c.

[Then follow seven entire pages and two portions of pages of a letter to Mr. Collingborn speaking of the advantages to Welshmen of learning English, the low state of Welsh literature, &c., with many wordy digressions, and ending thus:]

[54] But now *M. Colingborne*, least peraduenture, where I thynke my selfe but familiarlye to talke here wyth you, and other

¹ *Agnus magnus* (aq-nus maq-nus), *ignis* (iq-nis), *sanctus* (sant-us), *sal* (saul), *sol* (sooul), *mihi* (mei-khei) compare the present Scotch sound, *ego* (eg-oo, egu) see p. 744, *tu* (tyy), *quid legit* (kwith lii-dzith?). "The Scandinavians have lost the sound (qg), both medial and final . . . Hence (q) is regularly represented by *ng*, or by *n* in *nk*, or by *g* in *gn*, according to the German school tradition (abbreviations

like *mang* for *magnus* in the popular dialect). This *gn* forms a part of the received pronounciation in Swedish, where the frequent combination *gn* is always assimilated to (qn), forming an accidental analogy with the *mn* which arises from an original *fn*, *bn* *pn*?"—Rapp, Phys. der Spr. 3, 241.

² (Kiqz, riqz, briq'eth, siq'eth),

³ (Sindzh'eth)=singes, most probably.

my familiars (as my meanyng is none other in deede) some thank-
 les taunter entermeddle and say vnto me, alludyng to that mocke
 of *Diogenes*, *O viri Myndi portas occludire, ne quando vrbs vestra*
egrediatur, meanyng this therby, O my good friend haue
 done with your Welsh confabulation, haue done :
 for els your ioly *prooemion*, and
 your goodly *párergon* shalbe
 longer then all your
 booke besyde.

Here
 therefore at the
 last I make
 an end.

*

FINIS

[The colophon consists of three crescent moons interwoven, with the word ער in the central one of the four inner interstices, and the word בלי in each of the three outer openings, between the horns of the crescent, evidently referring to Psalm 72, v. 7: עַרְבֵי לַיָּרֵחַ (gad b'lii jaree'ah), so long as the moon endureth, literally, until failure-of moon.]

§ 2.

William Salesbury's Account of English Pronunciation, 1547.

The Welsh text of the Introduction to Salesbury's Dictionary is here reproduced *literatim* with all the errors, misprints, false collocations of letters, antique spelling, of the original, but without the long f, and in Roman type in lieu of black letter. Those who are interested in antiquarian Welsh will prefer seeing it in this form, and will be better pleased to set it right for themselves than to have it reduced to form and order for them, while the English translation will enable the English reader to dispense with the Welsh. English and Foreign words are italicised.

There are two perfect copies of this work in the British Museum, one in the general library (628, f, 25), and one in the Grenville Library (7512). The volume is a small quarto, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, including the margin; the letter-press, without the headline, measuring $6\frac{1}{8}$ by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. It is in black letter, unpagcd. The signatures are: none to the first sheet, Bi. Bii. Biii. C.i. Cii, and then, after a blank leaf, the signatures go from A to S, the last letter having only 6 pages. The title occupies the first page, and is in English only, as follows:

A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe moche neces-
 fary to all suche Welsheemen as wil spedly learne the
 englyshe tongue thought vnto the kynges maiestie very
 mete to be sette forth to the vse of his graces sub-
 iectes in Wales: wherevnto is prefixed a litle treatyse of
 the englyshe pronunciacion of the letters, by Wyllyam
 Salesbury.

The colophon is

¶ Imprynted at London in Foster lane, by me Iohn Waley (1547). *Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.* (‘, ‘)

Immediately after the title is a dedication in English only: “To the Moost Victoriouse & Redowbtete prince Henry theyght by the grace of God Kynge of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande defender of the faythe And of the Church of Englande and also of Irelande in erthe the supream Hedde be al prosperitie in continuall honour.” This dedication extends over three pages, and concludes: “Youre poore and humble subiecte Wyllyam Salesburye.”

Then follows the address to the reader, occupying five pages. The beginning of each page is marked in the following transcript by a black figure in brackets as [5], and in numbering the pages of the book I reckon the title as p. 1, and the back of it as p. 2. On p. 11 commences the actual treatise on the sounds of the letters, and, counting the two blank pages at the end of the third sheet, on p. 25 begins the dictionary itself of which the first page is annexed as a specimen, shewing the arrangement in four columns and the many Welsh words left untranslated. Indeed, as may be expected, it is extremely deficient, but it extends to 141 pages.

The English translation of the Welsh address to the reader and account of English Pronunciation was kindly made by Mr. E. Jones, of the Hibernian Schools, Liverpool, and obligingly revised by Dr. Benjamin Davies, of Regent's Park College, London, one of the Council of the Philological Society. No attempt has been made to imitate Salesbury's quaintness of language, but the meaning of the words is given as carefully as possible. In this English translation, where Salesbury cites an English word in the spelling of the time, it is printed in small capitals, his pronunciation in Welsh characters is subjoined in italics, and then the interpretation which I give to that phonetic transcript is added in palaeotype in a parenthesis, and when Salesbury gives no phonetic transcript, the conjectured palaeotypic form is given. If Salesbury adds the meaning in Welsh this is subjoined also in Italics, and a translation of it into Latin is annexed in brackets. When Salesbury gives no translation the Latin is still added. Thus: “LADDRE *lad-dr* (lad·er) *yscol* [scala],” give the old English spelling LADDRE, Salesbury's phonetic Welsh transcript *lad-dr*, the palaeotypic meaning of the same (lad·er), the Welsh translation of the original word *yscol*, and the Latin translation of the Welsh translation [scala]. References are added throughout to the page in which the passage is quoted or in which illustrative remarks occur, and these are inclosed in a parenthesis thus (p. 61), meaning, *suprà* page 61. This will avoid the necessity of subjoining footnotes. After the specimen of the dictionary is added an alphabetical list of all the words of which Salesbury gives or indicates the pronunciation, in this or the foregoing tract, with a reference to the different pages in this book where it is to be found, supplementing the references in the text.

[5] ¶ Wyllyam Salesburi wrth y darlleawdr.

Onid odit ddarllewydd bonheddigaidid nid anghysylltbell vyses
ddangos a datelario pa lesaad pa vudd a phwy broffit a ddelsai
ir neb a dreuliai ddim amser wrth ddallen a mefyriaw ar y llyfer

Awdurdot y llyuer
gan y brenhin, aw-
durtot y brenhin y
gan dduw.

hwn Oni byssei ddarfod or blaen i oruwchel-
dab awn harglwydd vrenhin ay gyncor
edrych arnaw ai dderbyn eissoes yn lowedic
gymradwy o help a chanhorthwy kychwyniad
tywysogaeth at iaith saesnaec A chan vod

hefyd llywadraeth kalon brenhin (vegys y kytystia rystrythur lan)
drwy law ddew, yr hwn a gatwo eu ras yn hirhoedloc lwyddianus
ffynadwy Amen. Onid bellach i nessau tu ar peth kyfreitiaf a
chyssonaf yngan a sonio am tanaw yn y vangre hon Sef er mwyn
Kymbry or nid oes gantunt angwanec o ddyfynder athrowlythyr
onid medry o vraiddd ddew, ddarllen iaith eu mameu ir hai hynny
yn vnio o chwenychant vegys y dylent vynny kyfrwyddyt i ddarllen
a deall iaith Saesnaec iaith heddyw vrddedic o bob rhyw oreuddysc
iaith gyflawn o ddawn a buddygoliaeth ac iaith nid chwaith
anhawdd i dysey vegys y may pop nassiwn yn i hyfedyr ddysey eb
edrych yn llygat y boen nar gost ac yn angenrheitiach i ni r
Kymbry no neb wrthei er esceuluset genym am y peth: Ir hai
an nyscedic hyny meddaf yd yserifenned hyno wan[6]atra-
waeth ac nid ir Rai tra chyffarwydd. Onid atolwg i çhwi y
Rei sydd a mowrddyse genweh ac a wyddoch Rac mor werthfawr
yw Dyscymwneuthur awch hunain yn ol ddull saint Pawl ym pop
peth i pawp A moesweh hefyd (val y dywaid yr vnryhw Pawl)
modd yr abwydir rhai bychain a bara a llaeth borthi o hon-
awch chwithew yr anyscedic a mwydion ych goruchelldysc
ac nid a godido woerwydd athronddyse. Ac velly os chwehwi ni
chuddiweh dryssor yr Arglwydd onid i gyfranny yny gyfle ir
angenogion o ddyseidaetha doethineb ai gyfryw betheu ereill:
Gobeitho i dyry duw vath ysprydoldeb vddunt hwythau ac na
sathrant val moch dim och gemau nach main gwyrtfawr ac na
chodant ich erbyn val kwn ar vedyr awch brathy/ Eithyr etto
eilwaith i ymady a chyfeilornson/ ac or diweddi ddechreu ar hysbysy

Ystyriaeth y
llyver oll.

a silltau hanes ac ystyriaeth y llyfer yma Ac yn
gymeint nad ynt y llythtyrenneu yn vn ddywediat
nac yn vn draythiad yn sasnaec ac ynghymraec:

Enwr llyfyr.

Yn gyntaf dim y ddys yn datkan ac yn honny
paddelwy darlleir ac y trayther hwy yn ol
tafodiad y Sason ac yno esampleu o eirieu kyfaddas

yn kynlyn/ A chweddy hynny y mae y Gairlyfyr ner Geiriawe
saesnaec yn dechry yr hwn a elwir yn saesnaec an Englis dic-
sionary ys es yw hyny kynullfa o eirieu seisnic/ achos ky-

Trefyny
geirieu.

nulleidfa o eirieu seisnic yd ywr holl llyfer hayach/
Yn yr hwn os deliweh yn dda arnaw y ddys yn
kadw order a threfyn ynto: o bleit ni chymysced

dim or geirieu bendromwnwgyll ynto val y damwyniai vddunt
syrthio ym meddwl or tro kyntaf: Eithyr ef adfeddylied vyth er

[5] ¶ William Salesbury to the reader.

Possibly, gentle reader, it would not have been irrelevant to shew and declare what advantage, what gain and what profit, would result to any one, who should devote any time to reading and studying this book, but that his majesty, the king, together with his council has received it, as an acceptable and suitable help and aid for the induction of the principality into the English language, and because the inclining of the

Authorisation of the book by the king, whose authority is from God.

heart of the king (as shewn by the holy scripture) is from God, who I pray may preserve his grace in long life prosperity and success. Amen. But now to come to the most important and necessary subject to be treated of in this place, that is, for the sake of Welshmen who do not possess more learning than the bare ability to read their own tongue, and of those only who may, as they ought, desire instruction in reading and understanding the English language, a language at present renowned for all excellent learning, full of talent and victory, a language moreover not difficult to learn, which persons of every nation acquire fluently, without regarding trouble and expense, and to Welshmen more necessary than to any other people, however much we may neglect it. For these untaught persons, then, so much elementary teaching was written,

[6] and not for the well versed. But I desire of you who are possessed of higher attainments, and know how valuable is education, that you would after the manner of Saint Paul, make yourselves all things to all men, and condescend also (as the same Paul says,) since babes are fed with bread and milk, to feed the ignorant with the crumbs of your superior knowledge, and not with the excellency of high scholarship. And thus if you do not hide the treasure of the Lord, but dispense it as opportunity offers, by supplying it to those in need of learning and wisdom, and other like things, I trust God may grant to them such a spirit, that they may not like swine, trample your gems and precious stones under their feet, and that they may not rise like

dogs against you, ready to bite you. But now again to leave all digression and to begin to set forth the object and import of this book. Inasmuch as all the

Object of the whole book.

letters are not said and sounded alike in English and in Welsh, first of all we declare and affirm the mode in which they are read and sounded according to the pronunciation of the English people, with examples of suitable words following. After which

the English Wordbook or Dictionary begins, which means a collection of English words, for the whole book is, indeed, a collection of English words. In which if you carefully notice, order and arrangement are kept: for the words are not mixed helter skelter

Name of the Book.

in it, as they might happen to tumble to my mind at first thought. But with constant reflection, for the sake of the [7] unlearned,

Order of the Words.

mwyn yr a[7]nyscedie gyfryw vodd ac y darfy helkylt pop gair (hyd y deuei kof) yw van gyfaddas chunan: Ac velly yr holl eirien ac / a / yn y llythyren gyntaf oe dechreu a gynulled i gyd ir vnle: A phop gair yn dechry a b / yn yn llythyr kyntaf o honaw a ossodet or neulltuy / Ar geirieu a c / yn eu dechreuad a wahaned hwytheu or neulltuy: Ar geirieu a ddechreant ac ch, a ddidolet hwynte ehunain / A rhei a d / yn i kychwyn a gaselet ac a ossodet mewn man arall / Ac val hyn y rayed y llaill pop vn i sefyll dan

Modd y kefir
sasneec ir gym-
raec.

vaner i Captelythyr ddechreuol / Ac wrth hynny pan chwe nychoch gaffael Saesneec am ryw air kamberaec: Yn gyntaf / edrychweh pa lythyren vo ynnechreu r gair hwnw yn anianol / o bleit os / a / vydd hi / spiweh am tanaw ynplith y Restyr eirieu a vont yn dechre ac a / ac yn y van hono ar y gyfer yn y rhes o eirieu saesneec y keffwch Saxonaec iddo / Eithyr gwiliwch yn dda rhac ych twyllo yn kam geisio gair allan oe van briod gyfaddas / vegys pe i keisiech vn or geirieu hyn yr ystym ar agwedd y maent yn gorwedd yn y penill yma *Mae i mi gangen dec o vedwen* Achos ni wasnaetha ywch wrth geisio saesneec am (*gangen*) chwilio am danaw ymyse y geirieu yn dechreu a g / namyn ymhlith y geirieu a vo k yn y dechreu / y dyldech espio am danaw / ay Saesneec vydd gar i vron: Canys y gair kroyw kyssefinydyw *kangen* ac nid *gangen* kyd bo r ymadrodd kymraec yn kyfledffy k yn g / ac yn peri sonio t / val d / a b / val v / yn y geirieu hyn *dec o vedwen* / Ac am hyny rhait i chwi graffy byth pa lythyren a vo yn dechre r gair pan draether ar y ben ehun allan o ymadrodd vegys y dangosseis vchod / Ac velly yn ol y dadawe naturiol draethiad y mae i ch[8]wi geisio o mynwch chwi gael pop gair yn y gairllyfer yma / O bleit vegys na ddysgwyl neb onid ynfyd pan el i wiala ir koet gaffael gwiall yn tyfy yn vn ystym y byddant wedy r eilio am gledyr y plait / velly r vn modd ni ddisewyl neb onid rhy angel-fyyd gaffael pop rhyw air yn y gairllyfyr yn vn ystym nag yn vn

Kyngor ysmala
ir kymry

agwedd i ddywediat a chwe dy i blethy ym-parwyden ymadrodd / Ac eb law hyn oll a ddywedais ymblaenllaw / Kymerweh hyn o gyngor gyd a chwi y sawl gymry a chwenychoch ddysey gartref wrth tan Saesneec / Nid amgen no gwybod o honawch na ddarlleir ac na thraethir pop gair saesneec mor llawnllythyr ac mor hollawl ac yd screfenner Vegys hyn *God be wyth you* yr hwn a draetha r kyffredin / God biwio: A swrn o eirieu ereill a yserifenir hefyd Ryw sillafeu ynthunt yn vn ffunut eithyr ni ddarlleir ddim honunt or vn ffynyt val y rhai hyn or naill ddarlleiyad *bowe, crowe, trowe* ar hain a ddarlleir bo bwa: kro / bran: tro / tybyeid / A rhai hyn hefyd a escrifenir y pen diwaythaf vdddunt yr vn ffunut ac ir llaill or blaen eithyr i ddarllen a wnair yn amgenach *cowe, lowe, nowe, narrowe, sparowe* y rhai a ddywedir yn gyffredin val hyn kow / buweh: low / lowio: now yn awr: narw kyfing: sparw ederyn y to / Ac am gyfryw ddamwynieu yr hyn y byddei ryddygyn ir ddarlleydd i nodi pe doe kof chwaith i scrifeny mae goreu kyngor a vetrwyf vi ir neb (val y dywedais ymlaen)

every word (so far as memory served) was chased to its own proper position. Thus all the words having *a* for the first letter were at the outset collected into the same place. Then all words beginning with *b* were placed apart. So with *c*, and *ch*, and *d*. Thus also of all the rest, every word is ranged under the standard of its captain letter. Thus when you require the English for any Welsh word; First observe what is the first letter naturally; if it is *a* for example, look for the word under the series *a*, and having found the word, in the opposite column for English you will get the English for it.

The mode
of turning
English to
Welsh.

But be very careful not to be misled, to seek amiss a word out of its own proper place. For example, if you trace the words in the form and aspect in which they lie in the following line *Mae i mi gangen dec o vedwen* [Est mihi ramus pulcher betullae]. For it will not serve you to look for the English for *gangen* among words which begin with *g*, but under *k*, because the pure radical word is *kangen* not *gangen*, and the English meaning will be found opposite the radical word. For it is a peculiarity of the Welsh to soften the initial consonant, as *k* to *g*, *t* to *d*, *b* to *v*, in certain positions, as in the words *dec o vedwen* [ramus betullae]. Therefore you must always consider what is the initial letter when the word stands alone, out of connection, as I observed above. So it is in the normal natural utterance of the word that you are to seek, if you wish to find every word in this lexicon. For as none but an idiot would expect, [8] when going to gather osiers, to meet with rods growing in the form they are seen after being plaited round the frame-work of a basket, in the same manner none but an unskilful person will expect to find every word in the dictionary in the form and shape in which it is found when woven in the partition wall of a sentence. In addition to all I have already said observe this further direction, Advice to
such of you, Welshmen, as desire to learn English Welshmen
at your own firesides. You cannot fail to know that in English they do not read and pronounce every word literally and fully as it is written. For example, GOD BE WYTH YOU, which the commonalty pronounce *God biwio* (God bii'wio). And a heap of other words also are written, as to some of their syllables in the same way, but are not pronounced in the same way, as the following: BOWE, CROWE, TROWE which are read *bo* (boo) *bwa* [arcus], *kro* (kroo) *bran* [cornix], *tro* (troo) *tybyeid* [opior]. The following also have precisely the same termination as the above but are differently read, COWE, LOWE, NOWE, NARROWE, SPAROWE, which are usually spoken *kow* (kou) *buwch* [vacca], *low* (lou) *lowio* [mugire], *nou* (nou) *yn awr* [nunc], *narrw* (naru) *kyfing* [angustus], *sparw* (sparu) *ederyn y to* [passer]. With regard to such cases as the reader may find too difficult to remember, much less write, the best advice I have for such as may not be able to go to England (as I have already said), where the

or ni edy anghaffael iddo vyned i loecr lle mae r iaith yn gynenid / ymofyn o honaw ac vn a wypo Saesnec (o bleit odit o blwyf ynkymbry eb Sasnigyddion yntho) [9] paddelw y gelwir y peth ar peth yn sasnec. Ac yno dal a chraffŷ pa vodd y traythai ef y gair ne r geirieu hyny yn saisnigaidd / a chyd a hyny kymeryd y llyfer yma yn angwanec o goffaduriaeth yn absen athrawon / ac yn diffic dyscyawdwyr yr iaith. Dewch yn ach a

Dyswch nes oesswch Saesnec

Doeth yw e dyse da iaith dec.

¶ Y gwyddor o lythyrenneu bychain.

A a. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ff. g. gh. h. i. k. l. ll. m. n. n. n. o. p. r. z. f. ff. s. ft. t. th. v. u. w. y.

¶ Egwyddor or llythrenneu kanolic o vaint.

✠ a. b. c. d. e. f. g. gh. h. i. k. l. m. no. o. p. q. r. z. f. s. t. v. u. x. y. z. ff. ff. ft. w. & z. 2.

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. Y.

¶ Gwyddor or vath vwyaf ar lythyreu.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U X . .

[10] *blank*

[11] ¶ Natur a sain y llythyreu vchod yn Saesnec.

A. Seisnec sydd vn natur ac (a) gymreic / val y may yn eglur yn y geirieu hyn o saesnec *ale* / aal: ac ymhymraec kwrw: *pale* paal: *sale* sal: O ddieithyr Ryw amser y kaiff / a / sain y dipton (aw) yn enwedie pan ddelf o vlayn *l* / ne *ll* / val y may yn eglurach drwy y geirieu hynn: *balde* bawld moel *ball* bawl, pel: *wall* wawl gwal: Ond yn Ryw eirieu i dodant weithie (a) yn lledsegur er a gyfrifwn a ymarferai oe nerth ehunan / namyn yn hydrach ymrithio yn Rith yn bocal (e) ni a wnae ir darlleydd, val hyn *ease* ies esmwythdra: *leau* lief kenad: *sea* see mor: *yea* / ie / Ond nith rwystyr vath eirieu ahyn di ond yn anfynech.

B. yn sacsonaec a / b / yn Camberaec ynt vllais val yn y geirieu hynn: *babe* baab / baban: *brede* bred / bara. Ac ni newidir b, seisonic am lythyren aran val y gwnair a / b / gymberaec.

C. wrth i darllen yn sasonaec a chambraec sydd yn vn llef onid o vlayn e / i / y / canys o vlayn y tair llythyren hyn val s / vydd i son vegys hynn *Face* ffas wyneb *gracyouse* grasiws / rraddlawn / *cōdicyon* condisywn.

Ch. nid yw dim tebyc yn sacsonaec ac ymghambaraec: Ac nid oes ynghamraec lythyren na llythyrenneu ai kyfflyba yn iawn / eithyr may sain / tsi / kyn gyfflypet iddi ar efydd ir aur / val yn y gair hwn *churche* tsurts ecleis.

language is native, is, let him inquire of one who knows English (for there is scarcely a parish without some person in it conversant with English), [9] and ask how such and such a thing is called in English. And observe carefully how he sounds the word or words in English, and, in the absence of masters, and lack of teachers of the language, take this book, as an additional reminder. Come then and

Learn English speech until you age!

Wise he, that learns a good language!

¶ The Alphabet of small letters.

A. a. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ff. g. gh. h. i. k. l. ll. m. n. n. o. p. r. z. f. ff. s. s. t. th. v. u. w. y.

¶ The alphabet of medium letters.

✠ a. b. c. d. e. f. g. gh. h. i. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. z. f. s. t. v. u. x. y. z. ff. ff. w. & z. 2.

A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. Y.

¶ The Alphabet of Capital letters.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U X :

[10] blank.

[11] ¶ The nature and sound of the above letters in English.

A in English is of the same sound as *a* in Welsh, as is evident in these words of English, **ALE** *aal* (aal) *kwro* [cerevisia]; **PALE** *paal* (paal) [pallidus], **SALE** *sal* (saal) [venditio] (p. 61). Except sometimes **A** has the sound of the diphthong *aw* (au) especially when it precedes **L** or **LL**, as may be more clearly seen in these words: **BALDE** *bawld* (bauld) *moel* [calvus], **BALL** *bawl* (baul) *pel* [pila], **WALL** *wawl* (waul) *gwal* [murus] (p. 143, 194). But in certain words they place **A** sometimes, as we should consider it, rather carelessly according to our custom, out of its own power and rather metamorphosed into the vowel *e*, as **EASE** *ees* (eez) *esmwythdra* [otium], **LEAUE** *leef* (lecv) *kenad* [venia, licentia], **SEA** *see* (see) *mor* [mare], **YEA** *ie* (jee) [etiam] (p. 80). But words of this kind will not often perplex thee, gentle reader.

B in English and *b* in Welsh have the same sound, as in these words: **BABE** *baab* (baab) *baban* [infans], **BREDE** *bred* (breed, bred) *bara* [panis]. And **B** in English is not changed for another letter as is done with *b* in Welsh.

C in reading English, as in Welsh, has the same sound, except before **E**, **I**, **Y**, for before these three letters it is sounded as *s* (s). For example **FACE** *ffas* (faas) *wyneb* [facies], **GRACIOUS** *grasiws* (graa'si,us) *rraddlawn* [gratiosus], **CONDICION** *condisywn* (kondis'yun) [conditio.]

Ch is not at all like in English and in Welsh. And there are not in Welsh any letter or letters which correctly represent it, but the sound of *tsi* (tsi, tsr) is as like it as brass is to gold, as in the following word **CHURCHE** *tsurts* (tshrtsh) *ecleis* [ecclesia].

[12] **D.** ymghamraec a sacsonaec nid amrafaelia i gallu val y dyellir yn y geirieu hynn or ddwy iaith: *Duke* /duwk duc: *dart* dart dart. Eithyr nota hyn yn dda pan welych dwy / dd / yn dyfod ynghyd yn sasnaec nid val / dd / gymbereic vydd i grym / ond cadw awno pop vn i llais gynefinol: Ac nid lledffy A wnan ond cledy yn gledachvegys yny geirieu hyn *laddre* lad-dr / yscol *bladd'* blad-der chwyssigē. D. hefyd yw terfyn berf o amseu perphaith amperphaith a mwy nag amherffaith / val am y gair hwnn *loued* / carwn / kereis / carysswn &c.

E. a ddarlleir yn sasnaec gweith val / e / gymberaic gwaith val / i / gymberaic / a gweithe ereill yniwedd gair i *tau* ac i bydd vut val *scheua* yn hebriw neu vegys y gwelwch / w / yn diwed' y geirieu hynn o Camberaec kynddelw / ardelw / kefinderw / syberw / buddelw / marwnad / catwderw : yny rhain wrth eu darlain ay traythy / w / a dawdd ymaith ac velly y dywedyt a wnair kyndell / ardel / kefinder / syber / budel / marnad / catderw / Velly / e / yn diwedyy geirieu saesneec a dawdd ymaith a cham mwyaf o ddiwed pop gair wrth i draithy vegys o ddiwedd y geirieu hynn *emperoure* emperwr ac nid emperwrey darlleir : yr hwn air sasneec arwyddoka ymghymraec ymerawtr: Ac velly am *euermore* efermwor tragowydd. Ac yn y ddeuair saesneec vchot may y ddwy (e / e) gyntaf o bob vn yn vn llais ac e / o gamberaec / neu e / llatin neu epsylon o roec. Ar e / ddiwaethaf yn tewi / val y may / w / yny geirieu a soniais am tanun gynnaf. Ond yn enwedic pan ddel / e / yn ol / l / ne / r / yniwedd gair sacsonaec [13] ni chlywir dim o ywrthai ar dauod sais: ond o chlywyt peth o ywrthai / kynt y dyfalyt y bot hi o vlaen l / ne r / nag oe hol: val y traythant hi ar y geirieu yma / *able*, *sable*. *twyncl*, *wryncle*, *thōdre*, *wondre*, yr hyn eirieu ac ereill a deruynant yn vn odyl a rai hyn ni chlywn i sais yni darllain onid vegys pe byddem ni yw scriueny drwy adael / e / heibo / val hynn / abl / sabl / twinkl / wrinkl / thwndr / wndr: neu val pe bay / e / o vlayn yr l / ne yr r / val hyn *saddell*, *thonder*: Ond ni ddylie vot chwaith dieithyr vath ddarlleyad a hwnw i ni yr kambry paam onid ym nineu yn darllein drwy doddi ymaith dwy ne dair o amrafael lythyreu vegys y may yn eglur yn y geirieu yma popl dros popol, kwbl dros kwbl: papr / ac eithr lle y dylem ddywedyt papyr / ac eythyr / Ond raid yw madde i bob tafawd i ledlef, a goddef i bob iaith i phriodoldeb. Heuyd natur y vocal / e / pan orphenno air sacsonaec esmwythau ue veddalhau y sillaf a ddel oe vlayn val hynn *hope* hoop / gobeith: *bake*, baak / poby: *chese* / tsis caws. Eithyr dal yn graff ar ddywedyt y gair ackw *chese*, o bleit yr e / gyntaf sydd vn llais ac, i, on hiaith ni: ar e, ddiwaythaf yn sefyll yn vut val y dywedais or blayn y damwyniai iddi vod ryw amser. E, hefyd o vlayn s, yniwedd enweu lliosawc, sef yw hynny ir anyscedic geirieu a arwyddockaant veh pen rhifedi vn peth, a ddislanna wrth eu dywedyt val o ddiwedd yr enweu neur geirieu hynn *kynges*, brenhinedd: *friendes*, kereint: *tentes*, pepyll / yr hain a ddarlleir kings / frinds / tents. A gwybyddet y darlleydd nad

[12] **D** in Welsh and English do not disagree in their powers, as may be understood in these words from the two languages: *DUKE dnyck* (dyyk) *duc* [dux], *DART dart* (dart) *dart* [jaculum]. But note this well when you see two **DD** coming together in English, they have not the power of *dd* in Welsh (dh), but each retains its usual sound. And it does not soften, on the contrary it hardens the sound, as in the following words: *LADDRE lad-dr* (lad'er) *yscol* [scala], *BLADD' blad-der* (blad'er) *chwyssigen* [vesica]. **D** also is the termination of the perfect, imperfect, and pluperfect tenses, as in the word *LOVED* (luvd) *carwn*, *kereis*, *carysswn* [amabam, amavi, amaveram].

E is pronounced in English sometimes as *e* Welsh (*e*), sometimes as *i* Welsh (*i*), and sometimes at the end of words, it is silent or mute as *sheva* in Hebrew, or as you see *w* at the end of these words in Welsh: *kynddeho*, *ardeho*, *kefnderw syberw*, *buddeho*, *marwnad*, *catwderw*, in which the *w* is melted away in reading and speaking and so they are sounded *kyndell*, *ardel*, *kefnder*, *syber*, *budel*, *marnad*, *catderw*. Similarly **E** final in English words is melted away, for the most part, from the end of every word in pronunciation, as in the following words: *EMPEROURE* pronounced *emperor* (em'perur), and not *emperwrey* (emperuu-rei) which word in Welsh signifies *ymerawtr* [imperator]. And so *EUERMORE* *efermwor* (ev'ermoor, evermuur, evermwor) *tragowydd* [semper]. In the two English words above, the two first **E**, **E**, of each, has the same sound as the Welsh *e* or Latin *e*, or the Greek *epsylon*. And the final **E** is mute as *w* is in the words I have already mentioned. Moreover especially when **E** final follows **L** or **R**, [13] it is not heard from English tongues. But if it is heard at all, it is rather before the **L** or **R** than after, as they pronounce the following words: *ABLE*, *SABLE*, *TWYNCLE*, *WRYNCLE*, *THONDRE*, *WONDRE*, which words, together with others of the same termination, in hearing an Englishman read them, seem as if written without the **E**, thus: *abl*, *sabl*, *twinkl*, *wrinkl*, *thundr*, *wndr*, (aa'b'l, saa'b'l, twi'k'l, wri'k'l, thun'd'r, wun'd'r), [potens, niger, scintillare, ruga, tonitru, miraculum,]; or as if the **E** were written before the **L** or **R**: thus *SADDELL*, *THONDER* (sad'el, thun'der), [ephippium, tonitru.] But such pronunciations ought not to be strange to us Welshmen, for do we not also in reading melt away two or three letters at times, as may be seen in the following: *popl* for *popol* [populus], *kwbl* for *kwbul* [totus], *papr* and *eihr*, where we should say *papyr* [papyrus] and *eythyr* [sed]. But every tongue must be pardoned its peculiarities, and every language allowed its idioms. Further it is the nature of **E** final to soften and prolong the syllable which precedes it as: *HOPE hoop* (hoop) *gobeith* [spes], *BAKE baak* (baak) *poby* [coquere panem ut pistor], *CHESE tsis* (tshiiz) *caws* [caseus]. But observe carefully the word *CHESE*, for the first **E** has the sound of *i* in our tongue, and the **E** final is mute as before described. **E** also before **s** at the end of plural nouns,—that is, (for the sake of the unlearned,) names which signify a number of anything,—disappears in pronunciation, as in the following: *KYNGES*, *brenhinedd* [reges], *FRENDES kereint* [amici], *TENTES pepyll* [tentoria],

yw [14] A gwybyddet y darlleydd nad yw y Ruwl yma yn gwasanaythy i bob enw lliosawc o bleit pan ddel e, ch, g, neu e, arall o vlain y ddywedetic e, pally a wna y ruwl hon canys yna e, a draythir yn vungus neu val yn y, ni: val yn y geirieu hynn *dyches* deitsys / *ffossydd*: *faces*: *ffaces* / *wynebeu*: *oranges*, *oreintsys* / *afale* orayds: *trees*, *trius* prenneu.

f, seicsonic ehun sydd gymeint o synnwyr ynthei ac mewn dwy f, f, gambereic wedy gwascy eu penneu yngkyd val hyn: *fole*, *ffwl*, *ffol* ne ynuyd

ff, ac *f*, yn sasneac a dreythir yn vnmodd, eythyr *ff*, yn ddwyscach, ac *f*, yn yscafnach a gymerir: *f*, yn yscafu, val ymay *chefe*, tsiff pennaf / *ff*, yn ddwyse neu yn drom val yn y gair hwn *suffre*, swiffier dioddef:

G, seisnic a ch / o saesneac ynt daran debyc eu sain ie mor debyc i son yw gilydd ac yd yseriuena sags ny bo dra dyscedic yn aill yn ller llall vegys y damwain yn y gair hwn *churge* yn lle *churche* tsiurts eglwys. Eythyr g / yn sasneac o vlaen, a, o, u, a gweithe o vlain e / neu y, nid adweynir i llais rac g, gambereic, val hyn *galaunt* galawnt / *gelding* gelding / *plage*, plaag pla / *God*, dyw / *gutte* / gwt coluddyn / *Gylbert* / *gilbert*: Ond pan ddel g / o vlaen / e / i / neu y / val *ch*, seisnic neu tsadde o hebrew vydd i llef or rhan vrnychaf vegys hyn *gynger* tsintsir / *sinsir* / Gwilia hyn etto yn dda pan ddelont dwy gg / ynghyd / kydleisio eulldwyedd ac g / gamraec a wnant val hyn *beggynge* begging / yn cardota / *nagge* nag keffyllyn / *egge*, eg wy.

[15] **Gh**, sydd vn llef an ch, ni ond i bot hwy yn traythy yr gh / eiddunt yn yscafnec o ddieythyr y mwnwgyl a ninneu yn pronwsio yr ch / einom o eigawn yn gyddwfeu. A vegys y mayn anhowddgar gan sacson glywed rhwnck y llythyr hon gh / velly may. Kymbry deheubarth yn gwachel son am ch, ond lleiaf gallant. Can ti ay klywy hwy yn dywedyt *hwaer* a *hwech* lle ddym ni o ogledd kymbry yn dywedyt *chwaer* a *chwech*.

Ac etwa mi an gwelaf nineu yn mogelud traythy ch, yn vynech o amser vegys y may yn ddewisach genym ddywedyt (chwegwaith) no (chwechwaith) a (chwe vgain) na (chwech vgain). Ac im tyb i nid hoffach gan y Groecwyr y llythyr ch, pan ymchwelynt or ebryw *Iohannes* yn lle *Iochanna* / ac *Isaac* dros *Iitschack*: A chyffelyp nad gwell gan y llatinwyr y llythyr vchot pryd bont yn dyllyn yr vnwedd ar groecwyr ar drossi yr hebrew ir llatin / ac yn dywedyt *mihi* a *nihil* dros *michi* a *nichil* Ond i ddibenny yt / kymer y chwrnolat hwnw yn yscafnaf ac y del erot wrth ddywedyt iaith Saxonaec.

H, sydd vnwedd yn hollawl y gyd ar Sason a nineu, val y may *haue* haf, hwde / *hart* calon ne carw / *holy* holi santaidd / ne kelyn. Onid yn rhyw eirieu llatin wedy saesnigo nid anedsir h, val yny

which are read *kings* (kiqz), *frinds* (friindz), *tents* (tents). [14] And be it known to the reader that this rule does not apply to every plural, for when c, ch, e, or another e precedes the said e the rule fails, for then e is pronounced obscurely or as our y (i), as in the following *DYCHES deitsys* (deitsh·iz) *ffossydd* [fossae], *FACES ffaces* (faas·ez) *wynebeu* [facies], *ORANGES oreintsys* (or·eindzhiz) *afale orayds* [aurantia], *TREES triys* (trii·iz) *prenneu* [arbores].

F in English has singly as much power as two Welsh *f, f*, with their heads pressed together, thus: *FOLE ffwl* (fuul), *ffol ne ynuyd* [stultus].

FF and **F** in English are pronounced alike but **FF** harder than **F**, which has a lighter sound, as in *CHEFE tsiff* (tshiif) *pennaf* [principes]; **FF** hard as in *SUFFRE swfffer* (suffer) *dioddef* [pati].

G is sounded in English very similar to **CH**, so similar indeed that Englishmen not well educated write the one for the other, as in the word *CHURGE* for *CHURCHE* *tsiurts* (tshirtsh) *eglwys* [ecclesia]. But **g** in English before **a**, **o**, **u**, and sometimes before **e** or **y** is not distinguished from **g** Welsh (**g**), thus *GALAUNT galaront* (gal·aunt) [fortis] (p. 143), *GELDING gelding* (geld·iq) [canterius], *PLAGE plaag* (plaag) *pla* [pestis], *GOD* (god) *dyw* [deus], *GUTTE gutt* (gut) *coluddyn* [intestinum], *GILBERT gilbert* (gil·bert). But when **g** comes before **e**, **i**, or **y**, it is sounded as **CH** in English, or as *tsadde* *ʔ* in Hebrew for the most part, as *GYNGER tsintsir* (dzhin·dzher) *sinsir* [zinziber]. Note well this again when two **gg** come together, they are sounded as one, like **g** Welsh, thus: *BEGGYNGE begging* (beg·iq) *yn cardota* [mendicans], *NAGGE nag* (nag) *keffylyn* [mannus], *EGGE eg* (eg) *wy* [ovum].

[15] **Gh** has the same sound as our *ch*, except that they sound *gh* softly, not in the neck, and we sound *ch* from the depth of our throats and more harshly (p. 210), and as it is disagreeable to the English to hear the grating sound of this letter so Welshmen in the South of Wales avoid it as much as possible. For you hear them say *hwaer*, and *hwech* (whair, whekh), where we in the North of Wales say *chwaer*, and *chwech* (khwair, khwekh; kwhair, kwhekh?).

And still I find that even we often avoid pronouncing *ch*, as we prefer saying *chwegwaith* (kwegw·aith) for *chwechwaith* (kwhekh·gwaith) [sexies], and *chwegain* (kwhei·gain, kwhee·igain?) for *chwechvgain* (kwhekh yy·gain) [centum et viginti]. And in my opinion the Greeks were not overfond of this sound when they transferred from the Hebrew, *Iohannes* instead of *Iochanna*, and *Isaac* for *Iitschach*. And in a similar manner the Latins had no great liking for the above letter, for they follow the Greeks in transferring from Hebrew, and say *mihi* and *nihil* for *michi* and *nichil* (mi·hi ni·hil, mi·kh·i ni·kh·il). But to conclude you may take this guttural as light in speaking English as you can.

H is precisely the same in English as in Welsh, as we see in *HAUE haf* (hav) *hwde* [accipe], *HART hart* (hart) *calon ne carw* [cor vel cervus], *HOLY holy* (hool·i, hol·i) *santaidd ne kelyn* [sanctus vel aquifolium]. But in some anglicized Latin words **H** is not sounded

rhain honeste onest / honoure onor / anrhydedd / exhibition ecsibisiwn / kynheilaeth / prohibition proibisiwn / gwahardd. Nid ynganaf vi yn bot ni y to yr o wrhon mor ddiddarwybot a dywedyt *gwydd* dros *gwehydd*.

[16] **I**, oe hiaith hwy sydd gymeint ar ddwy lythyren yma *ei*, on iaith ni / od gwescir y gyd ai dywedyt yn vn sillaf neu dyphthong, val yny gair hwn, *i*, *ei* / mi ne myfi. Eythyr pan gydseinio *i*, a bocal arall vn sain vydd hi yna a, g, seisnic, ac achos eu bot hwy mor gyffelypson mi weleis *rei* ympedruster a dowt pa vn ai ac, *i*, ai ynte a, g, yd scriuenynt ryw eirieu ar rain *maiestie*, *gentyll*, *gelousye*: a rhai yn scrifenny *habreiousne* ac ereill *hebergyn*, lluric: Ac velly mi welaf ynghylch yr vn gyffelybrwydd rwng y tair llythyren seisnic hynn *ch*, *g*, *i*, a rhwng y plwm pewter ar ariant, sef yw hynny, bod yn gynhebye yw gyllydd ar y golwe kyntaf ac yn amrafaelio er hyny wrth graffy arnnnt. Esampl o, *i*, yn gyd-sain *Iesu*, tsiesuw, *Iesu*: *Iohn* tsion a sion o lediaith: ac Ieuan ynghamroec loyw: *ioynt*, tsioynt kymal.

K, ynghymraec a saesnec vn gyneddf yw / ond yn saesnec an-ynnychach o beth y dechy air val y gwelwch yma, *boke* bwk llyfyr *bucke* bwck bwch: *k*, yn dechry gair *kyng*e king / brenhin: *knot* kwlwm: *kent*.

L, yny ddwyaith ddywededic nid amgena ond yn anamylair i llais val hyn *lyly* lili / *lady* ladi arglwyddes *lad* bachken.

Ll, yn saesnec nid ynt dim tebye eu hansawd in ll. ni: an ll, ni ny ddyse byth yn iawn dyn arallia ith i thraythy o ddiarth yny veyd.

Ll, hefyd yn saesnec nid yw yn dwyn enw vn lly thyren eithyr dwbyl *l*, neu *l*, ddyplyc i *gelwir*: a llais *l*, sydd ynthun yn wastat, neu lais lambda pan ddel [17] o vlayn *iota* / Ond yn rhyw wledydd yn lloer val *w*, y traythant *l* / ac *ll* / mewn rhyw eirieu val hyn *bowd* yn lle *bold*: *bw* dros *bull* / *caw* dros *cal*. Ond nid yw vath ddywediat onid llediaith / ac nid peth yw ddylyn oni vynny vloysei y gyd a bloyscon.

M, ac **n** / kynggany awnant yny ddwyaith einom / ie ac ympop iaith ac i gwn ni ddim o ywrthynt / yn Saxonaec a dwyts val hyn *man* gwr *men* gwyr.

O, kymysclef an o / ac an w / ni vydd / ac nid ar vnwaith nac yn yr vn sillaf onid mewn vn sillaf yn o / mewn arall yn w / y treythir val hynn *to* to / bys troet: *so* so velly *two* tw / dau / *to* tw / ar at / *i* / *schole* sewl / yscol.

O, hefyd o vlaen *ld* / neu *ll* / a ddarlleir vegys *pe* bay *w* / ryngto ac wynt / mal hyn *colde*, cowld oer *bolle*, bowl / *tolle* towl toll. Eithyr dwy *oo* ynghyd yn sasnec a soniant val w / ynghymraec val hyn *good*, gwd da: *poore* pwr / tlawd:

P, yn saesnec nid yw vn ddeddf a phi yn hebruw yngroec neu

as HONESTE *onest* (on'est) [honestus], HONORE *onor* (on'or) *anrhydedd* [honos], EXHIBITION *ecsibisiwn* (eksibis'i,un) *kynheilaeth* [expositio], PROHIBITION *proibisiwn* (proo,ibis'i,un) *gwahardd* [prohibitio]. I will not mention that we are at present so negligent as to say *gwydd* (gwydh) for *gwehydd* (gwee'hydh) [textor].

[16] **I** in their language is equivalent to the following two letters in ours *ei* (ei), but they are compressed so as to be pronounced in one sound or a diphthong, as in that word of theirs I *ei* (ei, ei) *mi* [ego] or *myfi* [egomet]. But when it is joined to another vowel it has the sound of *e* English, and as they are so near alike, I have met with some in hesitation and doubt, whether they should write certain words with **I** or with *e*, as the following: MALESTIE, GENTYLL, GELOUSYE, and some writing HABREIOUNE and others HEBERGYN *lluryg* [lorica]. Thus I observe the same likeness between these three English letters *ch*, *e*, and *i*, as exists between pewter and silver, that at first sight they appear very like each other, but on close examination they differ. For example, IESU *tsiesuw* (Dzhee'zyy) *Iesu* [Jesus], IOHN *tsion* (Dzhon) and *sion* [Shon] by corrupt pronunciation, and Ienan [Iohannes] in pure Welsh, IOYNT *tsioynt* (dzhoint) *kymal* [junctura] (p. 131).

K has the same power in Welsh as in English, but it is not so frequent at the commencement of words as may be seen in the following: BOKE *buk* (buuk) *llyfyr* [liber], BUCKE *buck* (buk) *buch* [dama mas]: **K** at the beginning of words KYNGE *king* (kiq) *brenhin* [rex], KNOT (knot) *kwlwm* [nodus]; KENT.

L in the two languages does not differ in sound, as LYLY *lili* (lil'i) [lilium], LADY *ladi* (laa'di) *arghwyddes* [domina], LAD (lad) *bachken* [juvenis].

LI in English is nothing like in sound to our *ll* (lhh), and our *ll* will no foreigner ever learn to pronounce properly except in youth.

LL in English has no distinct name, it is simply called *dwbyl l* (dub'yl el) or twofold **L**, and it has always the sound of *l*, or of *lambda* [17] before *iota*. But in some districts of England it is sounded like *w* (u), thus *bowd* (boould) for **BOLD** [audax], *bw* (buu) for **BULL** [taurus]; *caw* (kau) for **CALL** [voco]. (p. 194.) But this pronunciation is merely a provincialism, and not to be imitated unless you wish to lisp like these lispers.

M and **N** are of the same sound in the two languages (and indeed in every other language I know). In English they are spoken thus *man* (man) *gwr* [vir], *men* (men) *gwyrr* [viri].

O takes the sound of *o* (o) in some words, and in others the sound of *w* (u); thus *to* (too) *bys troet* [digitus pedis], *so* (soo) *velly* [sic], *two* (tuu) *dau* [duo], *to* (tu) *ar*, *at*, *i* [ad], *SCHOLE* *scwl* (skuul) *yscol* [schola]. (p. 93.)

O also before **LD** or **LL** is pronounced as though *w* were inserted between them, thus *COLDE* *cowld* (koould) *oer* [frigidus], *BOLLE* *bowll* (booul) [crater], *TOLLE* *towl* (tooul) *toll* [vectigal] (p. 194). But two *oo* together are sounded like *w* in Welsh (u), as *GOOD* *gud* (gud, gund) *da* [bonus], *POORE* *puwr* (puur) *tlawd* [pauper] (p. 93).

P in English has not the same rule as *phi* in Hebrew, Greek, or

ymgamroec achos yny teirieith hyn y try weithie yn rhyw eirieu yn ph :

Eithyr sain sauadwy sydd iddi yn sasneec ympop gair val : *papyr* papyr / *pappe* / papp bron gwraic ne ywd : *penne* ydyw pinn yscri-fenny : Ac val hyn y traytha Sais y llyther p / mewn ymadrodd / *and wyth a penne* : ac a phinn : ac nid *wyth a phenne* neu ffenne y dywaid ef.

Q, llythyr dieythyr ymgamraec yw ac nid mawr gartrefigach yn saesneec vn gyfraith a cha k / [18] y keffir q / val hynn *quene* kwin brenhines : *quarter* kwarter chwarter neu pedwerydd ran : *quayle* sofyliar : A gwybydd may u / yw kydymeith q / can ni welir byth q / eb u / yw chynlyn mwy nar goc heb i gwicheilll.

R / sydd anian yny ddwyiaith hyn eythyr ni ddyblyr ac nid hanedlyr R / vyth yn dechreu gair sasneec val y gwnair yngroec ac yncamroec modd hyn

Rhoma rrufain ne rhufain : Ond val hyn yd yserifenir ac y treithir geirie seisnie ac r / ynthunt *ryght* richt iawn *rent* rent *ros* ros ne rosim,

S / yn yr icithoedd yma a syrth yn vn sain val hyn *syr* syr / *seasō* seesyn amser amserawl ne amser kyfaddas : Eythyr pan ddel s / yn saesneec rhwng dwy vocal lleddfey neu vloysey a wna yn wynech o amser val hyn : *muse* muwws meuryrio : *mase* maas madrondot.

S / o dodir hi o cwhanec at diwedd enw vnice / yr enw vnice / neur gair vnice hwnw a liosocka ne arwyddocka cwhanec nac vn peth vegys hynn *hāde* hand yw llaw : *handes* hands ynt llawe ne ddwylo : *nayle* nayl ewin ne hoyl hayarn *nayles* nayls ewinedd ne hoylion heyryn : *rayle* rayl canllaw : *rayles* rayls canllaweu / ne ederin regen yr yd.

Sh / pan ddel o vlayn vn vocal vn vrint ar sillaf hwn (ssi) vydd val hynn *shappe* ssiapp gwedd ne lun : *shepe* ssiip dauad ne ddeueid.

Sh / yn dyfod ar ol bocal yn (iss) y galwant : vegys hyn *asshe* aiss / onnen : *wasshe* *waiss* / golchi. Ac ym pa ryw van bynac ac air i del / ssio val neidyr gy[19]ffrous a wna / nid yn anghysylltpell o y wrth swyn y llythyr hebrew a elwir *schin* : Ac o mynny cwhanec o hyspysrwydd ynkyleh i llais gwrando ar byscot kregyn yn dechreu berwi o damwain vnwaith vddunt leisio. Kymerwech hyn o athro wlythyr kartrefic rac ofyn na chyrayddo pawp o honawch gaffael wrth i law tafodioc seisnie yw haddysey.

T / hefyd a wna yr vn wyneb i Sais a chymro val hyn *tresure* tresuwr trysor *tour* towr twr : *top* top nen.

Th / o saesneec a chymraec a vydd gyfodol ac vn nerth ond yn rhyw eirieu hi a ddarllleir kyn yscafne ar dd / einom ni : Eglurdeb am gyfio wnllais th / eiddunt hwy : *through* thrwech trywodd : *thystle*

Welsh, for in these languages it is sometimes changed in words to *ph*.

But in English it has a permanent sound in every word as *PAPYR* *papyr* (paa'pîr) [*papyrus*], *PAPPE* *papp* (pap) *bron gwraic ne ywð* [*mamma vel infantium cibus*], *PENNE* *pinn yscrifenny* [*calamus*]. And an Englishman pronounces the letter *p* thus, in the phrase *AND WYTH A PENNE* (and with a pen) *ac a phinn* [*et cum calamo*], and not *WYTH A PHENNE* or *FFENNE* with double *ef* (with a fen).

Q is a strange letter in Welsh, and scarcely more at home in English. It is the same in sound as *k*, [18] as *QUENE* *kwin* (*kwiin*) *brenhines* [*regina*], *QUARTER* *kwarter* (*kwart'er*) *chwarter* [*quarta pars*]; *QUAYLE* (*kwaile*) *sofyliar* [*coturnix*]. And bear in mind that *u* is the companion of *q*, for *q* is never seen without *u* following it, as the cuckoo without her screecher.

R is of the same nature in the two languages except that *r* is never doubled or aspirated at the beginning of words as in Greek and Welsh.

Rhoma, *rrufain* or *rhufain* [*Roma*], but English words beginning with *r* are thus pronounced: *RYGHT* *richt* (*rikht*) *iawn* [*rectus*], *RENT* *rent* (*rent*) [*scissura*], *ROS* (*rooz*) *ros ne rosim* [*rosa*].

S in these languages is of the same sound, thus *SYR* *syr* (*sir*) [*dominus*], *SEASON* *seesyn* (*seez'in*) *amser amserawl ne amser kyfaddas* [*tempestas, tempestivus vel occasio*]. But when *s* comes between two vowels it has the flat sound, or it is lisped, thus *MUSE* *muwros* (*myyz*) *meuyrio* [*meditari*], *MASE* *maas* (*maaz*) *madrondot* [*stupor*].

S when added to the end of a word in the singular, makes it plural, or to signify more than one, as *HANDE* *hand* (*hand*) is *llaw* [*una manus*], *HANDES* *hands* (*handz*) are *llawe ne ddwylo* [*plures vel duæ manus*], *NAYLE* *nayl* (*nail*) *ewin ne hoyl hayarn* [*unguis vel ferreus clavus*], *NAYLES* *nayls* (*nailz*) *ewinedd ne hoylion heyrn* [*ungues vel ferrei clavi*], *RAYLE* *rayl* (*rail*) *canllaw* [*cancellus*], *RAYLES* *rayls* (*railz*) *canllawen ne ederin regen yr yd* [*cancelli vel creces pratenses*] (p. 119).

Sh when coming before a vowel is equivalent to this combination *ssi*, thus *SHAPPE* *ssiapp* (*shap*) *gwedd ne lun* [*species vel forma*], *SHEPE* *ssiip* (*shiip*) *dauad ne ddeueid* [*ovis vel oves*].

Sh coming after a vowel is pronounced *iss*, thus *ASSHE* *aiss* (*ash, aish?*) *onnen* [*fraxinus*]; *WASSHE* *waiss* (*wash, waish?*) *golchi* [*lavare*]. And wherever it is met with it hisses, like a roused serpent, [19] not unlike the Hebrew letter called *schin* שׁ. And if you wish further information respecting this sound, you should listen to the hissing voice of shellfish when they begin to boil. Take this as an homely illustration lest you may not all be able to find an English tongue at hand to instruct you.

T also shews the same face to an Englishman as to a Welshman, as *TRESURE* *tresuror* (*trez'yyr*) *trysor* [*thesaurus*], *TOURE* *tour* (*tour*) *twr* [*turtis*], *TOP* *top* (*top*) *nen* [*vertex*].

Th in English rhymes with the same combination in Welsh (*th*), but in some words it reads flat like our *dd* (*dh*). Examples of the Welsh sound of *th*; *THROUGH* *thruwk* (*thruukh*) *trywodd* [*per*],

thystl yscall: Eglurwch am th/ val awn dd/ ni *this* ddys hwn/ hon/ ne hyn. velly ddym nine yn cam arfer yn sathredic o dd/ dros th/ yny gair yma (ddialaydd) yn lle (dialayth) Nota hyn hefyd / y darlleant th/ val t/ yny geirieu hynn *Thomas* tomas: *throne* trwn pall-

U/ yn gydson nid amrafailia i rhinwedd yn lloer mwy nac yngymry val hyn *vyne* vein gwin wydden: *vayne* vayn gwythen ne wac: *veluet* velfet melfet. Eithyr u/ yn vocal a ettyl bwer y ddwy lythyren gamberaechyn, u, w, ai henw kyffredin vydd yn, uw, vegys y tystolaytha y geirieu hyn *true* truw kywir: *vertue* vertu rhinwedd A rhyw amser y kaiffi hiawn enw gantunt ac y darlleir yn ol y llatinwyr sef y galwant yn vn llais an w/ ni: val yny [20] geirieu hyny/ *bucke* bwck bwch/ *lust* lwst chwant Eithyr anuynech y kyssona eu bocal u/ hwy an bocal, u, ni/ eissoes yn y gair hwn *busy* busi prysur ne ymyrus.

W, seisnic ac w/ gymreic nid amgenant i gallu val hyn/ *wawe* waw tonn ar vor/ *wyne* wein gwin: *wynne* wynn ennil. Eithyr henw y llythyren w/ o saesnech vydd dowbyl uw/ sef yw hynny u dduplic/ Ar sason wrth ddysey i blant sillafy ne spelio ai kymerant hi val kydson ac nid yn vocal ne yn w, *per se* val y ddym ni yw chymryd: Ond y ddym ni ar hynny yw, harfer hi or modd hawsaf i ieunktit ddyfod y ddarllen yn ddeallus.

Hefyd distewi a wna w/ wrth ddiweddy llawer gair saesnech val yn diwedd y rai hynn/ *awe*, *bowe* *wowe* / y rhain a ddarlleant modd hynn: a/ ofyn bo bwa: w/ *kary*

x, nid yw chwaith rhy gartrefol yn saesonaec mwy nac yn Camberaec a llais es/ neu gs/ a glywir ynthei vegys yny/ geirieu hynn *flaxe* fflacs llin *axe* ags/ bwyall. Geirieu llatin a ledieithantir saesonaec neu ir Gamberaec a newidiant x/ am s/ val y geirieu hyn/ *crux* crosse croes ne crws/ *exemplum* esampyl/ *extendo* estennaf: *excommunicatus* escomyn

Y, a gaiff yn amyl/ enw y dypthong (ei) val hynn *thyne* ddein tau ne eiddot: ai enw ehun val yny gair hwn *thyne* thynn teneu.

y^e, a thityl val, e, vach vch i phen a wna *the* o saesnech val hyn *y^e man* dde man, y gwr: *y^e oxe* dde ocs/ yr ych

y^t, a chroes vechan val t, vch i ffen sydd gymeint [21] yn lla willythyr a *that* ddat, hyny ne yr hwn.

y^u, ac u, uwch i phen a wna *thou* ddow, ti ne tydi

THYSTLE *thystl* (this-tl) *yscall* [carduus]. Examples of TH like our *dd*; THIS *ddys* (dhis) *hwn hon ne hyn* [hic haec vel hoc]. So also in familiar conversation we mispronounce *dd* for *th* in the word *ddialaydd* for *dialayth* [sine tristitiâ]. Observe also that they read TH as *t* in these words: THOMAS *tomas* (Tom'as), THRONE *trwn* (truun) *pell* [solium].

U consonant is not distinguished in power in Welsh and English, thus: VYNE *vein* (vein) *gwin wydden* [vitis], VAYNE *vayn* (vain) *gwythen ne wac* [vena vel vanus] (p. 119), VELUET *velfet* (vel-vet) *melfet* [holosericum]. But *u* vowel answers to the power of the two Welsh letters *u*, *w*, and its usual power is *uw*, as shewn in the following words TRUE *truo* (tryy) *kywir* [verus], VERTUE *vertuuo* (ver'tyy) *rhinwedd* [virtus]. And sometimes they give it its own proper sound and pronounce it like the Latins, or like our *w*, as [20] in the words BUCKE *buck* (buk) *buch* [dama mas], LUST *lust* (lust) *chwant* [libido]. But it is seldom this vowel sound corresponds with the sound we give the same letter, but it does in some cases as in BUSY *busi* (biz'i) *prysur ne ymyrus* [occupatus vel se immiscens] (p. 164).

W English and *w* Welsh do not differ in sound, as WAVE *waw* (wau) *tonn ar vor* [unda maris] (p. 143), WYNE *wein* (wein) *gwin* [vinum], WYNNE *wynn* (win) *ennill* [pretium ferre]. But the English name of this letter is *dowbyl uw* (dou'bil yy), that is double *u*. And the English in teaching children to spell, take it as a consonant, and not as a vowel, or *w per se* (*u per see*) as we take it. But still we use it in the most easy mode for youth learning to read intelligently.

Also *w* is mute at the end of words in English, as in the following AWE, BOWE, WOVE, which we pronounce thus: *a* (aa) *ofyn* [terror] (p. 143), *bo* (boo) *bwa* [arcus] (p. 150), *w* (uu, wuu?) *kary* [amare, ut procius petere].

X Neither is *x* much at home in English any more than in Welsh, and the sound is *cs* (ks) or *gs* (gz) as in the words FLAXE *fflacs* (flaks) *llin* [linum], AXE *ags* (agz) *bwyall* [securis]. Latin words in their passage into English or Welsh exchange *x* for *s*, as in the words *crux* CROSSE *croes*, or *crws*, *exemplum* *esampyl*, *extendo* *estennaf*, *excommunicatus* *escomyn*.

Y often has the sound of the diphthong *ei* (ei, øi), as THYNE *ddein* (dhein) *tau ne eiddot* [tuus vel tibi], and its own sound as in the word THYNNE *thynn* (thîn) *teneu* [gracilis] (p. 111).

y^e with a tittle like a small *e* above makes THE English, as **y^e** MAN *dde man* (dhe man) *y gwr* [vir ille], **y^e** OXE *dde ocs* (dhe oks) *yr ych* [bos ille].

y^t with a small cross above it, is equal [21] at full to THAT *ddat* (dhat) *hyny ne yr hwn* [ille vel qui].

y^u with *u* above it, signifies THOU *ddow* (thou) *ti ne tydi* [tu].

Y, ddoedd gan yr hen seriffennyddion sasnech lythyren taran debyc i, y, ond nad oedd i throed yn gwyro i vyny val pladur val y may troet, y, ac nid antebic i llun yr *rhumeinol*, y, neu i *ypsylon groec* ne *ghayn* yn hebrew ac hyd y daw im kof *ddorn* i klywais vnwaith hen ddarlledd o. sais yn y he nwi vn allu an dd ni neu ar ddelta roec y doedd. Ond nid yw hi arferedie ymplith Sason er pan ddoeth kelfyddyt print yw myse onit kymeryd tan vn (y) drostei: ar (th) weithie yny lle: Ac aros hynny may yn anhaws i ddyn arallwlad dreuthy eu (th) hwy yn seisnigaidd o achos i bot ryw amser yn gwas naythy yn lle yr hen llythyren a elwynt dorn val y gwelsoch yn eglur yny geirieu or blayn. Ac velly pan aeth y vloysecllythyr wreigaidd honno ar gy feilorn ouyse Sason y derby-nassom niner Kymbry hihi ac aethom i vloysey val mamaethod ac y ddywedyt dd dros d, th dros t, a d dros t, b ac ph, dros p, &c. Ond maddeuwch ym rhac hyyd y trawschwedyl yma a mi a dalfyraf yn gynt am y sydd yn ol orllythyren ereill.

Z, hefyd o yddynt yn aruer yn vawr o honei, yn lle s / yn diwedd gair val: *kynges* kings, brenhinedd. A rhai yw doddi dros m, ac eraill (peth oedd vwy yn erbyn i natur) dros gh, yn y chymeryd: val hyn *ryzt* richt kyflawn *knyst* knicht marchawg vrddol.

T, nid llythyren yw namyn gair kyfan wedy ddefeisio yn vyrh, val y gwelwch yma / rhac mor [22] vynech y damwain ympop ymadrodd o bob ryw iaith yr hwn pan yscrifener yn llawnllythr yn llatin (*et*) vydd *and* yn saesnech: ac (ac) yn Camberaech a arwyddocka.

¶ yn y Gwydhor hon o ddisot y kynwyssir sum a chrynodeb yr holl ruwls vchot: Ac am hyny tybeid nad rhait angwauec a addyse na mwy o eglurdeb arnei / ir neb a chwenych ddarllein y llyfer or pen bwy gyllydd.

a, ai	c, k	tsi	d	e	f	ff	g	c	i	l			
¶a	b	c	ch	d	e	f	ff	g	gh	h	i	k,	l,
aw		s		d	i	f	ph	tsi	h		ei		w
l	o	k	ssi	th	uw	fi		cs	ei, y	s	and		
ll, m, n,	o, p, q, r, s,	ssi,	t, th,	u,	v,	w, x,	y,	z,	¶				
l	w	iss	dd/t/	u/	v/	gs	i	ch/m					

¶ Neu val hynn

ai	c	k	tsi	e	f	tsi	ch	ei	l	l	w	k
¶ a,	b,	c,	ch,	d,	e, f,	g,	gh, i,	k, l,	ll,	m, n, o,	p, q,	
aw		s		i	f		i	w	l		o	
		iss	th, t	u	v	cs	ei, y	s	and			
r, s, sh,	t, th	u,	v,	w, x,	y,	z,	¶					
	ssi	dd	uw	f	gs	i	ch	m				

Y, The old English writers had a letter þ very much like y, only that the stem was not curved upward as a scythe like the stem of the y, and it is not unlike in shape to the Roman x or the Greek *upsilon* *Y*, or the Hebrew *ghayn* y, and as near as I can remember, an old English reader once called the name of it *ddorn* (dhorn), and he pronounced it like our *dd* (dh) or like the Greek *delta* δ (dh). But it is not in use among the English since the art of printing was introduced, but x is sometimes used for it, and sometimes TH. And on this account it is more difficult for a stranger to pronounce their TH in English, because it serves sometimes the place of the letter they call *ddorn* (dhorn), as may be noticed in the foregoing remarks. So that when that effeminate lispng letter was lost from the English, it was introduced to us the Welsh, and we commenced lispng like nursing women, and to say *dd* (dh) for *d* (d), *th* (th) for *t* (t), and *d* for *t*, *b* and *ph* (f) for *p* &c. But pardon the length of this digression of speech, and I will bring my remarks respecting the other letters sooner to a close.

Z was also frequently used instead of s at the end of words as KYNGEZ *kings* (kiqz) *brenkinedd* [reges]. Some also used it for m, and others (which was more contrary to nature) for GH in the words RYZT *richt* (rikht) *kyfiawn* [rectus], KNYZT *knicht* (knikht) *marchawg vrdol* [eques].

&. This is not a letter but an abbreviation for a whole word as may be seen from the following [22] how frequently it is used in every language. When written in full it is *et* in Latin, AND in English, *ac* in Welsh.

¶ The table below gives a summary and the substance of all the above rules: and therefore it was not considered necessary to give more explanation or instruction respecting it to any one desirous to read the book from beginning to end.

a, ai	c, k	tsi	d	e	f	ff	g	c	i	l
ȝa	b	c	ch	d	e	f	ff	g	gh, h,	i k, l,
aw	s		d	i	f	ph	tsi	h	ei	w
l	o	k	ssi	th,	uw,	fi	cs	ei, s	and	
ll, m, n,	o, p,	q, r, s,	ssi, t,	th,	u,	v, w, x,	y, z	&		
l	w		iss	dd,t	u,	v	gs	i ch,m		

¶ Or like this.

ai	c k	tsi	e	f	tsi	ch	ei	l l	w	k
ȝa, b,	c, ch,	d, e, f,	g,	gh, i,	k, l, ll,	m, n, o,	p, q,			
aw	s	i	f	i	w l	o				
	iss	th, t	u	v	cs	ei, y	s	and		
r, s, sh	t, th	u,	v,	w, x,	y,	z,	&			
	ssi	dd,	uw	f	gs	i	ch,m			

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[23] [24] *blank*. [25]—

<i>¶ Kamberaec</i>	<i>Sacsonaec</i>	<i>walſhe</i>	<i>Englyſhe</i>
A. o vlaen b.		Achwyno	Complaynt
Ab ne ſiak ab	An ape	Achwlwm	A rōude knot
Ab ne vab	Sonne	Achub	
Abe ne afon	A ryuer	Achub	
Aber ne hafyn	Hauen	A. o vlaen d.	
Aberth	The ſacra- ment	Ad	Re, agayne
		Aderyn	A byrde
Aberth efferen	Sacryng of	Adarwr	A fouler
Aberth ne of- frwm	maſſe	Adblygy	To folde a- gayne
Aberthy	Sacryfye		
Abledd	Sacryfice	Adec	
	Hableneſſe	Adail	A buyldynge
	habilitie	Adailad	Bylde
Abram	Abraam	Adefyn / edau	Threde
Abſen	Abſence	Adain	A wyng
Abſennwr	Bacbyter	Adain py co-	
drwe		Adnabot (dyn	Knowe
Abwy burgyn	Caryen	Adliw	A brayde
Abwyd	Bayte	Adnewyddy	Renewe
Abyl	Hable	Adwerth	
A. o vlaen c		Adwy bwlch	A gappe
Ac	And	Adwyth	
Acken	Accent	A. o vlaen dd.	
Ackw	Yonder	Adda	Adam
Acolit		Addas	Mete, apte
Acolidieth		Addaw	Promeſſe
Act	An acte	Addwyn	
A. o vlaen ch.		Addfed	Rype
Ach	Petygrewe	Addfedy	Rype
Ach diaficalh	Hole, founde	Addoli	Worthyp
Achwyn	Accuſation	Addunet	A vowe

INDEX TO THE ENGLISH AND LATIN WORDS OF WHICH THE PRONUNCIATION IS GIVEN OR INDICATED IN SALESBURY'S TWO TRACTS.

In the following list the words quoted from the Treatise on Welsh pronunciation are given in *italics*, followed by the old spelling there used by Salesbury in small capitals, and the pronunciation indicated. In that treatise the pronunciation is seldom or ever explained in Welsh letters, but some important part of it is indicated, and the rest has been added from conjecture. The numbers which follow give the pages in this work where the word is referred to, (the small upper figure being the number of the footnote,) the bracketed numbers the page of the tract as here printed, and the capitals the letters under which the words occur.

The words quoted from the Treatise on English pronunciation are in Roman letters, followed by the old spelling in small capitals, the Welsh transliteration in italics, the palaeotypic pronunciation in (), the Welsh interpretation in italics, and its translation into Latin in [], and finally references as before.

Latin words are distinguished by a prefixed †.

- adder* **ADDER** (ad'er). 766², [44]
addice **ADDES** (adh'es) provincial. 750⁸, [17]
able **ABLE** *abl* (aa-b'l) [potens]. 62, 195 776, [13, E]
ale **ALE** *aal* (aal) *kwrw* [cerevisia]. 61, 62, 775, [11, A]
and **AND** (and). 787
all **ALL** (aul). 766², [44]
† *agnus* (aq'nus), erroneous. 62, 744¹, 767¹, [3, 46]
† *amat* (am'ath) barbarous. 759¹, [30]
archangel **ARCHANGELL** (ark'an'dzhel). 766¹, [43]
ash **ASHE** (aish). 120, 747³, [12, A], *ash* **ASSHE** *aiss* (ash, aish) *onnen* [fraxinus]. 783, [18, SH].
awe **AW** (au). 143, 762⁶, [34, W]. *awe* **AWE** *a* (aa) *ofyn* [terror]. 143, 785, [19, W].
axe **AXE** *ags* (agz) *bwyal* [securis]. 62, 785, [20, X]
babe **BABE** *baab* (baab) *baban* [infans]. 62, 775, [11, B]
bake **BAKE** *baak* (baak) *poby* [coquere panem ut pistor]. 62, 777, [13, E]
bald **BALDE** *bawld* (bauld) *moel* [calvus]. 143, 194, 775, [11, A]
ball **BALL** *baul* (baul) *pel* [pila] 143, 194, 775, [11, A]
be **BEE** (bii), 754, [23, I]
bear **BERE** (beer). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
begging **BEGGYNGE** *begging* (beg'iq) *yn cardota* [mendicans]. 80, 112, 779, [14, G]
being **BEYNGE** (bii'iq). 766 [43]
believe **BELEUE** (biliv'). 751³, [18, E]
bier **BERE** (biir). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
bladder **BLADD'** *blad-der* (blad'er) *chwysigen* [vesica]. 62, 199, 777, [12, D]
bold **BOLD** *bowd* (boould) [audax] provincial. 194, 781, [17, LL]
book **BOKE** *bwk* (buuk) *llyfyr* [liber]. 99, 781, [16, K]
bow **BOWE** *bo* (boo) *bwa* [arcus]. 150, 773, 785, [8, 20, W]
bowl **BOLLE** *bowl* (booul) [crater]. 194, 781, [17, O]
bread **BREDE** *bred* (breed, bred) *bara* [panis]. 79, 775, [11, B]
break **BREKE** (breek). 79, 751³, [18 E]
bringeth **BRYNGETH** (briq'eth) not (briq'eth). 767², [46]
buck **BUCKE** *bwck* (buk) *bwch* [damas]. 165, 781, 785, [16, K, 20, U]
bull **BULL** *bu* (buu) [taurus] provincial. 165, 194, 781, [17, LL]
bury **BURY** (bir'i) vulgar. 111, 164, 760⁵, [32, U]
business **BUSINES** (biz'ines). 766¹, [43]
busy **BUSY** (biz'i) vulgar. 111, 164, 760⁵, [32, U]. *busy* **BUSY** *busi* (biz'i) *prysur ne ymyrus* [occupatus vel se immiscens]. 112, 165, 785, [20, U]
by our lady **BYR LADY** (bei'r laa'di). 744², [5]
call **CALL** (kaul). 747³, [12, A]. *call*, **CALL** *caw* (kau) [voco]. prov. 194, 781, [17, LL]. *called* **CALLED** (kaul-ed). 766¹, [43]
calm **CALME** (caulm). 747³, [12, A]
cease **CEASSE** (sees). 766², [44]
Cheapside **CHEPESYDE** (Tsheep'seid). 752¹, [19, E]
check **CHECKE** (tshek). 766², [44]
cheese **CHESE** *tsis* (tshiiz) *caws* [caseus] 79, 777, [13, E]
chief **CHEFE** *tsiff* (tshiif) *pennaf* [princeps]. 779 [14, F]
church **CHURCHE** *tsurts* (tshirtsh) *ecleis* [ecclesia]: *tsiurts* (tshirtsh) *eglwys* [ecclesia]. 165, 199, 775, 779, [11, CH. 14, G]
cold **COLDE** *cowld* (koould) *oer* [frigidus] 194, 781, [17, O]
comb, **COMBE** (kuum ?), 766², [44]
condition **CONDICYON** *condisywn* (condis'iun) [conditio]. 99, 112, 191, 215, 775, [11, C]
cow **COWE** *kow* (kou) *bwwech* [vacca]. 773, [8]
crow **CROWE** *kro* (kroo) *bran* [cornix]. 150, 773, [8]
damage **DOMAGE** (dom'aidzh). 120, 747³, [12, A]
dart **DART** *dart* (dart) *dart* [iaculum]. 777, [12, D]
† *dederit* (ded'erith) barbarous. 759⁴, [30, T]
defer **DIFFER** (difer ?) 765¹⁰, [43]

- †*Dei* (dee'ei). 80, 111, 744¹, [4]
deny DENYE (dinei'?) 765¹⁰, [43]; the second word meant by DENYE, has not been identified.
- †*dico* (dei'ku). 111, 744¹, [4]
differ DIFFER (dif'er?) 765¹⁰, [43]
discomfited DISCOMFYTED (diskum'fited). 766¹ [43]
disfigure (disvig'yyr) provincial. 753¹, [20, F]
ditches DYCHES *deitsh'iz* *ffossydd* [fossae]. 111, 779, [14, E]
do do (dun). 93, 758², [28, O]
doe doe (doo). 93, 758¹, [28, O]
double l dwbyl l (dub'al el). 781, [17, LL]. *double u dwbyl uw* (dou'bil yy). 150, 785, [20, W]
drinking DRINKING (driqk'iq). 754³, [23, I]
duke DUKE *duwk* (dyyk) *due* [dux]. 165, 777, [12, D]
dumb DOMBE (dum). 766², [44]
- ease* EASE *ies, ees?* (Jeez, eez?) *esmyth-dra* [otium]. 80, 775, [11, A]
eel ELE (iil). 766², [44]
egg EGGE *eg* (eg) *wy* [ovum]. 80, 779, [14, G]
†*ego* (eg'u). 80, 744¹, [4]
emperour EMPEROURE *emperwor* (em'perur) *ymerawtr* [imperator]. 150, 199, 777, [12, E]
engine ENGYN (en'dzhin). 766², [44]
ever EUER (ev'er). 766¹, [43]
evermore EUERMORE *efermwor* (ev'er-muur, ev'ermwor?) *tragowydd* [semp'r]. 79, 99, 199, 777, [12, E]
exhibition EXHIBITION *ecsisbiuwn* (eksis-bis-i,un) *kynheilaeth* [expositio]. 99, 112, 191, 215, 781, [15, H]
- face* FACE *ffas* (faas) *wyneb* [facies]. 62, 775, [11, C]. *faces* FACES *ffaces* *ffases?* (faas'ez) *wynebeu* [facies]. 779, [14, E]
fall FALL (faul). 766², [44]
father? FEDDER? (fedh'er) provincial. 750⁸, [17, D]
fiend FEND (feend). 766¹ [43]
fish FYSH, FYSHE (fish, vish) provincial. 753¹, 766², [20, F, 44]
five FIUE (veiv) provincial. 753¹, [20, F]
flax FLAXE *flaes* (flaks) *lin* [linum]. 62, 785, [20, X]
fool FOLE *ffol* (fuul) *ffol ne ynuyd* [stultus]. 99, 779, [14, F]
four FOURE (vour) provincial. 753¹, [20, F]
fox FOX (voks) provincial. 753¹, [20, F]
friends, FRENDES frinds (friindz) *kereint* [amici]. 79, 80, 777, 779, [13, E]
- gallant, GALAUNT galawnt* (gal'aunt) [fortis]. 62, 143, 190, 779, [14, G]
gelding, GELDING gelding (geld'iq) [canterius]. 80, 112, 779, [14, G]
gender GENDER (dzhend'er). 766², [44]
gentle GENTYLL. 781, [16, I]
George GEORGE (Dzhordzh). 753⁶, [21, G]
get GGET (get). 766¹, [43]
Gh GH ch (kh). 779, [15, GH]
Gilbert, GYLBERT gilbert (gil'bert). 80, 112, 199, 779, [14, G]
ginger GYNGER (dzhin'dzher). 80, 753⁸, [21, G]; *tsintsir* (dzhin'dzher) *sinsir* [zinziber]. 80, 112, 199, 779, [14, G]
God GODDE (God). 752², [19, E]. *God, God* (god) *dyw* [deus]. 99, 779, [14, G] *God be with you, GOD BE WYTH YOU, God bicio* (God bii'wijo). 112, 773, [8]
gold GOLDE (gould). 752¹, [19, E]
good GOOD *gud* (gud guud) *da* [bonus]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
goodness GOODNESSE (gud'nes). 752², [19, E]
gracious GRACYOUSE *grasiws* (graa-si,us) *rraddlawyn* [gratiosus]. 62, 112, 150, 215, 775, [11, C]
gut GUTTE *gut* (gut) *coluddyn* [intestinum]. 165, 779, [14, G]
- habergeon* HABREIOUNE HEBERGYN. 781, [16, I]
habit HABITE (ab'it). 220, 754¹, [22, H]
habitation HABITATION (abitaa'siun). 220, 754¹, where (abitec'shun) is erroneously given as the pronunciation, [22, H]
hand HANDE *hand* (hand) *llaw* [una manus]. 62, 783, [18, S]. *hands* HANDES *hands* (handz) *llawe ne ddwylo* [duae vel plures manus]. 62, 783, [18, S].
hard HARD (hard). 753⁸, [22, H]
hart HART (hart). 753⁸, [22, H], and see heart
have HAUH *haf* (hav) *hwde* [accipe]. 62, 779, [15, H]
heal HELE (heel). 79, 753⁵, [19, E]
heard HEARD (herd?). 753³, [22, H]
heart hart HART *hart* (hart) *calon ne carw* [cor vel cervus]. 779, [15, H]
heel HELE (hiil). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
hem HEMME (hem). 752², [19, E]
heritage (her'taidzh). 120, 747³, [12, A]
him HIM (him). 766¹, [43]
holly see holy
holy holly, HOLY *holy* (hoo'li hol'i) *santaidd ne kelyn* [sanctus vel aquifolium]. 99, 112, 779, [15, H]

- honest* HONEST (on'est). 220, 754¹, [22, H]. *honest* HONESTE *onest* (on'est) [honestus]. 99, 781, [15, H]
honour HONOUR (on'or) 220, 766², [44].
honour HONOURE *onor* (on'or) *aurhydedd* [honos]. 99, 150, 199, 781, [15, H]
hope HOPE *hoop* (hoop) *gobeith* [spes]. 99, 777, [13, E]
horrible HORRIBLE (hor'ibl). 766¹, [43]
hour HOURS (our), 759, [30, R]
HUBERDEN (Hib'erden) vulgar. 111, 164, 760, [32, 33, U]
humble HUMBLE (um'bl). 220, 754¹, [22, H]
humour HUMOUR (hy'mur). 766², [44]
hurt HURT (hurt). 753⁸, [22, H]

I (ei). 754⁴, [23, I]. *I i ei* (ei, ai) *mi* [ego]. 111, 781, [16, I]
idle YDLE (eid'l). 766², [44]
ignis (iq'nis) bad. 767, [46]
ill YLL (il). 766¹, [43]
in yn (in). 763¹, 766¹, [35, Y, 44]
is ys (iz). 763¹, [35, Y]
itch ITCH (itsh). 766¹, [43]

jaundice IAUNDICE (dzhaun'dis). 766², [44]
jealousy GELOUSYE. 781, [16, I]
Jesu, *IESU* *tsiesuw* (Dzhee'zyy) *Iesus* [Jesus]. 80, 165, 781, [16, I] *Jesus* *JESUS* (Dzhee'sus). 754, [23, I]
John IOHN *tsion sion* (Dzhon Shon) *Iewan* [Johannes]. 99, 781, [16, I]
joint IOYNT *tsioynt* (dzhoimt) *kymal* [junctura]. 131, 781, [16, I]

Kent KENT. 781, [16, K]
king KYNGE *king* (kiq) *brenhin* [rex]. 781, [16, K]. *kings* KYNGES (kiq'es) not (kiq'ges). 767, [46]. *kings*, *KYNGES* *kings* (kiq) *brenhinedd* [reges]. 112, 777, 779, [13, E] *KINGEZ*. 787, [21, Z]
kissed KEST (kist?), 766¹, [43]
knight KNYZT *kniçht* (kniçht) *mar-chawg vrdol* [eques]. 112, 787, [21, Z]
knot KNOT (knot) *knotum* [nodus]. 781, [16, K]

lad LAD (lad) *bachken* [juvenis]. 781, [16, L]
ladder LADDRE *lad-dr* (lad'er) *yscol* [scala]. 62, 79, 199, 777, [12, D]
lady LADY *ladi* (laa'di) *arghoyddes* [domina]. 62, 112, 781, [16, L]
language LANGUAGE (laq'gwaidzh). 120¹, 747³, [12, A]

lash LASHE (laish). 747³, [12, A]
lay LAYE (lai). 766¹, [43]
leave LEAUE *leaf*, *leaf?* (Jeev, leev?) *kenad* [venia, licentia]. 80, 775, [11, A]
legit (lii'dzhith) bad. 767¹, [46]
lily LYLY *lili* (lii'i) [lilium]. 112, 781, [16, L]
loved LOVED (luvd) *carwn* [amavi]. 777, [12, D]
low LOWE *low* (lou, loou?) *lowio* [mugire]. 150, 773, [8]
luck LUCKE (luk). 760⁸, [33, U]
lust LUST *lust* (lust) *chwant* [libido]. 165, 785, [20, U]

†magnus (maq'nus) bad. 767, [46]
majesty MAIESTE (madzh'esti). 754, [23, I]. *majesty*, *MAIESTIE*. 781, [16, I]
man MANNE (man). 753², [19, E]. *man* *man* (man) *gwr* [vir]. 62, 781, [17, M, N]
maze MASE *maas* (maaz) *madrondot* [stupor]. 62, 783, [18, S]
meal MELE (meel). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
meel? MELE (mil). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
men *men* (men) *gwyr* [viri]. 781, [17, M, N]
Michael MYCHAEI (mei'kel?). 749⁸, 766¹, [16, CH, 43]
Michaelmas MYCHAEI MAS (Mik'el-mas?). 749⁸, [16, CH]
might MYCHT (m'kht) Scottish. 749⁴, [15, CH]
†mihî (mikh-i) correctly. 779, [15, GH]
much good do it you MUCH GOOD DO IT YOU *mychyoditio* (mitsh'good-it'jo). 165, 744³, [5]
murmuring MURMURYNGE (mur'muriq) 766¹, [43]
music MUSE *muwus* (myyz) *meuyrio* [meditari]. 165, 783, [18, S]

nag NAGGE *nag* (nag) *keffylyn* [manus]. 62, 779, [14, G]
nail NAYLE *nayl* (nail) *ewin ne hoyl hayarn* [unguis vel ferreus clavus]. 119, 783, [18, S]. *nails*, *NAYLES* *nayls* (nailz) *ewinedd ne hoylion heyryn* [ungues vel ferrei clavi]. 783, [18, S]
net UETTE (net). 752², [19, E]
nigh NIGH (nikh). 754³, [23, I]
†nikhil (nikh-il) correctly. 779, [15, GH]
narrow NARROWE *narrw* (naru) *kyfing* [angustus]. 61, 62, 150, 773, [8]
not NOT (not). 766¹, [43]
now NOWE *now* (nou) *yn awr* [nunc]. 150, 773, [8]

- oranges ORANGES *oreintsys* (or'eindzhiz)
afale orayds [aurantia]. 99, 190, 779,
 [14, E]
 ousel OSYLL (uuz'el?). 766², [44]
 over OUER (ov'er). 766¹, [43]
 ox OXE *ocs* (oks) *ych* [bos]. 99, 785,
 [20, Y^e]
 pale, PALE *paal* (paal) [pallidus]. 61,
 62, 775, [11, A]
 pap PAPPE *papp* (pap) *bron gwraic ne*
ywd [mamma vel infantium cibus].
 62, 783, [17, P]
 paper PAPYR *papyr* (paa'pir) [papy-
 rus]. 62, 112, 199, 783, [17, P]
 pen PENNE. 783, [17, P]
 pear PERE (peer). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
 peer PERE (piir). 79, 751⁵, [19, E]
 plague PLAG *plaag* (plaag) *pla* [pestis]
 62, 779, [14, G]
 poor POORE *pur* (puur) *tlawd* [pauper].
 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
 Portugal PORTUGAL (Port'igal), cor-
 rupt. 757, [27, N]
 potager POTAGER (pot'andzher?), cor-
 rupt. 757³, [27, N]
 prevailed PREUAYLED (prevaild'). 766¹,
 [43]
 prohibition PROHIBITION *proibisiwn*
(prooibis'i,un) *gwahardd* [prohibi-
 tio]. 99, 112, 191, 215, 781, [15, H]
 proved PROUIDE (pruu'ed?) 765¹⁰, [43]
 provide PROUIDE (proveid?) 765¹⁰, [43]
 pureness PURENES (pyr'nes). 752¹,
 [19, E]
 quail QUAYLE *sofyliar* [coturnix]. 119,
 783, [18, Q]
 quarter QUARTER *kwarter* (kwart'er)
chwarter [quarta pars]. 62, 165, 199,
 783, [18, Q]
 queen QUENE *kwin* (kwiin) *brenhines*
[regina]. 80, 165, 783, [18, Q]
 †qui (kwei). 111, 744¹, [4]
 †quid (kwith) bad. 767, [46]
 rail RAYLE *rayl* (rail) *canllaw* [cancel-
 lus]. 119, 783, [18, S]. rails RAYLES
rayls (railz) *canllawen ne ederin*
regen yr yd [cancelli vel creces pra-
 tenses]. 119, 783, [18, S]
 ravening RAUENYNG (raveniq). 766¹,
 [43]
 reason REASON (reez'un). 766², [44]
 rent RENT *rent* (rent) [scissura]. 80,
 783, [18, R]
 right RIGHT (rikht). 754³, [23, I]
 right RYGHTRICHT (rikht) *iawen* [rectus].
 783, [18, R]. RYZT *richt* (rikht)
kyfiawen [rectus]. 112, 787, [21, Z]
 ringing RINGING (riq'iq). 754³, [23, I]
 rings RYNGES (riq'es) not (riq'ges).
 767, [46]
 roe ROE (roo). 93, 758¹, [28, O]
 rose ROS *ros ne rosim* [rosa]. 99, 783,
 [18, R]
 sable SABLE *sabl* (saa'b'l) [niger]. 62,
 195, 777, [13, E]
 saddle SADDLELL [ephippium]. 777, [13,
 E]
 †sal (saul) bad. 767, [46]
 sale SALE *sal* saal [venditio]. 61, 62,
 775, [11, A]
 †sanctus (san'tus) bad. 767, [46]
 Satan SATAN (Saa'tin). 766¹, [43]
 school SCHOLE *sewl* (skuul) *yscol*
[schola]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
 sea, SEA *see* (see) *mor* [mare]. 80, 775,
 [11, A]
 season SEASON (seez'un). 766², [44].
 SEASON SEASON *seesyn* (seez'in) *amser*
amserawl ne amser kyfaddas [tempes-
 tas, tempestivus vel occasio]. 80, 99,
 783, [18, S]
 see SEE (sii). 754, [23, I]
 shape SHAPPE *ssiapp* (shap) *gwedd ne*
lun [species vel forma]. 62, 783,
 [18, SH]
 sheep SHEPE *ssiip* (shiip) *dauad ne*
adeuied [ovis vel oves]. 783, [18, SH]
 sieve CYUE (siv). 766², [44]
 sight SIGHT (sikht). 754³, [23, I]
 sign SIGNE (sein). 111, 744², [5]
 silk SYLKE (silk). 752¹, [19, E]
 sin SYNNE (sin). 763, [35, Y]
 singeth SYNGETH (siq'eth) not (siq'geth)
 767, [46]
 singing SINGING (siq'iq). 754, [23, I]
 sir SYR *syr* (sir) [dominus]. 199, 783,
 [18, S]
 so so so (soo) *velly* [sic]. 93, 781, [17, O]
 †sol (sooul) bad. 767, [46]
 sparrow, SPAROWE *sparw* (spar'u)
ederyn y to [passer]. 61, 62, 150,
 773, [8]
 suffer, SUFFRE *swfffor* (suffer) *dioddef*
[pati]. 80, 165, 199, 779, [14, F]
 sure SURE (syrr). 164, 760⁶, [33, U]
 syllable SYLLABLE (sil'ab'l) 755⁵, [25,
 L]
 tents TENTES *tents* (tents) *pepyll* [ten-
 toria]. 777, 779, [13, E]
 thank THANKE (thaqk). 219, 750⁵,
 [17, D]
 that (dhat) 219, 750⁴, 760², 766², [16,
 D. 31, TH. 44]. that, THAT *yt ddad*
(dhat hyny ne yr hwn [ille vel qui].
 62, 219, 785, [21, Y⁴]
 Thavies Inn THAVIES INNE (Dav'iz
 In). 219, 760³, 766², [32, TH. 44]

the THE (dhe) 750⁴, 766¹, [16, D. 43]
 the, THE Y^e dde (dhe) y [ille]. 80,
 219, 785, [20, Y^e]
 thick THYCKE (thik). 219, 760¹, [31,
 TH]
 thin THYNNE (thin) 750⁵, 760¹, 763¹,
 [16, D. 31, TH. 35, Y] thin, THYNNE
 thynn (thin) teneu [gracilis]. 111,
 219, 785, [20, Y]
 thine THYNE (dhein). 750⁴, 760², [16,
 D. 31, TH] thine, THYNE ddein
 (dhein) tau ne eiddot [tuus vel tibi].
 111, 219, 785, [20, Y]
 this THYS (dhis). 219, 750⁴, 760², [16,
 D. 31, TH]. this THIS ddys (dhis)
 hwn, hon ne hyn [hic haec vel hoc].
 112, 219, 785, [19, TH]
 thistle THYSTLE thystl (this·tl) yscall
 [carduus]. 112, 219, 785, [19, TH]
 Thomas THOMAS (Tom·as) 760³, 766²,
 [32, TH. 44]. Thomas THOMAS tomas
 (Tom·as). 99, 219, 785, [19, TH]
 thorough THOROWE (thur·u). 219, 760¹,
 766¹, [31, TH. 43]
 thou THOU (dhou). 219, 760², 766¹,
 [31, TH. 43]. thou THOU y^u ddow
 (dhou) ti ne tydi, [tu]. 150, 219,
 785, [21, Y^u]
 three THREE (thrii). 754, [23, I]
 throne (truun?). 760³, [32, TH]. throne
 THRONE trwn (truun) pall [solium].
 99, 219, 785, [19, TH]
 through THROUGH thruwch (thruukh)
 tryuodd [per]. 219, 783, [19, TH]
 thunder THONDRE thwndr (thun d'r)
 [tonitru]. 79, 99, 199, 777, [13, E]
 †tibi (tei·bei). 111, 744¹, 754, [4,
 23, I]
 to (tuu). 758², [28, O]. to to tw
 (tu) ar, at, i, [ad]. 93, 99, 781,
 [17, O]
 toe TOE (too). 758¹, [28, O]. toe, to to
 (too) bys troet [digitus pedis]. 93,
 99, 781, [17, O]
 toll TOLLE towl (tooul) toll [vectigal].
 194, 781, [17, O]
 †tollis (tooul·is), bad. 744¹, [4]
 top, TOP top (top) nen [vertex]. 99,
 783, [19, T]
 tormented TORMENTED (torment·ed).
 766¹, [43]
 tower TOURE tour (tour) twr [turris].
 783, [19, F]
 treasure THREASURE (tree·zyr). 760³,
 [32, TH]. treasure TRESURE tresuwr
 (trez·yr) trysor [thesaurus]. 80, 165,
 199, 215, 219, 783, [19, T]
 trees TREES triys (trii·iz) prenneu
 [arbores]. 80, 779, [14, E]
 trow TROWE tro (troo) tybyeid [opinor].
 150, 773, [8]

true TRUE truw (tryy) kywir [verus].
 165, 785, [19, U]
 trust TRUST (trist) vulgar. 111, 164,
 760⁵, [32, U]
 †tu (tyy) bad. 767, [46]
 twinkle TWYNCLE twinkl (twiqk·l)
 [scintillare]. 112, 195, 777, [13, E]
 two TWO (tuu). 758², [28, O]. two two
 tw (tuu) dau [duo]. 93, 99, 781,
 [17, O]
 uncle VNKLE (nuqk·l). 744², 766², [5,
 44]
 vain see vein
 valiant UALIAANT (val·jant) 766¹, [43]
 vein vain VAYNE vayn (vain) gwythen
 ne wac [vena vel vanus]. 119, 785,
 [19, U]
 velvet VELUET velfet (vel·vet) melfet
 [holosericum]. 80, 785, [19, U]
 †vidi (vei·dei). 754, [23, I]
 villanus FILLAYNOUS (vil·anus). 766¹,
 [43]
 vine VYNE vein (vein) gwin wydden
 [vitis]. 111, 119, 785, [19, U]
 virtue VERTUE vertuw (ver·tyy) rhin-
 wedd [virtus]. 80, 165, 199, 785,
 [19, U]
 wall WALL wawl (waul) gwal [murus].
 143, 194, 775, [11, A]
 wash WASSHE waiss (wash, waish?)
 golchi [lavare]. 783, [18, SH]
 watch (waitsh). 120, 747, [12, A]
 wave see waw
 waw WAWE waw (wau) tonn ar vor
 [unda maris]. 143, 785, [20, W]
 we WEE (wii). 751⁴, 754, [18, E. 23, I]
 weir WERE (weer) 79, 751³, [18, E]
 wide WYDE (weid). 763², [35, Y]
 win WYNNE (win). 763¹, [35, Y]. win
 WYNNE wywn (win) emull [pretium
 ferre]. 112, 785, [20, W]
 wind WYNGE? (weind). 763², [35, Y]
 wine WYNE wein (wein) gwin [vinum].
 111, 785, [20, W]
 winking WINKING (wiqk·iq). 754³,
 [23, I]
 wish WYSHE (wish). 752², [19, E]
 with WYTH (with). 143, 219, 750⁵,
 762⁵, [17, D. 34, W]
 wonder WONDRE wndr (wun·d'r) [mi-
 raculum]. 79, 99, 185, 199, 777,
 [13, E]
 woo WOVE w (uu, wuu?) kary [amare,
 ut procus petere]. 93, 150, 185, 785,
 [20, W]
 worship WORSHIPPE (wur·ship). 752²,
 [19, E]
 worthy WORTHYE (wurdha). 766¹, [43]

wot WOTTE (wot). 752², [19, E]
 wreak WREKE (wreek = rweek). 79,
 751³, [18, E]
 wrest WRESTE (wrest = rwest). 79, 751³,
 [18, E]
 wrinkle WRYNCLE *wrinkl* (wri^{ik}·l =
 rwi^{ik}·l) [ruga]. 112, 195, 777, [13,
 E]
 yard YARDE (jard). 755², [24 I]
 yawn YANE (jaun). 755², [24, I]
 yea YEA ie (jee) [etiam]. 80, 775, [11, A]

year YERE (jeer). 755², [24, I]
 yell YELL (jel). 755², [24, I]
 yellow YELLOW (jel·u). 755², [24, I]
 yield YELDE (jiild). 755², [24, I]
 yielding I-ELDYNGE (jiild·iq). 766¹,
 [43]
 yoke YOK (jook). 755², [24, I]
 York YORKE (jork). 755², [24, I]
 you YOU (juu). 755², [24, I]
 young YONG (juq). 755², [24, I]
 youth YOUGH (juuth). 755², [24, I]

§ 3. *John Hart's Phonetic Writing, 1569, and the Pronunciation of French in XVIth Century.*

Since the account of John Hart's *Orthographie* (p. 35) was in type, the original manuscript of his "former treatise," bearing date 1551, has been identified in the British Museum, and some account of it is given in the annexed footnote.¹ It may be observed that

¹ Mr. Brock, who is ever on the look out for unpublished treatises interesting to the Early English Text Society, called my attention, through Mr. Furnivall, to the MS. Reg. 17. C. vii., which was described in the printed catalogue of those MSS. as "John Hare's Censure of the English Language, A.D. 1551, paper." It is a small thin quarto of 117 folios, the first two pages not numbered, and the others paged from 1 to 230, 19 lines in a page, about 7 words in a line, in a fine English hand of the XVIth century, carefully but peculiarly spelled, by no means according to Hart's recommendations. The Latin quotations are in an Italian hand. It was labelled on the back "Hare on the English Language." Being desirous of getting at the author's account of our sounds, when I examined the MS. on 28 Oct. 1868, I skipped the preliminary matter and at once attacked the 6th and 8th chapters; "Of the powers and shaping of letters, and first of the voels," and "of the affinite of consonants." I was immediately struck with many peculiarities of expression and opinion which I was familiar with in Hart's *Orthographie*, and no other book. On turning to the dedication to Edward VI., I found (p. 4, l. 8,) the name of the author distinctly as John Hart, not Hare, although the t was written so as to mislead a cursory reader, but not one familiar with the handwriting. Then,

similarly, in Hart's *Orthographie* the author's name is mentioned in the dedication: "To the doubtfull of the English *Orthographie* John Hart Chester heralt wisheth all health and prosperitie," which had not been observed when p. 35, l. 20, was printed, and not on the title. On comparing this printed book with the MS. I found many passages and quotations verbatim the same; see especially the first chapters of the MS. and printed book "what letters ar, and of their right use," where *right* is not in the MS. The identity was thus securely established, and the MS. has consequently been re-lettered: "*Hart on English Orthography, 1551.*"

The title of the MS. is: "The Opening of the unreasonable writing of our inglish tounge: wherin is shewid what necessarili is to be left, and what folowed for the perfect writing therof." And the following lines, on the fly leaf, in the author's hand-writing, seem to shew that this first draught, thus curiously brought to light after 317 years' repose, was never intended for publication, but was perhaps to be followed by another treatise, which was of course the printed book.

"The Booke to the Author.

"Father, keep me still with the, I the pray
 least Abuse shuld me furiously de-
 voure:

his pronunciation remained practically constant during these eighteen years, and the chief difference of the treatises is the greater extent of the second, and the important introduction of a phonetic alphabet, followed by a full example.

or shut me up from the lyght of the
day:
whom to resist I doubt to have the
power.

"The Author to the Booke.

"Fear not my sonne, though he doo
on the lower,
for Reason doth the everiwhere de-
fend :

But yf thou maist not now the thing
amend

I shal send thie brother soom luk-
kier hower,

yf Atropos doo not hast my lyves
end,

to confound Abuses lothsoom looks
sower."

"Abuse," meaning the wrongful use of letters, that is applying them to sounds for which they were not intended in the Latin alphabet, is a favourite term of Hart's, and with the curious orthography *voel* for *vowel*, led me to suspect the real author from the first. The following description of the vowels is slightly different from, and must be considered as supplementary to those given above in the pages hereafter cited; the bracket figures give the pages of the MS. A few remarks are also inserted in brackets.

"[77] Lett us begin then with an opened mouth so mouch as a man may (though lesse wold serve) therwith sounding from the breast, and he shall of force bring forth one simple sound which we mark with the a (p. 63): and making your mouth lesse so as the inner part of your tounge may touch the lyke inner part of your [78] upper iowes you shall with your voice from your brest make that sound wherefore we doo often (and shuld alwais) writ the e (p. 80): then something your tounge further furth with your iowes, leaving but the forepart open, and your sound from the brest wil make the voice wherefore we doo often (and shuld alwais) write the i: forthli a man making his lippes in souch a round, as the compasse of the topp of his litell finger (his teeth not touching, nor tounge the upper iowes) with the sound from the brest he shall make the simple

voice wherefore we doo often (and shuld alwais) writ the o (p. 93); and last of all holding so stil his tounge and teeth untoucht shrinking his lippes to so litell a hole as the breath may issue, with the sound from [79] the breast he shal of force make that simple voice wherefore we doo sometimes rightly (and shuld alwais) write the u [certainly (u) here]. . . . [81]. Now as for the a, we use in his proper power as we ought, and as other nations have alwais doone (p. 63). But I find that we abuse all the others, and first of the e, which most communely we use properly: as in theis wordes better and ever: but often we change his sound making yt to usurp the power of the i, as in we, be & he (p. 80), in which sound we use the i properly: as in theis wordes sinne, in and him. Wherefore this letter e, shuld have his auncient sound as other nations use yt, and which is as we sound yt in better and ever. The profit thereof shuldbe, that [83] we shuld not feare the mystating of his sound in i: as we have longe doon: and therefore (and partly for lak of a note for time) we have communely abused the diphthongs ey or ei, ay or ai and ea: to the great increase of our labour, confusyon of the letters, in depriving them of their right powers, and uncertainte to the reader. [In this book Hart proposes either the circumflex or reduplication as the mark of quantity]. For the voel e, doeth of voice import so moche in better and ever and in mani other wordes and sillables, as we do communely use to pronounce the diphthongs ey or ei, ai, or ay, or the ea, except yt be when they are separte and fre from diphthong whiche to signifie we ought to use an accent as shalbe said. [He proposes the hyphen.] Then the i, we abuse two wais: the first is in that we geve it a brode sound (contrary to all peoples but the Scotts: as in this sentence, [83] he borrowed a swerd from bi a mans side to save thie life: where we sound the i in bi, side, thie and life as we shuld doo the ei diphthong . . . The other ab-[84]-use of the i, is that we make yt a consonant

This pronunciation cannot have been in all respects the prevalent and received pronunciation of his time, for Hart frequently disagrees with Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, and Bullokar, and Dr. Gill

without any diversifyng of his shape from the voell . . . [86] The forth now is the o, whose abuse (for that it cometh onli by leaving the proper use of the u) causeth me to speak upon the u. We abuse [87] the u, two wais the one is in consonant indifferentli with bothe his figures u and v [88]. The other abuse of the u, is that we sound yt as the Skottes and French men doo, in theis wordes gud and fust [89]: Wheras most communely we our selves (which the Grekes, Latines, the vulgar Italiens, and Germaines with others doo alwais) kepe his true sound: as in theis wordes, but, unto, and further. [This thoroughly excludes all suspicion of an (ə) sound.] Yf you marke well his usurped sound in gud and fust (and others of the Skottish and french abuse) you shal find the sound of the diphthong iu, keping both the i and u, in their proper vertu, both in sound and voel, as afore is said we ought: sounding yt in that voice wherefore we now abuse to write, you." The identification with the French and Scotch sounds ought to imply that that long *u* was (yy), but its dentification with you makes it (ju); Hart however, in his orthographie also rises (iu) for both sounds, as in the passage reprobated by Gill, *suprà* p. 122, where he writes you use as (iu iuz); yet if any value is to be attributed to his description of long *u*, *suprà* p. 167, he certainly meant (ju yyz) and it was only his notation which led him into an ambiguity which also deceived Gill. But here it is evident that he had not yet heard the difference between *yew*, *you*, which Sir T. Smith writes (yy, iu), p. 166. This therefore may be a case of education of the ear. He asks now: "What difference find you betwixt the sound of you, and u in gud and fust? Wherefore yf our predecessours have thought it necessari to take three voels for that voice, which in another place [90] they (observing derivations) writ with one, there appeareth to be a confusion and uncertainte of the powers of letters, as they used them. Lett us then receive the perfet meane betwixt theis two doubtfull extremities; and use the diphthong iu alwais for the sound of

you, and of u in suer, shut & bruer, and souch lyke, writing them thus shiut, siuer, briuer:" does the word *shut shiut* mean *suit* or *shoot*? see *suprà* p. 216, n. 1, "wherefore in our writings, we need carefulli to put a sufficient difference, betwixt the u and n: as theis and the printes geve sufficient example. Now see you whether we doo well to writ the o in theis wordes do, to & other (signifyng in latine *alius*) when yt ys the proper sound of the u: or for [91] the lyke sound to dooble the o: as in poore, good, root, and souch like of that sound: but I find the same dooble o, writen with reason in some wordes, when yt signifyeth the longer time: as in moost, goost and goo. . . . [95] Then the nombre of our voels is five as the Grekes (concerning voice) the Latines, the Germaines, the Italiens, the Spayneyardes and others have alwais had, declared in souch their singular power, as they haue and doe, use them. . . . [96] a diphthong is a ioinyng of two voels in one syllable keping their proper sound, onli somewhat shortening the quantite of the first to the longer quantite of the last (p. 132): which is the onli diversite that a diphthong hath, from two voels comyng together yet serving for two syllables, and therefore ought to be marked with the figure *διαιρεσις*, as shalbe said." Among the diphthongs he places first *y* considered as Greek *υ*, and recommends its disuse, and then *w* considered as *uu*, for which he would write *u*. [101] "Wherefore we take the u single to have so moch power as the w: for this figure u, shall not (or ought not) henceforth be abused in consonant, nor in the skottish and french sound. Then may we well writ for when, writ and what, thus huen, writ and huat: and so if their lyke, cleane forsaking the w. Now the ea, so often as I see yt abused in diphthong, it is for the sound of the long e: wherein is the necessite spoken of, for the use of a mark, for the accident of longer time (as hereafter shalbe said) for that the sound e length-[102]-ned wil serve for the commune abused diphthongs ea. ai or ay and ei or ey (p. 122): the powers of which voels we now myx together con-

especially reprobates his pronunciation in many particulars (p. 122). Still we can hardly refuse to believe that Hart tried to exhibit that pronunciation of which he himself made use, and which he conceived to be that which others either did or should employ. Moreover his work contains the earliest connected specimen of phonetic English writing which I have met with, as Palsgrave, Salesbury, and Smith only gave isolated words or phrases. Although Hart's book has been reproduced by Mr. Isaac Pitman, the ordinary spelling in phonetic shorthand, and the phonetic portion in facsimile writing (with tolerable but not perfect accuracy), yet as many persons would be unable to read the shorthand, and would not therefore obtain a proper knowledge of the meaning of the other portion, and as it is desirable, also, to reduce all these phonetic accounts of English spelling to the one standard of palaeotype for the purposes of comparison, I have thought it best to annex the whole of the last Chapter of Hart's book, according to my own interpretation. This Chapter gives Hart's notions of contemporary French pronunciation, a subject which has been already so much alluded to in Chap. III., that the remainder of this section will be devoted to it. Hart does not admit of (w, j) but uses (u, i) for them, even in such words as *which*, *write*, which he exhibits as (huitsh, ureit). I have elsewhere restored the (w, j) which were certainly pronounced, but in this transliteration it seemed best to follow him exactly in the

fuzibli making the sound of the same long e, and not of any parfait diphthong: as in theis examples of the ea in feare which we pronounce sounding no part of the a. And for the ai or ay, as in this word faire pronouncing nether the a, or i, or y: also yn saieith where we abuse a thirpithong. Also ei or ey we pronounce not in theis wordes theine and theym, and souch lyke: where we sound the e long as in all the others. Now for the ee, we abuse in the sound of [103] the i long: as in this sentence, Take heed the birdes doo not feed on our seed: also for the ie in thief and priest: in likewise for the eo, as in people, we onli sound the i long. We also abuse the eo in the sound of the u voel as in ieeperdi, which we pronounce iuperdie. The oo we have abused as afore is said. . . . Now lett us understand how part of this fore-said and others shall serve us, and doo [104] us great pleasure: even as roubles necessari for us lykely to contrefait the image of our pronunciation. First the au is rightly used (p. 144), as in paul and lau, but not law. Then the ua, is wel used in uarre, for warre: and in huat for what. Further the ei, is wel and properly used in bei for by: in leif, for lyfe: and in seid, for syde

(p. 113). Also eu, we use properli in feu for few: in deu, for dew, and souch lyke (p. 138). The ue, as in question: in huen, for when: in uel, for well. Also the iu as in triuth, for truth: in rebiuk, for rebuke: and in riule for rule. And the ui alone for our [105] false sounding of we: and as in huich for which: uitness for wittnesse, and souch like: [this he identifies with Greek *ui*] . . . [106] writ for young, yoke and beyond, iong, ioke, and beiond. Then the oi is wel used in appoint, enjoi, poison, and a hoi barke, [here there is a difference from his later orthography (huei) (p. 132)]. And not to be over tedious, we use aright this diphthong ou in house, out, our and about (p. 152): wherein we may perceive how we have kept the auncient power of the u: the same diphthong ou, being sounded farre otherwise then in bloud, souch and should, as some ignorantli writ them, when we pronounce but the u, in hyr proper sound." This use of *ou* for (*u*) is frequent in this MS. *souch*, *toung*, *mouch*, being common forms. The above extracts seem to possess sufficient interest to admit of reproduction, but the work itself is entirely superseded by the later edition.

use of (u, i). Hart also systematically employs (iu) for long *u*, but, as I have already pointed out (p. 167) and as will appear in the course of this example, he meant the French *u*=(yy), and I have therefore restored that orthography, to prevent ambiguity. Where however *iu* clearly meant (ju, i,u), the latter forms are used. Hart does not mark the place of the accent, but uses an acute accent over a vowel occasionally to mark that it was followed by a doubled consonant in the old orthography.¹ This acute accent is retained, but the position of the accent is marked conjecturally as usual. Hart uses a dash preceding a word to indicate capitals, thus */italian*; I give the indicated capital. His diæresis is represented by (,) as usual. There are, no doubt, many errors in the marking of long vowels, which were indicated by underdotting, but I have left the quantity as I found it. The (s, z) are also left in Hart's confused state. As I can find no reason for supposing short *i* to have been (i) in Hart, although I believe that that was his real pronunciation, I employ (i) throughout. The frequent foreign words, and all others in the usual spelling, are printed in *italics*. The foreign words serve partly to fix the value of Hart's symbols.

Exam'p'ls Hou ser'ten udh'er nas'ions du sound dheer lét'ers, both in Latin, and in dheer mudh'er tuq, dherbei' tu kno dhe beet'er Hou tu pronouns' dheer spii'tsh'es, and so tu riid dhem as dhee du. *Kap. viij.*

For dhe konfirmas'ion ov dhat huitsh is seed, for dhe sounds az-uel of vo'els az of kon'sonants: auldhon' ei naav in div'ers plas'es hier-befoor' sheu'éd iu, Hou ser'ten udh'er nas'ions du sound part ov dheer lét'ers: ei thont it gud hier, not oon'li to rekapit'ulat and short'li reners', part ov dhe befoor' men'sioned, but aul'so tu giv iu t- understand' Hou dhee du sound sutsd dheer lét'ers, az dh- ignorant dher-of shuld áprootsh' noth'iq neer tu dheer pronunsias'ion bei riid'iq dheer ureitiqs or prints. Huer'for, huo so-iz dezeir'ous tu riid dh- Ital'ian and dhe Lat'in az dhee du, hi must sound dhe vo'elz az ei naav súfs'ientli seed treat'iq ov dhem, and az ei naav yyzd dhem in aul dhis nyy man'er, on'li eksept'iq dhat dhee maak dhis fig'yyr *u*, kon'sonant az-uel az dhis *v*. Dheer *c*, dhe yyz after aul vo'elz az wi dhe *k*, (as dheer prodzhen'itors dhe Lat'ins did) and yyz not *k* at aul: but dhe-abyyz' dhe *c*, bifoor' *e*, and *i*, in dhe sound ov our *ch* or tsh, az *ecce* and *accioche*, dhe sound ek'tshe, aktshioke', *francesco* frantshes'ko, *fece*, *facendo*, *amici*, fe'tshe, fatshend'o, ami'tshi: and for the sound ov dhe *k*, dhe yyz *ch*. Dheer *g*, dhe kiip az ei naav dun after vo'elz, and befoor' *a*, *o*, and *u*: but befoor' *e* and *i*, dhe naav

¹ He says: "I leaue also all double consonants: hauing a marke for the long vowel, there is therby sufficient knowledge giuen that euerye vnmarked vowel is short: yet wheras by custome of double consonants there may be

doubt of the length, we may vse the mark ouer it, of the acute tone or tune, thus (')." What the meaning of this acute accent is on final vowels, as in French words, is not apparent.

abyyzd· it widh us, for whitsh ei haav yyzd dzh, and tu kiip dhat sound befoor· *a*, *o*, and *u*, dhee uzurp· *gi*, as hath bin seed, and dherfoor· dhee nev'er maak dheer *i*, kon'sonant, for dhee see not agiuto but aiuto, as mee bi dhus ai-uto. Dhe *t*, dhee nev'er sound in *s*, az in *protettion*, *satisfattion*, dhee sound dhe *t*, hard, and dherfoor· dub·'l it in dhooz uurdz and man'i-udh'ers: but in *giurisdictioni*, *militia*, *sententia*, *intentione*, and man'i-udh'ers dhee du not dub·'l it, iet dhee sound it as it iz, and nev'er turn it in·tu dhe sound ov *s*, but iv iu mark it uel, dhee breth ov dhe *t*, pás'iq thruh dhe tiith, and turn'iq tu dhe-*i*, duth maak it siim as it ueer neer dhe sound ov dhe, *s*, but iz not dherfoor· so in éfekt·. For dher *gli*, dhee du not sound *g*, so hard az ui uld, but so soft·li az it iz oft'n urit'n and print'ed uidhout· dhe *g*. Dheer *zz* dhee sound most kóm·oli dhe first *z*, in *t*, as in *fortezza*, *grandezza*, *destrezza*, but at sum teimz dhee sound dhem az dhee du *cc*, as for dhiz naam dhee-ureit indif'erentli *Eccellino*, or *Ezzellino*. Dhee haav aul·so dhe sound ov our *sh* or *sh*, huitsh dhee-ureit *sc*, befoor·, *e*, or *i*: dheeyyz tu-ureit dhe *th*, but not for our *th*, or *th*: for dhee haav not dhe sound dherof· in aul dheer spiitsh, nor ov dh, and sound it in *Matthio*, az mee bi mathio, as of *th*, iz seed in *Thomas* and *Thames*. And for lak ov a knol'edzh for dhe kuan'titiz ov dheer vo·elz dhee-ar konstreend· tu dub·'l dheer kon'sonants oft'n and mutsh: and for dhe loq'er teim ov dheer vo·els, dhee haav no mark: huerfoor· huo so·-iz dezei·ruz tu riid dher ureit'iq uel, and im'itaat dheer pronunsias'ion had niid tu haav sum instruks'ion bei dhe leiv·li vo·is. And huen dhee du reez dheer tyyn ov dheer urds (huitsh iz oft'n) dhee noot it uidh dhe Latin graav tyyn, dhus *andò*, *parlò*, *e mostrò la nouità*, *al podestà de la città*. And in riid'iq dhe Lat'in, aul dhat dhee feind urit'n, dhee du pronouns, iiv'n as dhee du dheer mudh'er tuq, in dhe ver·i sounds befoor·-seed.¹

¹ As the pronunciation of Italian has been often referred to, and as H. I. H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte has lately given me his views upon some points of interest in Italian pronunciation, it seems convenient to make a note of them in this place. The medial quantity of Italian vowels has already been noticed (p. 518 and n. 1). The vowel *e* has two sounds (*e*) close and (*æ*) open, the intermediate (*e*) being unknown, whereas it is the only *e* in Spanish. The vowel *o* has also two sounds, which have in this work been hitherto assumed as (*uh*) close and (*o*) open. The prince does not allow this; to him (*uh*) is Swedish *o* long, and (*o*) is Spanish *o*. His Italian close *o* does not differ from (*o*), and his open *o* is (*o*) or (*Ä*), probably the former. His theory is that when a language has only one *e*, *o*, as in Spanish and modern Greek (suprà p. 523, l. 6

from bottom), Welch, and therefore in Latin and early English, it is (*e*, *o*); when it has two *e*, and two *o*, they are (*e*, *æ*) and (*o*, *o*) respectively. Again in the pronunciation of the consonants in Italian, the Prince distinguishes, an emphatic and a weak utterance. The former is usually written double, but, he insists, is not pronounced double, in the sense of p. 55, but only emphatic, as if preceded by the sign (·) p. 10,—which has been wrongly used (pp. 4, 9) in the combinations (.t, .d) in place of (t†, d†), or "outer" (t, d). The following are the rules he lays down in his Sardo Sassarese example (suprà p. 756, n. 2, col. 2), which it is best to give in his own words (ib. p. xxxv). "Si dice spesso, poichè le consonanti scempie si pronunziano, tanto in italiano quanto in sassarese, come se fossero scritte doppie, in forza delle seguenti regole generali:

For dhe **hih** dutsh dhe sound aul dheer vo'elz in dhe ver'i saam sort: and nev'er maak dhe *i*, kon'sonant, nor aby'yz' dhe *g*, befoor dhe *e*, and *i*, az dh-Italian duth, but kiip it aul'uez befoor' dhem, az

1) Allorchè, essendo iniziali, vengono in principio di frase, sia al cominciare di un periodo o di una clausula benchè breve, sia dopo una virgola. 2) Allorchè, cominciando la sillaba, sono precedute da altra consonante. 3) Allorchè occorono in fin di voce, come ne' monosillabi *il, del, &c.* 4) Quando la voce precedente, benchè terminata in vocale, sia un ossitono oppure un monosillabo derivato da voce latina terminata in consonante, la qual consonante poi venne soppressa nel farsi italiana o sassarese detta voce latina. Così la preposizione *a* derivata dalla latina *ad*, la congiunzione *e* corrispondente ad *et*, il *si* derivato da *sic*, il "nè" *nec*, le parole tronche come "amò" *amarit*, "potè" *potuit* hanno tutte la proprietà di dar pronunzia forte alla consonante iniziale della voce seguente; ed avvegnachè si vegga scritto: *a Pietro, e voi, sì grande, nè questo nè quello, amò molto, potè poco*, non si ode altrimenti che: *appietro, evvoi, siggrande nequesto necquello, amommolto, poteppoco*. Il suono debole delle consonanti, all' incontro, avrà luogo quando la voce che le precede si termina in vocale, eccettuati i casi notati nelle regole che precedono. Così in: *di Maria, i doni, la mente, le donne, mi dice, ti lascia, si gode, ama molto potè poco, molto largo*, le consonanti iniziali della seconda voce si pronunziano deboli quali si veggono scritte, per essere le parole latine corrispondenti alla prima voce: *de, illi, illa, illa, me, te, se, potui* terminate in vocale, oppure perchè, come in *ama molto e molto largo*, le voci *ama* e *molto* non ricevono l'accento tonico in sull' ultima sillaba." Compare the double Spanish sound of *r*, *suprà* p. 198, n. 2. This emphatic pronuniation, in the case of (*p b, t d, k g*) consists in a firmer contact and consequently a more explosive utterance of the following vowel; in the case of (*f, v, s*) &c., in a closer approximation of the organs and a sharper hiss or buzz. But in Sardo Sassarese, the weak pronuniation generates new sounds, weak (*p, t, k, v*) becoming (*b, d, g, bh*). The Prince was also very particular respecting the pronuniation *c, g, z* in *ce, gia,*

zio, zero, which have been assumed in this work to be (*tsh, dzh, ts, dz*) respectively, forming true consonantal diphthongs, the initial (*t, d*) having an initial effect only (*suprà* p. 54, l. 20). The Prince considers them all to be simple sounds, capable of prolongation and doubling, and he certainly so pronounced them. Sir T. Smith, and Hart both used simple signs for (*tsh, dzh*), Gill used a simple sign for (*dzh*) but analyzed it into (*dʒʌ*). Hart, however, seems to have considered (*tsh*) as simple, but his words are not clear. The effect of the simple sound used by the Prince, was that of (*t*sh, d*zsh, t*s, d*z*), that is an attempt to make both pairs of effects at once. This results in a closer and more forward contact, nearly (*shʃ, zhʃ, sʃ, zʃ*) but the (*t*s, d*z*) did not resemble (*th, dh*). This effect may be conveniently written (*ʃsh, ʒzh, ʃs, ʒz*). The effect of (*ʃsh, ʒzh*) on English ears is ambiguous. At one time it sounds (*sh, zh*) and at another (*tsh, dzh*), with a decided initial (*t, d*) contact as we pronounce in English, and the Prince again hears my (*tsh, dzh*) as his (*ʃsh, ʒzh*). It would almost seem that (*ʃsh, ʒzh*) were the true intermediate sounds between (*kj, gj*) and (*tsh, dzh*). But a Picard variety of (*kj, gj*) which may for distinctness be written (*kʲ, gʲ*) is a still more unstable sound to foreign ears. In precisely the same way (*k*s, k*sh*) may be produced, the tongue being more retracted and the tongue closer to the palate than for (*s, sh*). In the Sardo Tempiese dialect (*k*sh*) occurs and is written *ke*. These sounds may be written (*ʃs, ʒsh*) in imitation of (*ʃs, ʒsh*). Was the Attic initial *ξ*, replacing *σ*, really (*ʃs*), and the original Sanscrit *क्ष* (*ʃsh*)? The double contact of tongue and lips, which probably occurs in African dialects may be (*ʃp, ʒp*), as slightly different from (*kw, tw*). The sibilants may now be greatly multiplied. The prince pronounced the following: (*s z, sh zh; sj zj, shj zhj; ʃs ʒz, ʃsh ʒzh; ʃsj ʒzj, ʃshj ʒzhj*) all as simple sounds. Emphatic pronuniation, simultaneous pronuniation, and successive pronuniation still require much consideration and practical

befoor *a*, *o*, and *u*: and dhe Flem'iq tu bi syyr tu kontin'yy dhat sound, dudh yyz it befoor *e*, and *i*, widh, *h*. Nor hath dhe Dutsh (ov'er nor nedh'er) dhat sound huitsh iz dhe laik of our *j*, kon'sonant, and dh-ital'ian *g*, befoor-seed, for huitsh ei yyz dzh, but dhe breth dher-of dhe nīn Dutsh haav, and ureit it widh *tseh*. And bodh dhe fig'yyz for dhe feivth vo',el, dhe yyz uidhout an'i ser'ten diferens huitsh shuld bi vo',el or huitsh kon'sonant: and dhen haav dhe difthoqs befoor naamd, huitsh ar tu bi noot'ed ov dhat Iq'lish man huitsh shaul dezeir' tu leern dheer tuq.¹ And du-yyz tu dub'l dheer vo',elz for dheer loq'er teim. Dhee haav aul'so our sound ov *sh*, or *sh*, for huitsh dhe yyz *sch*, as *scham*, *schale*, *fleisch*, and *fisch*, dhe sound as ui mee shaam, shel, flesh, fish, and *sce*, *sci*, dhe sound az duth aul'so dh-Ital'ian: and az ui du she, shi. Dhee nev'er put dhe *c*, in'tu dhe sound of *s*, but yyz *k*, tu bi-out of dout. Dhee yyz dhe *Q* veri seldum, but dhe *k*, mutsh in plaas dher-of, and dhe *a* dhe du- oft'n sound brood'er dhen wi duu, but mutsh aul'so-as wi du. And for the rest dhe pronouns aul dhe ureit, and kiip dheer lét'ers in dhe self sound, huer-in dhe riid aul'so dher Lat'in.

Nou third'li for dhe Span'iard, ni abyzz'eth dhe *i*, and *u*, in kon'sonants as ui-and dhe Frensh du, and dhe *u*, oft'n, in dhe Frensh and Skót'ish sound: and dhe *ch*, in *muchacho* az ui du in tshalk and tshiiz: but for aul dheer udh'er vo',elz and lét'ers dhe yyz dhem in dhe saam sounds dhat du dh-Ital'ian and Dutsh, but dhat dhe yyz dhe *y* az ui haav duun (huitsh nedh'er Ital'ian nor Dutsh niid) tu bi dherbei' eezd ov dhe dout ov dhe *i*, kon'sonant huitsh dhe sound laik dhe Frentsh. Dhe *c* dhe yyz in *s*, uidhout an'i noot of diferens befoor *e*, and *i*. but befoor *a*, *o*, and *u*, dhe haav deveizd' a-lit'l, *s*, un'der dhus, *ç*: dhe-yyz nev'er dhe *k*, but dhe *Q*, with dh-Ital'ian: dhe-yyz dhe *ll* in dhe sound of 'l, uidh dhe ualsh. Dhe *u*, in *quæ* and, *qui*, dhe du seldum sound, as for *quies*, dhe sound as ui mee ke kieres. And for aul dhe rest dhe kiip dhe aun'sient Lat'in sound, and so riid dheer Lat'in az du dh-Ital'ian and Dzher'main: and for nim dhat hath the Lat'in tuq uidh a-lit'l instruksion iz az ez'i tu riid and under-stand az iz dh-Ital'ian.²

observation of existing usages. The difficulty in separating the usual speech habits of the listener and speaker, and of not assuming the first to be a correct account of the second, is more and more felt as the knowledge of the phonetic process increases. We have as yet necessarily given an undue amount of consideration to analysis, in order to ascertain the elements of speech, to the neglect of the important study of synthesis, whence alone can result the proper conception of national speech with its whole array of *legato*, *staccato*, phonetic assimilation, phonetic disruption, stress, intonation, quantity, emphasis of letter, syllable, word, of the

utmost importance to comparative philologist, and almost totally unknown to comparative philologists.

¹ The passage referred to is as follows: "The Dutch doe vse also *au*, *ei*, and *ie*, rightly as I do hereafter, and *ā*, in the founde of *æ*, or (e) long: *ō*, in the founde of *æ*, or (eu); *ū* in the sound of (yy), or the French and Scottish *u*; *ū* for *eu*, and *ū* for (uu), long, or French *ou*." Fo. 35 b. misprinted fo. 31, p. 2, in the original reference.

² The Spanish has only five vowels (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*) of medial length (p. 518, n. 1). The Spanish *ch* is our (tsh) or (qsh). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte

And nou last ov aul, dhe Frensh, uidh dh-abyys ov dhe *u*, in dhe skót'ish leik sound ov dhe *iu* diphthoq, huitsh, nor Italian, nor Dutsh did ev'er giv tu *u*, and yyz'iq dhe *g*, and *j*, kon'sonant in dhe sound huer-of, our sh, iz dhe bredh'ed kon'sonant: and turn'iq dhe *s*, in'tu *z*, huen ui, uidh aul dhe rest, du sound the *s*, (eksept' dhe Span'iard, az ui haav aul'so yyzd betuikst' tuu vo'elz) and kiip'iq an udh'er teim in dher vo',elz dhen ui du, and yyz'iq dheer *e*, in dei'vers sounds, and dhe *o* sum'muat aul'so: bei not sound'iq dhe *u*, in *qui*, and *quæ*, but az uii mee kii and kee, uidh leev'iq man'i ov dheer lét'ers unsound'ed, duth kauz dheer spiitsh ver'i hard tu bi lern'd bei art, and not eez'i bei dhe leiv'li vo',is, az it iz notori,uzli knoon. So az if ei shuld ureit Frensh, in dhe lét'ers and or'der huitsh ei du nou-yyz, ei-am ser'ten dhat iu shuld mutsh suun'er kum tu dheer pronunsias'ion, dher-bei, dhen bei ureit'iq az dhee du. And tu eksperiment dhe má't'er, and tu maak sutsh az understand' Frensh, dzhudzh'es dher-of, ei uil ureit dhe Lords preer az dhee du, huitsh shuld be prezent'ed tu sutsh an oon, az kan riid dhis man'er, and iet understand'eth not dhe Frensh, and pruvv hou hi kan riid and pronouns' it: and dhen present' it him in dhis man'er ov ureit'iq, az hier-after: and kompaar' his pronunsias'ion tu dhe form'er, and iu shuld pruvv dhat éfekt', huitsh kan not bi bront tu pás bei our form'er man'er. And dher-foor hier fol'ueth dhe lords preer first in Frensh in dheer man'er ov ureit'iq: *Nostre pere qui es és cieuz, Ton nom soit sanctifié. Ton Regne aduienne. Ta volonte soit faite en la terre comme au ciel. Donne-nous au-iourd'huy nostre pain quotidien: Et nous pardonne nos offenses, comme nous pardonnons à ceux qui nous ont offensés. Et ne nous indui point en tentation: mais nous deliure du mal. Car à toy est le regne, la puissance, et la gloire és siecles, des siecles. Amen.* Nou in dhis nyy man'er az fol'u,eth. Nootrah peerah ki-ez eez sieuz, tun Num soit santifié. Tun Rénañ avienañ. Ta volunté soit fétah, an la tárah kúmah oo siel. Dúnc-nuuz ozdzhuurdui nootrah peen kotidian. E nuu pardúñah noz ófánses kúmah nuu pardúnuunz a seuz ki nuuz unt ófansez. E ne nuuz indui point an tantas'ion: meez nuu delivrah dy y ma'l. Kar a toe eet le reen'ah, la pyy,ísáñse e la gloerah eez siekles dez siekles Aman. Nou kon'trariueiz uil ei ureit hier-un'der in dheez nyy lét'ers (and kiip'iq dheer sound az befoor') hou dhe Frensh du pronouns' dheer

denies that (*v*, *dh*, *z*) occur in Spanish, but admits (*f*, *th*, *s*), as sounds of *f*, *z*, (or *c* before *e*, *i*,) and *s*. This pronunciation of *c*, *z* is doubtful. It may be (*s*†), and certainly by some *d* is pronounced either (*dh*) or (*z*†), especially when final. In the common termination *-ado*, the *d* is often quite lost, but the vowels are kept distinct in two syllables, and do not form a diphthong. In the termination *-ido*, the *d* is never lost. The (*s*) sound of *c*, *z*, is not acknowledged in Madrid. The letters *b*, *v* are pro-

nounced alike and as (*bh*). The *j* is by some said to be a peculiar guttural, but the Prince identifies it with (*kh*). *Ll*, *ñ* are (*lj*, *nj*). Hart confuses *ll* with Welsh *ll*, as does Salesbury, (suprà p. 757), but Hart also confuses the sound with (*l*'), or *le* in *able* (suprà p. 195); which he probably called (*aa'blh*) as in French (suprà p. 52). There seems to be no foundation for supposing that Spanish *u* was ever (*y*), as stated by Hart.

Lat'in: and dhat aul'so in dhe Lords preer, huitsh iz az dhus. Paater noster ki ez in seliiz, santifisetyr nomen tyy, yym, atveniat refnyym tyy, yym fiat voluntaaz tyya sikyyt in selo e in tara panem nostryym kotidianyym da nobiiz odiie et dimiite nobii debiita nostra, sikyyt et noz dimiitimyyz debitoribyyz nostriiiz. Et ne noz indyykaaz in tentasionem: Set libera noz a malo. And ei remem'ber ov a mer'i dzhest ei haav herd ov a buee huitsh did help a Frensh priist at mas, huo see'iq dominyy vobiikyym, dhe buee heer'iq it sound strandzh'li-in hiz eer, aun'suered, eth kum tirlert' tiikyym, and so uent lauh'iq his uee. And so peradven'tykyr iu-uil at dhe riid'iq, az iu mee biliiv' me-ei did at dhe ureit'iq hier-of. Ei kuld ureit aul'so hou dhe frensh and udh'er for'ens du spek Iq'lish, but dheer man'er is so plen'tiful in man'i-of our eerz, az ei thiik it super'fli,uz. Dhe rez'on huii dheer kan not sound our spiitsh, iz (az iu mee perseev' bei dhat is seed) bikauz' ui haav and yyz ser'teen sounds and breedhz huitsh dheer haav not, and du-aul'so yyz tu sound sum of dhooz lét'erz huitsh dheer-yyz uidh us, udh'erueiz dhen dheer duu: and dheer for revendzh' sum ov ourz udh'erueiz dhen ui duu. huitsh iz dhe kauz aul'so dhat dheer spiitsh'ez ar hard for us tu riid, but dhe sound oons knoon, ui kan eez'ili pronouus' dherz bei dhe rez'on abuv'seed. And dhus tu-end if iu thiik lit'l prof'it tu bi in dhis huer-in ei hav kau'sed iu tu pás iur teim, ei uil iet distshardzh' mei self dhat ei-am ássy-red it kan du-iu no harm, and so dhe aulmiht'i God, giv'er ov aul gud thiqs, bliis uz aul, and send us his graas in dhis trans'itori leif, and in dhe world tu kum, leif everlast'iq. So bi-it. FINIS. *Sat cito si sat bene.*

ALEXANDER BARCLEY'S FRENCH PRONUNCIATION, 1521.

In the introductory *Authours Epistell to the Kynges Grace*, prefixed to Palsgrave's *Esclarcissement*, he says: "Onely of this thyng, puttyng your highnesse in remembraunce, that where as besydes the great nombre of clerkes, whiche before season of this mater haue written nowe sithe the beginnyng of your most fortunate and most prosperous raigne," that is, between 22 April 1509 and 18 July 1530, "the right vertuous and excellent prince Thomas late Duke of Northfolke, hath commanded the studious clerke² Alexandre

¹ Further on he is not so complimentary, as he remarks: "Where as there is a boke, that goeth about in this realme, intituled the Introductory to writte and pronoune frenche, compiled by Alexander Barcley, in whiche k is moche vsed, and many other thynges also by hym affirmed, contrary to my sayenges in this boke, and specially in my seconde, where I shall assaye to expresse the declinations and coniugatynges: with the other congruites observed in the frenche tonge, I suppose it sufficient to warne the lernar, that I haue red ouer that boke at length:

and what myn opinion is therin, it shall well inough apere in my bokes selfe, though I make therof no ferther expresse mencion: saue that I haue sene an olde boke written in parchement in maner in all thynges like to his sayd Introductory: whiche, by coniecture, was nat vnwritten this hundred yeres. I wot nat if he happened to fortune upon suche an other: for whan it was commaunded that the grammar maisters shulde teche te youth of Englande ioyntly latin with frenche, there were diuerse suche bokes diuysed: wher-vpon, as I suppose began one great

Barkelay, to embusy hym selfe about this excercyse, and that my sayd synguler good lorde Charles duke of Suffolke, by cause that my poore labours required a longre tracte of tyme, hath also in the meane season encouraged maister Petrus Uallensys, scole maister to his excellent yong sonne the Erle of Lyncolne, to shewe his lernynge and opinion in this behalfe, and that the synguler clerke, maister Gyles Dewes somtyme instructour to your noble grace in this selfe tong, at the especiall instaunce and request of dyuers of your highe estates and noble men, hath also for his partye written in this matter." For the last treatise, see *suprà* p. 31. The second I have not seen.¹ A copy of the first, which is extremely rare and does not seem to have been known to A. Didot, as it is not found in his catalogue, (see p. 589, n. 1), exists in the Douce Collection at Oxford (B 507) and the following are all the parts in it relating to French pronunciation, according to the transcription of Mr. G. Parker, of Oxford, who has also collated the proof with the original. The whole is in black letter; size of the paper 10½ in. × 7 in., of the printed text 8¼ in. × 5¼ in.; 32 pages, neither folioed nor paged, the register at bottom of recto folio is: A 1-6, B 1-6, C 1-4. In this reprint the pages are counted and referred to, as in the editions of Salesbury. The pages are indicated by thick numbers in brackets. Remarks are also inserted in brackets. The / point is represented by a comma. Contractions are extended in italics.

[1] ¶ Here begynneth the introductory to wryte, and to pronounce Frenche compyled by Alexander Barcley compendiously at the commaundement of the ryght hye excellent and myghty prynce Thomas duke of Northfolke.

[Plate representing a lion rampant supporting a shield containing a white lion in a border. Then follows a French ballad of 16 lines in two columns, the first headed "R. Coplande to the whyte lyon," and the second "¶ Ballade."]

[2] Blank at back of title.

occasion why we of England sounde the latyn tong so corruptly, which haue as good a tonge to sounde all maner speches *parfitely* as any other nacyon in Europa."—Book I, ch. xxxv. According to this, 1) there ought to be many old MS. treatises on French Grammar, and 2) the English pronunciation of Latin was moulded on the French, *suprà* p. 246.

¹ There is also an older treatise "Here begynneth a lytell Treatyse for to learne the Englysshe and Frensshe. Emprynted at Westminster by my Winken de Worde. Quarto," as cited in Dibdin's edition of Ames Typ. Ant.

1812, vol. 2, p. 328. The copy he refers to belonged to Mr. Reed of Staple's Inn, then to the Marquis of Blandford (*Catalogus librorum qui in Bibliothecâ Blandfordiensi reperiuntur*, 1812, fasc. 2, p. 8) and was sold by auction at Evans's sale of White Knights Library 1819, to Rodd the bookseller, for 9*l.* 15*s.*, after which I have not been able to trace it, but Mr. Bradshaw says it is only a reprint of a work of Caxton's (*The Book of Travellers*, Dibbins Ames, 1, 315, 316), containing French phrases, but no information on pronunciation. A mutilated copy of Caxton's book is in the Douce Collection.

[3] [¶ The prologue of the auctour. On Pronouns.]

[4] [Do. joined with Verbs. On this page occurs the following, beginning at line 6 :—]

¶ Also when these wordes. nous. vous. and ilz, be set before verbes begynnynge with ony consonant, than amonge comon people of fraunce the ,s, and ,z, at ende of the sayd wordes, nous. vous. and ilz, leseth the sounde in pronouncynge though they be wryten. But whan they are ioyned with verbes begynnynge with ony vowell than the .s. and .z. kepeth theyr full sounds in pronouncynge.

[5-8] [On Verbs. At p. 8, l. 21, we read]

Here after foloweth a smal treatyse or introductory of ortography or true wrytynge, wherby the dyligent reder may be infourmed truly, and perfytely to wryte and pronounce the frenche tunge after the dyuers customes of many countrees of fraunce. For lykewyse as our englysshe tunge is dyuersly spoken and varyeth in certayne countrees and shyres of Englande, so in many countrees of fraunce varyeth theyr langage as by this treatyse evidently shall appere to the reder.

¶ First how the. lettres of the A. b. c. are pronounced or sounded in frenche.

¶ Lettres in the. A. b. c. be. xxii. whiche in frenche ought thus to be sounded.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q
A boy¹ coy doy e af goy asshe ü² ka el am an oo poy cu

r s t v x y z & parle 9 parse.
aar ees toy v yeux ygreois zedes et parlui. 9 parlui. or, parsoy.

¶ And albeit that this lettre .h. be put amonge the lettres of the alphabete, yet it is no lettre, but a note of asperacyon, or token of sharpe pronouncynge of a worde.³ Also .&. and .9. are not counted amonge the lettres : and so remayneth. xxii. lettres in the alphabete besyde .h. and .9. as sayd is.

¹ Compare Palsgrave's Introduction to his second Book : " In the namyng of the sayd consonantes the frenche-men diffre from the latin tong, for where as the latines in soundynge of the mutes begyn with the letters selfe and ende in E, sayng BE, CE, DE. &c. the frenche men in the stede of E sound Oy and name them Boy, Coy, Doy," etc. Hence the oy in these words was not (ee) as it has now become. Palsgrave adds : "and where as the latines in soundyng of theyr liquides or semi vowelles begyn with E, and ende with them, saynge El, Em, En, the frenche men double the liquide or semi vocale, and adde also an other E and name them Elle, Enme, Enne, geyung the accent upon the fyrst E, and at the last

E depressyng theyr voyce." This is different from Bareley.

² This must surely be a misprint. The dots are faint. The vowel *u* does not occur in this alphabet.

³ This explanation of aspiration, renders the real sound of *h* doubtful; as to whether it was (h) or (.) as at present. The following quotations from a French newspaper, contained in the *Daily News*, 14 Sept. 1869, illustrates this modern use. "L'H est-il aspiré dans Hugo? Faut il dire Victo Rugo ou Victor Ugo? Il me semble, moi, que l'aspiration serait plus respectueuse." Observe that no H is written in either case, but that the running on of the R, or the hiatus before U alone mark the absence and

¶ These sayd: xxii. lettres be deuyded all into vowels *and* consonantes .v. of them be called vowels, whiche be these. a. e. i. o. u. these fyue be called vowels for eche of them by themself ioyned with none other lettre maketh a full *and* perfect worde. Y. is a greke vowell and is not wryten in latyn wordes, but in greke wordes.

[9] ¶ And wordes of other langages *without* one of these vowels: no lyttral voyce may be pronounced¹ of these .v. vowels .ii. leseth theyr strength somtyme: and become consonantis whiche .iii. be these. I. *and* v. whiche ar consonantis whan they are put in the begynnyng of a syllable ioyned with another vowel and syllablyd or spellid with the same, as in these wordes in frenche Iouer to play vanter, to boste: and so in other lyke.²

¶ The other .xvi. letters called be consonantis: for they be soundyd with the vowels and make no syllable nor worde by them selfe excepte they be ioyned with some vowel. consonantis be these. b. c. d. f. g. k. l. m. n. p. q. r. s. t. x. z.

¶ These consonantis be deuydyd agayne into mutes liquides *and* semy vowels of whom nedyth not to speke for our purpose. A dyptonge is a ioynyng to gyther of .ii. vowels keepyng eche of them his strength³ in one self syllable: of them be .iiii., that is to say, au, eu, ei,⁴ oy. In latyn tunge ,au, and ,eu be bothe wryten *and* sounded⁵ ,ay, and ,oy, be wryten but not sounded. but in frenche *and* englysshe tunge bothe ay oy au and eu be wryten and sounded,⁶ as in these examples in frenche of au. voycy vng beau filz, here is a fayre sone. of eu, deux homes font plus que vng: two men dooth more than one. of ay, ie ne diray point ma pencee a toutz gentz. I shall not tell my thought to all folkes. Of oy as, toy meimes ma fait le le tort. thy self hast none me the wronge. That the same dyptonges be both wryten and sounded in englysshe it appereth by the examples. As a maw, strawe, tawe, dewe, sewe, fewe. fray, say, may, pay. noy, boy, toy, ioy. And thus haue we more lyberte bothe in frenche and englysshe in

presence of aspiration. And this may have been Barcleys meaning. But see infra p. 809, l. 4.

¹ The pointing is evidently wrong. There should be a period here, and the colon after "vowels" seems incorrect. The expression "lyttral voyce" is, even then, rather obscure.

² Compare Salesbury's explanation of the consonantal value of *i*, *u*, supra p. 754.

³ This ought to mean that the sound of each is heard, and ought to distinguish real diphthongs from digraphs. But the author so little understands the nature of speech that he may merely mean that the two letters being juxtaposed modify each others signification, producing a tertium quid. The Lambeth fragment (supra p. 226, n. 1), gives 3 syllables to *aider*, *aucun*, 5 to

meilleur, 4 to *eureux*, which would all agree with a real diphthongal pronunciation, but then it proceeds to give 3 syllables to *ouir*, in which there can be no doubt that *ou* was a digraph.

⁴ The omission of *ai* is very remarkable. But from what follows it can hardly be doubted that *ai* was included under *ei*, or that *ei* was a misprint for *ai*.

⁵ This ought to imply that Latin *au*, *eu*, were then called (au, eu), and this would agree with other indications of English contemporary pronunciation.

⁶ As we know from Salesbury that about 30 years later English *ay*, *oy*, *au*, were called (ai, oi, au) at least in some cases, these words ought to imply that they had the same sound in French. This would agree at any rate with Palsgrave.

wrytynge and soundynge than in latyn as touchynge the .iiii. dyptonges.

¶ Also here is to be noted that of lettres we make syllabes: of syllabes we frame wordes, *and* of wordes we combyne reasons, and by reasons all scyences and speches be vttred. thus resteth the grounde of all scyences in lettres, syllabes, wordes, and reasons. Wherefore (as of the fyrst foundacyon of frenche tunge *and* also of al other langages) fyrst I intende by the ayde *and* socour of the holy goost to treate how the lettres be wryten *and* sounded in frenche.

¶ Of the soundynge of this lettre .A. in frenche.

This lettre .A. in frenche somtyme is put onely for a lettre. And somtyme it is put for this englysshe worde. hath. Whan it is put but for a lettre it is often sounded as this lettre e. as in this frenche worde, *staues*¹ *vous*: in englysshe, can ye. In whiche worde *and* many other as, *barbe*, and *rayre*. *with* other lyke this lettre. A. hath his sounde of this lettre .e. But in some countrees .A. is sounded with full sounde in lyke maner as it is wryten as, *rayre*, *and* *suche* other whan this lettre .A. is put for a worde it betokeneth as moche in englysshe as this worde .hath. But some frenche men than adnex .d. withall as, *ad*. as *il ad*, he hath. But *suche* maner of wrytynge is false. for this lettre. d. is not sounded nor pronounced in frenche, nor founde often wryten in the ende of any worde. And though some wolde say in these frenche wordes, *viande*, *meate*. *demande*, *enquyre* or *aske*. and *that* .d. is sounded in ende of the worde, it is not so. for in these wordes *and* other lyke, *suche* as truly pronounce frenche resteth the sounde on the last letter of the worde whiche is .e.² and not .d.

[10] ¶ Also in true frenche these wordes, *auray*, I shal haue. *and*, *auroy*, I had: be wryten *without* e in myddes of the worde, *and* in lykewyse be they sounded *without*, e but in certayne countrees of fraunce in *suche* maner of wordes this lettre e is sounded *and* wryten in the myddes as thus, *aueroi*, *aueroie*: whiche is contrary bothe in the true wrytynge, *and* also to the true pronuncyacion of perfyte frenche.³

¶ How this lettre b ought to be wryten *and* sounded in frenche temperour for the emperoure, and so of other lyke.

¶ Also this worde *auue* may be wryten in dyuers maners after the custome *and* vsage of dyuers countrees of fraunce as thus. *auueques*: *auueque*. And some *without* reason or ortography wryte it *with* .s. in the myddes as *auuesque*. but how so euer *auueque* be wryten in frenche it soundeth as moche in englysshe as this *preposycyon* *with*. And also this worde *solonc* may be wryten *with* c, or els *without* c

¹ The words *staves vous* are not clear. The use of *a* in the sound *e* seems to be dialectic in *barbe*, see the quotation from Chevallet, p. 75, at bottom. But in *rayre*, (which ought not to be *rare*, but the book is so full of errors that it may be,) to scrape or shave, the remark seems to imply *ay* = (ee).

² Implying, of course, that the final *e*, now mute, was then audible, but only faintly audible, or else the error which he combats, could not have arisen.

³ In this case probably *u* preserved its consonantal power, the remnant of the Latin *b*.

at the ende as solonc or solon, but than o ought not to be sounded, yf a consonant immediatly folowe.

[Then follow the headings, Of Nombres, in one paragraph, and Of Gendres, in four paragraphs, the last of which is:]

¶ Many mo rules be concernynge wrytynge and spekyng of frenche, which were to longe to expres in this small treatyse: but the moste perfytenes of this langage is had by custome and vse of redynge and spekyng by often enquiryng: and frequentynge of company of frenchemen and of suche as haue perfytenes: in spekyng the sayd langage.

[11] [Treatyse of dyuerse frenche wordes after order of the Alphabete .A. B., and then on l. 8 from bottom the author proceeds thus]

¶ This lettre. B. set in the myddes of a frenche worde ought to be soundyd in maner as it is wryten, as *debriser. to bruse, troubler. to trouble*, but in these wordes folowynge .b. is wryten in the myddes *and* not soundyd as, *debte. dette, endepter. desoubz. vnder-neth, desubz. aboue, coubte. a ribbe, vng subget. Also these verbes doubter. to dout, tresdoubter. greatly to dout, substiner with all theyr modes and tensys as well synguler as plurell with all nownes and particyples descendynge of them, must haue .b. wryten in the myddes of them and not soundyd, as wryten doubte tresdoubte. and soundyd doute, and tresdoute.*

[12] Of. C. ¶ This letter .C. wryten in myddes of a worde hathe somtyme the sounde of this letter .s. or .z. as these wordes. *ca. on this half. pieca. a whyle agone. rancon a ranson. francois. frenche. and in many other lyke wordes whiche soundyth thus with .s. sa piesa ranson francois. Also this letter .c. somtyme hath the sounde of .k. as in these wordes in frenche crou. cru. cause, and car. Also these wordes done and iouc are wryten with .c. in the ende in synguler nombre, but in the plurell number the .c. in them is tournyd in to .x. as doux ioux.*

Of. E. ¶ E. for the moste parte is soundyd almost lyke .a.¹ and that namely in the ende of a worde. as in this example. *A mon premier commencement soit dieu le pere omnipotent. At my fyrste begynnynge be god the father almyghty. Il a vng bon entendement. these wordes commencement omnipotent entendement vent with other lyke. be soundyd with a. as commencement. omnipotent. antandemant vant and other lyke. and all suche wordes must haue a short and sharpe attent or pronuciacion at the ende.*

¶ And here is to be notyd that al maner nownes of the masculine gender endynge in the synguler nombre in .c. g. or .f. as *blanc. whyt. vyf. quicke. long. longe. shall be wryten in the plurell nombre with .s. hauynge .c. g. or .f. put awaye from them. as blans. vis. lons.*

Of. G. ¶ Whan this letter .g. is wryten in frenche in myddes of

¹ Though expressed generally, this remark evidently refers exclusively to the syllable *en* where it is now pronounced (aa), which we have seen

Hart also pronounced (an), *suprà* p. 802. See also *infra* in this § for all the French nasals during the xvith century.

a worde bytwene a vowell and a consonant, than shal it be soundyd lyke .n. and .g. As compaignon, compaignie. How be it some wryte suche wordes as they muste be soundyd with .g. and .n.¹ as compaignon. a felawe. compaignie. a company.

Of. H. ¶ H. is no letter but a tokyn of asperacion or sharpynge of a worde, as in these wordes, hors. out, dehors. without, honte. shame, haut. hye, and in other lyke in whiche wordes and lyke .h. is sounded. other wordes be in whiche. h. is wryten and not soundyd as heure. an heure, helas. alas, homme, a man, with other lyke.

Of. I & E. ¶ I. and. E. or ony other two vowels ioyned togyder in myddes or in the ende of a worde. whan they are put bytwene two consonants, or bytwene a vowell and a consonant. than eyther of them shall haue his founde as in these wordes biens. goodes, riens. no thyng, Ioie. Ioy, voie. a way, And suche lyke wordes. yet some holde oppynyon that in these wordes, and in suche other .I. or E shall not be soundyd.

¶ Also in true frenche these wordes. Ie. ce, are. wryten without o. in theyr ende but in pycard, or gascoygne, they are wryten with o. at the ende, as thus ieo ceo

Of. K. ¶ This letter .K. in dyuerses speches is put for. ch. As kinal. kien. vak. but in true frenche it is not, but these wordes and suche lyke be wryten with ch. as cheual. a hors, chien. a dogge, vache. a cowe, Also in certaynes countres of Fraunce for c. is wryten ch. as piecha. for a pieca, a whyle ago, tresdoulche for tresdoulce. ryght swete. And so of other lyke.²

[13] ¶ In lykewyse in some countrees of Fraunce names of dygnyte and office whiche are the synguler nombre are wryten plurell with, s, at the ende, as luy papas de Rome, luy roys de france, luy sains esperis: but in true frenche these names be wryten without, s. as le pape de rome, the pope of rome. le roy de france, the kyng of france. le saint esperit, the holy goost. and so of lyke.

Of. L. ¶ This lettre .L. set in myddes of a worde immediatly before a vowell shall kepe his full sounde, as nouvellement, newly. annuelement, yerely. continuelement contynually parlant, spekyng. egallement, egally. But yf a consonant folowe. l immediatly than ,l, shall be sounded as ,u, as loyament, principallment, whiche are sounded thus. loyaument, faythfully. principaument, pryncipally.³ Except this worde ,ilz. in whiche worde ,l, and ,z, hath no sounde somtyme. as ilz vont ensemble, they go togyder. and somtyme ,l, hath his sounde and ,z, leseth the sounde whan ,ilz, cometh before a worde begynnyng with a vowell, as ilz ont fait: they haue done.

¹ The reversal of the order in the description of the pronunciation may be accidental. This loose writing, however, gives no reason to suppose that the sound of this *gn* was either (ng) or (gn).

² These remarks must refer to provincial pronunciations, and indicate an

interchange of (k, sh) in French answering to that of (k, tsh) in English.

³ The general observation evidently refers to the particular case, *al* pronounced as *au*, but whether as (au) or (oo) cannot be deduced from such loose writing.

Whan ,l, is wryten in the ende of a worde, and that the worde folowyng begyn with a consonant than shall .l. in suche wordes lese his owne sounde and be sounded lyke an .u. as *ladmiral dengleterre*, the *admyrall of englande*, but yf *the* worde folowyng ,l, begyn with a vowell than ,l, shall kepe his owne sounde: as *nul home*, no man. *nul aultre*, none other, *nul vsage*, no vsage. Also ,l, put in the ende of a worde of one syllable shal haue no sounde at all as *il sen est ale*, he is gone. *ie le veul bien*, I wyll it well. In suche wordes *il* and *veul*, and other lyke ,l, leseth his sounde .ll. double in myddes of a worde must be sounded with hole *and* full voyce.¹ as *fille*, a doughter. *fillette*, a lytell mayde. *oraille*, an eere. and so other lyke.

Of. N. ¶ This *lettre*. N. put betwene a vowell and a consonant in ende of ony worde whiche is a verbe of *the* thyrd persone plurell, and the *indycatyf*, or *optatyf* mode what tens so euer it be, it shall not be sounded in true pronouncynge of frenche, as *ilz aiment*, they loue. *ilz lisent*, they rede. whiche wordes and all other lyke must be sounded thus without ,n. *ilz aymet*. *ilz liset*. ¶ Out of this rule be excepte verbes of one syllable in whiche ,n, must haue the sounde. as *ilz vont*, they go: *ilz ont*, they haue: *ilz sont*, they are: *ilz font*, they make, *with* all theyr modes: tens: and compoun-
dounes. in whiche, n shall kepe his ryght sounde.

Of. P. ¶ Whan .P. is wryten in the ende of a worde in frenche, and *the* next worde immediatly folowyng begynnynge with a consonant than shall it lese the sounde, as thus. *il a trop grant auoir*, he hath to grete goodes. *il vient trop tard*, he cometh to late. *trop hault*, to hye. *trop bas*, to lowe. in whiche worde *trop*, p, hath not his sounde, but it must be sounded thus. *tro hault*. *tro bas*. *tro tard*.

¶ Of this rule be except *propre* names endynge in ,p. in whiche ,p, must haue his full sounde, as, *philip*. But yf a worde ende in ,p, and the worde nexte folowyng begyn with a vowell than ,p, shall haue his full sounde. as *mieulx vault assez que trop auoir*, better is ynough than to haue to moche. Also these wordes *semaine*, a weke. *temps*. *tyme*. *corps*, a body. and this verbe *escripre*, to wryte, with [14] all nownes and participles *commynge* therof, indifferently may be wryten with p. or without p. but though p. be wryten in them it shall nat be soundyd: as *semaine*, *tems*, *cors* *escrire*.

Of. Q. ¶ Q. in pronounsynge muste haue a softe and lyght sounde,² And it shall nat be wryten in any frenche worde, without two vowells, immediatly folowyng: of whiche two vowells the fyrste shalbe u. as *qui que*, *the* whiche, *quar*, for. *querir*, to seke, *quant*, whan, and *suche* other, but some be whiche wryte q. in *suche* wordes without this vowell .u. folowyng as *qi*. *qe*. &c. whiche maner of wrytyng is vnsemely: And also it is contrary to all rules of ortography or true wrytyng aswell in frenche, as in

¹ The *mouillé* sound of *l* in French (lj) is certainly very badly expressed by these meaningless words.

² The writer probably only means that it is to be (k) and not (kw).

other langages and no reason haue they whiche wryte suche wordes without u. to assyst *them* saue theyr vnresonable vse agaynst all rules, and good custome. More ouer these wordes quar, querir, quant. &c. maye be wryten indifferently: with, q. k. or c, as quar, or car, or els kar. &c.

Of. R. ¶ This letter. R. put in the ende of a worde shall kepe his owne full sounde, as *cueur*, as thus *Iay grant mal au cueur*, I haue graet dysease at my herte: *Ie vous prie pour me consailler*, I pray you counsell me: but in some countres .r. is soundyd, as this letter, z. as *compere*, a gossyp, is somtyme soundyd thus *compez*,¹ and so of other wordes endyng in this letter. R.

Of. s. syngle. ¶ A syngle .s. in myddes of a worde ought nat to be soundyd if a consonant folowe immedyatly: as *tresdoulee*, ryght swete: *tresnoble*, ryght noble: *tresgracious*, ryght gracyous: but .s. in myddes of these wordes folowyng hath his full sounde: as thus: *prosperite*, *chestien*, *substance*, *esperance*, *meschant*, *Instituer*, *escharuir*, *transglouter*, *Augustynes*, *Inspirer*, *descharger*, *estaincher*, *estandre*, *peschies*, *constrayndre*, *despenser*, *escuser*, with al nownes, and aduerbes *commynge* of them. In whiche .s. must be soundyd, if² a consonant immedyatly folowe .s. But if a vowel folowe this letter. s. in the myddes of a worde and no letter betwene .s. and the vowell, than shall .s. haue his full sounde, as it is wryten, *tresexcellent*, ryght excellent: *treshault*, ryght hye: *treshonore*, ryght honoured: *treshumble*, ryght humble.

Of double .ss. ¶ Whan this letter .ss. double is wryten in myddes of a worde it must alway be soundyd: as *puissant*, myghty with such lyke. More ouer if this letter .s. syngle, be wryten in the ende of a worde, whiche is a pronowne *coniuncion* verbe or preposicion, if the worde folowyng .s. begyn with a consonant, than .s. shal nat be soundyd: as *dieu vous sauue*, god saue you. *dieu vous gard*, god kepe you. *voules vous boire*, Wyl ye drynke. *nous sommes beaucoup des gens*, we be moche folke, in which wordes .s. shal nat be soundyd. But whan this letter .s. is wryten in the ende of a worde in frenche and that the next worde folowyng begyn with a vowel than must .s. haue his full sounde. as *Ie vous ayme*, I loue you. *Ie vous emprie*, I pray you. *estes vous icy*, be ye here, *and in* suche other wordes. But in these wordes folowyng. s. shall haue no sounde, all if the wor[15]de folowyng begyn with a vowell. *vous ditez vray*, ye say trouth. *vous ditez vrayment*, ye say truely. In whiche wordes .s. shall lese his sounde. Also in this worde *dis*, whan it is a nowne of nombre *and* taken for ten. if there folowe a consonant .s. shall not be soundyd, as to say *dis liures* .x. ii. it muste be soundyd *di. ii.* But this nombre ten in frenche moost vsually is spelled with .x. as *.dix.* *and* not with .s. as *dis*. But whan ditz is a participle, *and* betokeneth *asmoche* as sayd than in the same worde .s. or .z. shall kepe his sounde. as *les heures sont ditez the heures* be sayde

¹ See the extract from Palsgrave, *suprà* p. 198.

exceptions to the rule. See "all if" = although, *infra* p. 812, l. 26.

² Meaning *although*, as these are the

Of. T. ¶ This letter T. put in *the* ende of a worde beyng a verbe of *the* thirde persone synguler *and* present or preteryt tens of *the* indicatyf mode if *the* worde folowyng begyn with a vowell, it shall be soundyd. as *est il prest*, is he redy. *Il estoit alostel*, he was at home. But if *the* worde folowyng begyn with a consonant, than T. shal nat be soundyd. as *quest ce quil dist*, what is *that* he sayth *Il est prest*, he is redy. *il fust tout esbahy*. he was al abasshed. *Il ny a que vanite en cest monde* There is nought but vanyte in this worlde. Also all nownes *and* participles, whiche ende in *the* synguler nombre in t, in *the* plurell nombre muste be wryten with. s. or with z. the samet. [=same t] put away from *the* ende of *the* word as thus worde, saynt, holy. is wryten in *the* synguler nombre with t. in *the* plurell nombre it is thus wryten. as *sainz*. or *sains* without. t. but in some places of fraunce they wryte suche wordes in *the* plurel nombre with t. e. *and* z. or s. at *the* ende after *the* moste vsed Ortography of frenche. For amonge frenche men this is a general rule. *that* as ofte as t. is put in myndes of a worde beyng a nowne of *the* femynyne gender it shall not be wryten *without* a vowell immediatly folowyng. as *les saintez vierges du ciel* ne cessent de louer dieu, *the* holy virgyns of heuen cessest not to laude god. *Il ya des femmes que sont bien riches marchandes*, there be women whiche be well ryche marchandes. And so may other frenche wordes endyng in *tes*. be wryten with t. *and* es. or with z. or s. without t. but it accordeth not to reason to wryte these wordes thus *saintz toutz marchantz* in *the* plurell nombre. all if they be wryten with t. in *the* synguler nombre. for in *the* plurell nombre they ought nat to be wryten with t. for any of these two letters s. or z. in frenche stande for as moche as ts. or tz. But for a conclusion though suche wordes in in certayne countres of Fraunce be wryten with ts. or with tz. in *the* ende. as thus *mon amy sont nous litz faitz*, my frende are our beddes made. *Beau sir sont mez pourpointz faitz*, faire sir be my doublettes made. yet after true ortography of frenche these wordes and other suche muste be bothe wryten and soundyd without t. as *lis fais pourpains* ¶ Also these wordes *filz*, a sone. *mieulz* better. *fois* one tyme. *assez*, ynoughe. *vous poues*, ye may. *vous prenes*, ye take, *vous enseignes*, ye teche. *vous lisez*, And suche other ought to be wryten without t. but some be whiche wrongly wryte these wordes with t. As *filtz*, *mieultz*, *foitz*, *assetz*, *pouetz*, *prenetz*. &c. whiche wordes in ryght frenche haue no t. neyther in soundyng nor in wrytyng. ¶ Also this coniunccon. betokeneth the same thyng in frenche that it doth in latyn. that is to say, *and*, in englysshe in whiche coniunccon t. is neuer soundyd though it be wryten with et. as *et Ie vous fais a scauoir*, And I make you to wytte or knowe.

[16] Of. U. ¶ U. Wryten in myddes of a worde shall-often haue no sounde, bothe in latyn frenche and other langages. And that whan it is wryten immediatly after any of these thre letters, that is to say. q. g. or s. As *qui que*, language, langue, a tonge. *querir*, to seke: *guerre*, warre, *and* suche other. In whiche wordes u. is wryten but not soundyd. Neuertherles in dyuers Countres after

the foresayd letters they sounde w, doubled as quater, quare, quaysy. Englysshe men, and Scottes alway sounde u. after the letters both in Latyn and in theyr Ulgayre or common langage. In lyke wyse do dutche men, and almayns. As quare, quatuor quart, quayre, qwade. and suche lyke.

Of. X. ¶ This letter X. put in thende of a worde. may eyther kepe his owne sounde, or els it may be soundyd as. z. as cheualx, or cheualz. hors, doulx, or doulz. swete mieulx, or mieulz. better which wordes may indyfferently be wryten with. x. or with z. Also this worde dieulz, ought not to be wryten with x. in the ende except it be in the nominatyf, or vocatyfe case. but by cause of ryme somtyme it hath x. in other cases. And whan x. is wryten in suche cases somtyme it is soundyd and somtyme not. As if dieux be wryten in the nominatyf case and a consonant folowe immediatly than x. shal not be soundyd. as dieux vous sauue, god saue you. dieux vous garde, god kepe you. but if this worde dieux be set in the vocatyfe case: than shall x. kepe his sounde. As benoit dieux ais pitie de moy, O blessyd god haue pyte on me.

Of. Y. ¶ This letter y. hath the sounde of this letter I and in many wordes of Frenche it ought to be wryten in stede of I by cause of comelynes of wrytynge. In latyn wordis y. ought not to be wryten, but whan any greke worde is myngled with latyn wordes for curyosite of the wryter or diffyculte of interpretacion in suche greke wordes y. muste be wryten in stede of I. in Englysshe wordes y. is moste commonly wryten in stede of I, soo that the englysshe worde be not deducte of ony latyn worde: but speecially y: muste be wryten for I, in the ende of englysshe wrodes, and whan n: m, or u, is wryten before, or behynde it.

Of. z. ¶ z. Put in the ende of a worde muste be soundyd lyke s. as querez, seke ye. auez haue ye. lisez, rede ye. And lyke wyse as s. in the ende of a frenche worde is somtyme pronounced, and somtyme not, ryght so, z. put in the ende of a worde foloweth the same rule: somtyme to be soundyd, and somtyme not as aperyth in the rule of .s.

¶ Here is also to be noted for a generall rule, that if a worde of one syllabe ende in a vowell, and the worde folowyng begynne also with another vowell, than both these wordes shalbe ioyned to gyther, as one worde:¹ both in wrytynge and soundyng. As dargent: for de argent. ladmiral, for le admiral, whiche rule also is obseruid in englysshe, as thexchetour, for the exchetour: thexperyence, the experyence.

[Here ends p. 16.]

[17-28] [Nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, in alphabetical order.]

[29-30] [Numbers, Days of the Week, Months, Feasts.]

[30] [Lyfe of the graynes, French and English; the English

¹ Another general rule applicable only to a particular case, as shewn by the following examples.

part begins:—God saue the ploughe And he the whiche it ledeth
Firste ere the grounde After sowe the whete, or barly.]

[30-31] [Fishes. Proceed at p. 31, l. 14 as follows.]

¶ And also here is to be notyd *that* many wordes be which
sounde nere vnto latyn and be vsed in bothe the langages of Frenche
and Englysshe amonge eloquent men, as termes indifferently be-
longynge to both frenche *and* englysshe. So that the same sygny-
fycayon, whiche is gyuen to them, in frenche is also gyuen to
them in englysshe,¹ as thus.

¶ Amite. Auauncement. Audacite. Bounte. Beaute. Breuyte.
Beniuolence. Benignite. Courtoys. Curiosite. Conclusion. Conspi-
racion. Coniuracion. Compunction. Contricion. Confederacion. Con-
iunction. Detestacion. Detraccion. Denominacion. Deuulgacion.
Diuinite. Dignite. Disesperance. Exchange. Esperance. Euidence.
Fable. Frealte. Fragilite. Fragrant. Gouernance. Grace. Humy-
lite. Humanite. Intelligence. Intellection. Interpretacion. Insur-
reccion. Indenture. Laudable. Langage. Murmuracion. Mutabilite.
Magnanimite, Patron. Patronage. Picture. Rage. Royall. Regal.
Souerayne. sustayne. Traytre. Tourment Trechery. Trayson.
Trauers. Trouble. Tremble. Transitory. Ualiant. Uariance. Variable.
Uesture.

¶ These wordes *with* other lyke betoken all one thyng in
englysshe as in frenche. And who so desyreth to knowe more of
the sayd langage must prouyde for mo bokes made for the same
intent, wherby they shall *the* soner come to *the* parfyte knowlege of
the same.

¶ Here endeth the introductory to wryte *and* to pronounce
frenche compyled by Alexander bareley.

[The above ends at p. 31, col. 2, l. 9; after which: ¶ Here
foloweth the maner of dauncynge of bace daunces after the vse of
fraunce *and* other places translated out of frenche in englysshe by
Robert coplande. Then follow on p. 32, col. 1, l. 4 from bottom:
¶ Bace daunces; at the end of which come the two concluding
paragraphs in the book.]

¶ These daunces have I set at *the* ende of this boke to thentent
that euery lerner of *the* sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may
reioyce somewhat theyr spyrytes honestly in eschewynge of ydel-
nesse the portresse of vyces.

¶ Imprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of
the rose Garlande by Robert coplande. the yere of our lorde.
M.CCCCC.xxi. *the*. xxii. day of Marche.

THE LAMBETH FRAGMENT ON FRENCH PRONUNCIATION, 1528.

This has already been described (*suprà* p. 226, note 1), but the
following extracts relating to the pronunciation, being part of those

¹ This probably does not imply that the *sound* was the same in both languages.

reprinted by Mr. Maitland, should be here reproduced, as the treatise was unknown to A. Didot.

“De la prosodie, ou, accent, comme
on doit pronstcer. briefue admonition

A aa ¶ voelles

b be a. e. i. o. u.

c ce Toultes aultres letrers sont

d d cōsonātes, deuisees en mu-

e e tes et demy voelles.

effe ¶ mutes

g g b. c. d. f. g. k. p. q. t

h hache ¶ Demy voelles

i ij f. l. m. n. r. s.

kaa

l elle Sur toultes choses doit n-

m eme ter gentz Englois, quil leur

n enne fault acustumer de pronū-

o oo cer la derniere lettre du mot

p pe frācois, quelq; mot que ce soit

q qu (rime exceptee) ce que la

r erre langue englesche ne permet.

s esse Car la ou Lenglois dit.

t te goode breade, Le francois

v ou droit go o de .iii. sillebes

x ex et breade .iii sillebes

z zedes et &. q con

Ces diptongues sone aīsi pronūcees.

Ai aider, iii.

au aucun. iii.

ie faict meilleur, v. sillebes

eu eueux iiii

ou ouir iii

B 1

A. ought to be pronounced from the bottom of the stomak and all openly. E. a lytell hyer in the throte there proprely where the englysshe man soundeth his a

i more hyer than the e within the mouthe

o in the roundenesse of the lypes

v in puttynge a lytell of wynde out of the mouthe thus, ou, and not you. And ye must also gyve hed fro pronouncynge e for i, nor ay, for i, as do some that for miserere say mayisiriri.¹

A. also betokeneth, hawe or hat, whā it cometh of this verb in latin, habeo, as here after ye may se.

Of two consonantes at the ende of a word often the fyrst is left, and is not pronounced, as in this worde, perds, the d, is not pronounced. Et ie faingz g is not pronouced. Je consentz, t is not pronounced, but thus ben they wrytē bycause if y^e orthography, and to gyve knowledge, y^t perds cometh of this uerbe in latin,

¹ This probably indicates an English Salesbury's (teir-bei) with the modern pronunciation (mair-siriri-ri). Compare (tib-i), for Lat. tibi.

perdo, and not of pers that is a coulour. And thus may ye ymagyn of the others How-be it, I am of opynyon y^t better sholde be to pronouce euery lettre and say. . . . [the examples are taken from the French side]. Ie perds vostre accointace en pronouceant le d) que Ie pers. Pronoce vng chacun cōme il luy plaira, car trop est difficile a corriger vielles erreurs.

S. in the myddle of a worde leseth a lytell his sowne, and is not so moche whysteled, as at y^e ende of y^e worde, as tousiours, desioyndre, despryuer, estre, despryser Deux, ss, togyder ben moche pronounced, as essayer, assembler, assurer, assieger.

S. betwene two vowellles, pronounceth by .z. as aize. aise, mizericorde misericorde, vsage. and I beleue that by suche pronuntiacyon, is the latyn tongue corrupte for presently yet some say mizerere for miserere.

Sp, st, ct, ought not to be deuyded asonder, but we ought to say, e sperance, not es perance, and e spaigne, not es paigne. And e sperit not es perit. e striuer, not es triuer, e stoint, not es toint. Satisfac tion, non satisfac tion. Corre ction. &c.

C. the moost often is pronounced by s, as. france pieca, ca. And yf a consonante, or other letters is ioyned with the vocale that is after the c, y^e e shall be pronounced by q, as Cardynal, concordance, casser Combyen, couraige, cuider.

G. somtyme is pronounced by i, as, bourgeois bourgoisse, gregois, what so euer it be, I conceille, y^t they folowe some good autour, w^tout to gyue or to make so many rules, that ne do but trouble and marre the vnderstandynge of people

1528."

PALSGRAVE ON FRENCH PRONUNCIATION, 1530.

In addition to the many quotations from Palsgrave's First Book, scattered through the above pages, the following extracts from the "Breffe Introduction of the authour for the more parfyte vnderstandynge of his fyrst and seconde boke," ought to find a place here :

"The frenche men in theyr pronounciation do cheffy regarde and couet thre thynges. To be armonious in theyr speking. To be breffe and sodayne in soundynge of theyr wordes, auoydynge all maner of harshenesse in theyr pronounciation, and thirdly to gyue euery worde that they abyde and reste vpon, theyr most audible sounde. To be armonymous in theyr spekyng, they vse one thyng which none other nation dothe,¹ but onely they, that is to say, they make a maner of modulation inwardly, for they forme certayne of theyr vowellles in theyr brest, and suffre nat the sounde of them to passe out by the mouthe, but to assende from the brest straight up to the palate of the mouth, and so by reflection yssueth the sounde of them by the nose. To be breffe and sodayne, and to auoyde all maner harshenesse, whiche myght happen whan many consonantes

¹ Did Palsgrave know anything of an argument for the recent introduction of Portuguese? If he did, this might be of nasality into Portugal.

come betwene the vowelles, If they all shulde haue theyr distyncte sounde. Most comenly they neuer vse to sounde past one onely consonant betwene two vowelles, though for kepyng of trewe orthographie, they vse to write as many consonantes, as the latine wordes haue, whiche they frenche wordes come out of, and for *the* same cause, they gyve somtyme unto theyr consonantes but a sleight and remisshe sounde, and farre more dyuersly pronounce them, than the latines do. To gyue euery worde that they abyde vpon his most audible sound, the frenche men iudgyng a worde to be most parfaytly herde, whan his last end is sounded hyghest, vse generally to gyue theyr accent vpon the last syllable onely, except whan they make modulation inwardly, for than gyueng theyr accent vpon the last syllable saue one, and at *the* last syllable of suche wordes, they sodaynly depresse theyr voyce agayne, forming the vowell in the brest

"Where as I haue sayd that to be the more armonius they make a maner of modulation inwardly, that thyng happeneth in the soundyng of thre of theyr vowelles onely A, E, and O, and that nat vniuersally, but onely so often as they come before M, or N, in one syllable, or whan E, is in the last syllable, the worde nat hauyng his accent vpon hym . . . so that these thre letters M, N, or E, fynall, nat hauyng the accent vpon hym, be the very and onely causes why these thre vowelles A, E, O, be formed in the brest and sounded by the nose. And for so moche as of necessitye, to forme the different sounde of those thre vowelles they must nedes at theyr first formyng open theyr mowth more or lesse, yet whan the vowell ones formed in the brest, ascendeth vpwardes and must haue M, or N, sounded with hym, they bryng theyr chawes to getherwardes agayne, and in so doying they seme to sound an v, and make in maner of A, and O, diphthonges, which happeneth by rayson of closyng of theyr mowth agayne, to come to the places where M, and N, be formed, but chefully bycause no parte of the vowell at his expressyng shulde passe forth by the mowth, where as els the frenchemen sounde the same thre vowelles, in all thynges lyke as the Italiens do, or we of our nation, whiche sounde our vowelles aryght, and, as for in theyr vowell I, is no diffyculty nor difference from the Italian sounde,¹ sayyng that so often as these thre letters

¹ This passage, which had not been noted when the observations *suprà* p. 110 were written, seems to confirm the conclusions there drawn respecting Palsgrave's pronunciation of English long *i*, which he here identifies, when sounded "aryght" with the French and Italian *i*. Concerning the Italian sound there was never any doubt. Concerning the French there is also perfect unanimity, except in the one passage from Palsgrave himself, cited *suprà* p. 109. The limitation "aryght," applied to English sounds, implies that the general pronunciation was different

from Palsgrave's, but that he disapproved of that general usage, which we know must have been (*ei*), and practically identified the "right" sound, that is, *his own* sound of long *i*, with (*ii*). Yet that it was not quite the same is shewn by the passage on p. 109. Hence the conclusion that it was (*ii*) appears inevitable. And as this conclusion is drawn from premises altogether different from those which led to the same result for Chaucer's pronunciation (p. 282), it is a singular corroboration of the hypothesis there started for the first time.

I, L, L, or I, G, N, come before any of the fyrst thre vowels A, E, or O, they sound an I, brefely and confusely betwene the last consonant and the vowell folowyng, where as in dede none is written whiche soundyng of I, where he is nat written, they recompence in theyr v, for thoughe they wryte hym after these three consonantes F, G and Q, yet do they onely sounde the vowell next folowyng v. . . . So that, for the most generalte, the frenche men sounde all theyr fyue vowelles lyke as the Italiens do, except onely theyr v, whiche euer so often as they vse for a vowel alone, hath with them suche a sounde as we gyue this diphthong *ew*, in our tong in these wordes, rewe an herbe, a mewe for a hawke, a clewe of threde.

“And as touchyng theyr diphthonges, besydes the sixe, whiche be formed by addyng of the two last vowelles vnto the thre fyrst, as ai, ei, oi, au, ev, ov, they make also a seuynth by addyng of the two last vowelles together vi, vnto whiche they gyue suche a sounde as we do vnto wy in these wordes, a swyne, I twyne, I dwyne, soundyng v, and y, together, and nat distynctly, and as for the other sixe haue suche sounde with them as they haue in latin, except thre, for in stede of ai, they sounde most commonly ei, and fo oi, they sounde oe, and for av, they sounde most commonly ow, as we do in these wordes, a bowe, a crowe, a snowe,¹

“What consonantes so euer they write in any worde for kepyng of trewe orthographie, yet so moche couyt they in redyng or spekyng to haue all theyr vowelles and diphthonges clerly herde, that betwene two vowelles, whether they chaunce in one worde alone, or as one worde fortuneth to folowe after an other, they neuer sounde but one consonant atones, in so moche that if two different consonantes, that is to say, nat beyng both of one sorte come together betwene two vowelles, they leue the fyrst of them vnsounded, and if thre consonantes come together, they euer leue two of the fyrst vnsounded, puttyng here in as I haue sayd, no difference whether the consonantes thus come together in one worde alone, or as the wordes do folowe one another, for many tymes theyr wordes ende in two consonantes, bycause they take awaye the last vowell of the latin worde, as Corps commeth of Corpus, Temps, of Tempus, and suche lyke, whiche two consonantes shalbe lefte vnsounded, if the next worde folowyng begyn with a consonant, as well as if thre consonantes shuld fortune to come together in a worde by hym selfe. But yet in this thyng to shewe also that they forget nat theyr ternarius numerus of all theyr consonantes, they haue from this rule priuyleged onely thre, M, N, and R, whiche neuer lese theyr sounde where so euer they be founde written, except onely N, whan he commeth in the thyrd parson plurell of verbes after E.

“The hole reason of theyr accent is groundd chiefely vpon thre poyntes, fyrst there is no worde of one syllable whiche with them

¹ This gives the following usual, as distinct from Palsgrave's theoretically correct pronunciations: *ai*=(Ei), *oi*=(oe), *au*=(oou), meaning, perhaps, (oo).

hath any accent, or that they vse to pause vpon, and that is one great cause why theyr tong semeth to vs so brefe and sodayn and so harde to be vnderstanded whan it is spoken, especially of theyr paysantes or commen people, for thoughe there come neuer so many wordes of one syllable together, they pronounce them nat distinctly a sonder as the latines do, but sounde them all vnder one voyce and tenour, and neuer rest nor pause upon any of them, except the *commying* next vnto a poynt be the cause thereof. Seconde, euery worde of many syllables hath his accent vpon the last syllable, but yet that nat withstandynge they vse vpon no suche worde to pause, except the *commying* next vnto a poynt be the causer therof, and this is one great thyng whiche inclineth the frenchemen so moche to pronounce the latin tong amysse, whiche contrary neuer gyue theyr accent on the last syllable. The thyrd poynte is but an exception from the seconde, for, whan the last syllable of a frenche worde endeth in E, the syllable next afore him must haue the accent, and yet is nat this rule euer generall, for if a frenche worde ende in Te, or have z, after E, or be a preterit partyciple of the fyrst coniugation, he shall haue his accent vpon the last syllable, accordyng to the seconde rule. . . .

“Whan they leue any consonant or consonantes vnsonded, whiche folowe a vowell that shulde haue the accent, if they pause vpon hym by reason of *commying* next vnto a poynt, he shalbe long in pronunciation, So that there is no vowell with them, whiche of hymselfe is long in theyr tong As for Enclitica I note no mo but onely the primatiue pronownes of the fyrst and seconde persones syngular, whan they folowe the verbe that they do gouerne.”

FRENCH PRONUNCIATION ACCORDING TO THE ORTHOEPISTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The following are the principal authorities, many of which have already been quoted, so that it will only be necessary to refer to them, and to complete this sketch by a few additional citations. They will be referred to by the following abbreviations.

- Bar. Bareley, 1521, *suprà* pp. 803-814.
- L. Lambeth fragment, 1528, *suprà* pp. 815-6.
- P. Palsgrave, 1530, *suprà* p. 31.
- S. Jacobi Syluii Isagoge, 1531, *suprà* p. 33.
- G. du Guez, 1532, *suprà* p. 31.
- M. Meigret, 1545 and 1550, *suprà* pp. 31 and 33.
- Pell. Pelletier, 1555, *suprà* p. 33.
- R. Ramus, 1562, *suprà* p. 33.
- B. Beza, 1584, *suprà* p. 33.
- E. Erondelle, 1605, *suprà* p. 226, note, col. 1.
- H. Holyband, 1609, *suprà* p. 227, note, col. 1.

See especially Livet (*suprà* p. 33), and Didot (*suprà* 589, note 1), for accounts of all these writers except Bar. L. E. H. Didot's *Historique des réformes orthographiques proposées ou accomplies*, forming appendix D to his work, pp. 175-394, carries the list of authors down to the present day, and is very valuable.

In the following tabular view, simple numbers following any

author's name refer to the page of this work in which the required quotation will be found; if p. is prefixed, the reference is to the page of the author's own work, of which the title is given in the passages just referred to. No pretension is made to completeness.

In order not to use new types, the three varieties of *e* are represented by *ɛ*, *e*, *e*, in all the authorities (except Sylvius, where they could not be clearly distinguished, and where his own signs are *é*, *ê*, *è*, therefore employed), and *ɳ*, *ɿ*, are used for Meigret's forms for *n*, *l*, *mouillées*. In Ramus certain combinations of letters, as *au*, *eu*, *ou*, *ch*, are formed into new letters, and are here printed in small capitals thus *au*, *eu*, *ou*, *ch*. Sylvius employs *ai*, *oi*, &c., as diphthongs, where the circumflex properly extends over both letters, but the modern form has been used for convenience.

The Vowels and Diphthongs.

A=(*a*) L. 815, *A*=(*a*) P. 59, *A*=(*a*) "ore largiter diducto profertur" S. 2, *A*=(*a*) G. 61, uncertain (*a*, *a*) M., Pel., R. *A*=(*a*) B. *A*=(*a*), E. 226, n. Afterwards English writers identify it with (*aa*). In this uncertainty it is best taken to be a full (*a*), but not (*ah*), as B. warns, saying "Hæc vocalis, sono in radice linguæ solis faucibus formato, ore hianti *clarè* et *sonorè* à Francis effertur, quum illam Germani *obscurius* et sono quodam ad quartam vocalem *o* accedente pronuntient." B. p. 12. In the termination *-age*=(*ai*) P. 120. "You must note that *a* is not pronounced in these words, *Aoust*, *saoul*, *aorner*, *aoriste*, which words must be pronounced as if they were written thus, *oot*, *soo*, *orner*, *oreeste*." E.

AI=(*ai*) Bar. 806, doubtful, L. 815, *AI*=(*ai ei*) P. 118. "Diphthongos à Græcis potissimum mutuati videmur, scilicet, *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, *oy*, *au*, *eû*, *ou*. Eas tamen quàm cæteri Europæ populi plenius et purius pronuntiatione, si quid iudico, exprimus. Si ipsæ simul concretæ, debent in eadem syllaba vim suam, hoc est, potestatem et pronuntiationem retinere, ut certe ex sua definitione debent. Frustra enim distinctæ sunt tam literæ quàm diphthongi, si sono et potestate nihil differunt. Namque *ai* Græcis propria, Latinis quibusdam poetis usurpatam, non *æ* seu *g* cum Græcis: non *ai* divisas vocales cum poetis Latinis, sed *ai* una syllaba utriusque vocalis sonum leniter exprimente, pronuntiamus: qualis vox ægrotis et derepente læsis est plurima." S. p. 8. This should

mean, "not (*ɛ*), nor (*a*,*i*), but (*ai*)," especially as (*ai*) is a common foreign groan answering to the English (*ouu!*). But the following passages render this conclusion doubtful: "*ai* diphthongum Græcam ut sæpe dividunt Latini, dicentes pro *ἡ μάτα* Mai-a, *δ ἄιας* Ai-ax, & *Αυλαί*, aquai. pictai, terrai pro aulæ, aquæ, terræ. Sic nos eandem modo conjunctam servamus, modo dividimus ad significandum diversa, ut G-è traî [*g*- is the consonant (*zh*), è is the muto-guttural] id est traho et sagittam emitto, quam ob id traîet à tractus vocamus. G-è traî, id est prodo et in fraudem traho, licet hoc à trado videri queat. G'-hai, id est habes et teneo: infinitivo hauoir. G-è hai et g-è hé, id est, habeo odio et odi. infinitivo hair, uti à traî traître: à traî traî infinitivos habemus" S. p. 14. "Dièresis, id est divisio unius syllabæ in duas, ut Albai, longai, sylldæ trissyllaba; pro Albæ, longæ, sylldæ dissyllabus. Eadem modo et Galli βόσκον boîs, id est lignum et sylvæ. boîs, id est buxus. Habeo g'-hai, id est teneo, et g-è hai, id est odi" S. p. 56. Hence perhaps Sylvius's diphthong was really (*ɛ*) although he disclaims it. *A*=(*ai*, *ei*, *ɛ*) the last two more frequently, M. 118, Pell., R. 119, B. *A*=(*e*) in *i'ay*, *ie feray*,=(*ai*) in *Esa-y-e*, *abba-y-e*,=(*i*) in *ains*, *ainçois*, *ainsi*, E. nearly the same H. 227 note. The usage of M., Pell., R., B. seems to be as follows.

(*ai*) —aymant, aydant, hair, payant, gayant, ayant, ayans, aye, ayet, ayons, vraye, nayf, M.—paîs, payer, naïue, Pell.—paîant, gaîant, aidant,

paï, aïeul, hair, R.—aimer, in Picardy, B. 583, note 4.

(ei, ei)—soudein, vrey, vreyes (fo. 121) ecriueins, einsi, cêrtein, marrein, eyt, sey, seinte, retereintif, mein, eymé, and throughout the verb fo. 109b–111b, je repondrey, je le ferey, Eyder, j'ey, j'aorey, q'il eyt, &c. M.—einqoes, contreint, certainemant, creinte, dedaigner, eyant, einsi, eide, eidant, eyons, vrei, vreye, Romeine, meintenant, procheinete, je crein conuein, &c. Pell.—fontaine, creindre serteine, eimer, eimant, etein, mein, putein, riet = *agent*, einsi, procheint, kreint = *craint*, eime, eimee, demein, &c. R.—gucine = *gainé*, B.

(e, e)—grammere, fet, rezons, ttreter, mes, fere, deriuezon, mezon, ses = *sais*, nyes = *niais*, nieze, eze, n' et = aît, lesse, contrere, liezon, maouez', trere, fezant, treze = 13, seze = 16, dizezet = 17, deplet, oculere &c. M.—sez, fet, aferes, james, cleremant, mes, fere, malesees = *malaisées*, netre, necesere, “les uns diset eimer, les autres emer,” “les uns diset *plesir*, les autres *plesir* par un e clos', reson, vulguere = *vulgaire*, &c., Pell.—vreement, terminezon, kontrere, pale, pe, mes, parfet, parfes, vulgere, veseau, sere = *serai*, aure = *aurai*, vre, parfes, fes, = *faits*, R.—After the passage quoted supra p. 583, note 4, B. says, “sicut autem posteriores Latini Aulai et Pictai dissyllaba quæ poetæ per διάλυσιν trissyllaba fecerunt, mutant in Aulæ et Pictæ, ita etiam Franci, licet servata vetere scriptura, cœperunt hanc diphthongum per *ae* pronuntiare; sic tamen vt in eius prolatione, neque *a* neque *e* audiatur, sed mixtus ex hac vitraque vocali tertius sonus, is videlicet quem *e* aperto attribuimus. Quum enim vocalis *e* proprie pene conjunctis dentibus enuntietur, (qui sonus est *e* quem clausum vocauimus) in hac diphthongo adjectum *a* prohibet dentes ocludi, et vicissim *e* vetat ne *a* claro illo et sonoro sono proferatur,” B., p. 41.

AOU = (au) M. 142,—“Nous auons une diphthongue de *a* et *ou* que nous escripuons par *auou*, comme en ce mot *Aoust*, qui est en Latin *Mensis Au-*

gustus. Mais cest en ce seul mot, qui se prononce toutefois auioirdhuy presques par la simple voyelle comme oust: et nest ia besoing pour vng mot de faire vne regle: Ceste diphthongue est fort vsitee en Latin, comme en ces mots, *Author*, *Audio*, *Augeo*; ou la premiere syllabe doit estre prononcee comme en Aoust.” R. p. 36.

AU = (au) ? Bar. 806. *AU* = (au, ouu) P. 141, 817, n. “Super hæc, *au eu*, cum Græcis: au, eu, cum Latinis pronuntiamus, ut *αὐτόνους* autônê, *εὐαγγέλιον* euangilê (in quibus tamen *u* seu *u* consonantem sonat, non vocalem Græcis, Latinis, Gallis) audire aûir, neutre neutre” S. p. 8., this is quite unintelligible. *AU* = (ao) M. 141. *AU* = (o) ? Pell. *AU* = (oo) ? “vne voyelle indiuisable; . . . ceste voyelle nest ny Grecque ny Latine, elle est totalement Francoyse,” R. p. 6 meaning perhaps that *au* is not pronounced in this way in Latin or Greek, but only French, R. 143, note. *AU* = (o) “sic vt vel parum vel nihil admodum differat ab *o* vocali,” B. p. 43, see 143, note. “Pronounce *au* almost like *ô* long, as *aulture d'autant*, *aumosne*, almost, but not altogether, as if it were written *ôtre*, *dôtaunt*, *ômône*,” E. That is (oo) instead of (oo) ? Was the change (au, ao, o) ?

E = (e), L. 816, 226, note, G. 61; *E* = (e, e ?), and, when now mute and final = (o, ?) P. 77, 181 n. 5, and 818. “Literæ omnes vt apud Græcos & Latinos, ita quoque apud Gallos sonum in pronuntiando triplicem exprimunt, plenum, exilem, medium. Plenum quidem, exempli gratia, vocales, quando aut puræ sunt, aut syllabas finiunt, vt ago, egi, ibo, oua, vnus. Exilem quando ipsæ *m* vel *n*, in eadem syllaba antecedunt, vt am, em, im, vm, an, en, in, on. Medium, quando consonantes alias, vt, al, el, il, ol, ul. . . . E Gallis tam frequens quàm a Italis et Narbonensibus, sonum plenum obtinens, (id est quoties aut purum est, aut syllabam finit) à Gallis trifariam pronuntiat, plene scilicet, qualiter Latini pronuntiant in verbo legere; tuncque ipsum velut acuti accentus virgula signamus, ob id quòd voce magis exerta profertur. vt amatus amé, bonitas bonté; et ita in cæteris fermè nominibus in as, et in partici-

pūs præteriti temporis primæ. Sed excommunicem, sacrificem et similia, quando scilicet i præcedit, ferè Galli pronuntiant. Deinde exiliter, et voce propemodum muta; quod tum, grauis accentus virgula notamus, quoniam vox in eo languescens velut intermoritur, vt ama aîmès, Petrus Pierrè. Medio denique modo, quod lincola à sinistra in dextram partem æqualiter & recte ducta ostendimus vt amate aîmès. Adde quod syllabam el, nonnunquam voce Latinorum proferimus, vt crudelis cruel, quo modo Gabriel, aliquando autem ore magis hianti: vt illa ellè. E etiam ante r, s, t, x, & quasdam alias consonantes, in omnibus apud Latinos vocem non habet eandem. Natiuum enim sonum in pater, es à sum, et textus pronuntiatione quorundam retinet. In erro autem, gentes, docet, ex, nimis exertum, et, vt sic dicam, dilutum. Sic apud Gallos sono genuino profertur in pér, à par paris; ès à sum; ét, coniunctione: in qua t omnino supprimunt Galli contra rationem. Alieno autem et lingua in palatum magis reducta, diductisque dentibus in erracer pro eracer, id est, eradicare: es, id est assis; écrire [s means s mute], id est scribere ettonè, id est attonitus; à pedo pet: epellet, id est appellare, extraîrè: id est extrahere.” — S. p. 2. The passage is very difficult to understand. His *é* seems to be (*ee*), his *è* (*e*), his *ê* (*e*), and his exceptional *e* to be (*e*). *E* = (*e*, *e*?) M. 119, note, = (*e*, *e*, *e*?) Pell. R. 119, n. “Tertius huius vocalis sonus Græcis et Latinis ignotus, is ipse est qui ab Hebræis puncto quod Seva raptum vocat, Galli vero *e* foemineum propter imbecillam et vix sonoram vocem, appellant.” B. p. 13.—“*e* Feminine hath no accent, and is sometimes in the beginning or midst of a word, as *mesurer*, *mener*, *tacitement*, but moste commonly at the ende of wordes, as *belle fille*, *bonne Dame*, hauing but halfe the sound of the *é* masculine, and is pronounced as the second syllable of these latine wordes *facere*, *legere*, or as the second sillable of *namely*, in English, and like these english wordes *Madame*, *table*, sauing that in the first, the english maketh but too sillables, and we make three, as if it were written *Ma-da-me* and in *table* the english pronounceth it

as if the *e* were betweene the *b* and the *l* thus, *tabel*, and the French doe sound it thus, *ta-ble*; you must take heede not to lift vp your voice at the last *e* but rather depresse it. *e* Feminine in these wordes, *Je lisoie*, *L'escrivoie*, and such like, is not sounded, and serveth there for no other vse then to make the word long: doe not sound *e* in this word *dea*, as, *ouy dea Monsieur*, say *ouy da*: sound this word *Iehan* as if it were written *Ian*,” E. And, similarly: “We do not call, *é*, masculine for the respect of any gender, but because that it is sounded lively: as *dote*, *lapide*, *me*, *te* in^l Latine: . . . and by adding another, *e*, it shall be called *e*, feminine, because that it hath but halfe the sound of the other, *é*: as *tansée*, *fouëtée*, &c. where the first is sharpe, but the other goeth slowly, and as it were deadly. . . . VWheresoeuer you find this, *e*, at the words end, it is an, *e*, feminine. . . . pronounce it as the second syllable of *bodely* in English, or the second of *facere* in Latin,” H. p. 156. The transition in case of the present *e* *muet* seems to have been (*e*, *v*, *o*) in French, and in German to have stopped generally at (*v*), though (*e*) is still occasionally heard, 195, p. 2. *EAU* = (*eao*) M. 137. *EAU* = (*eo*?) Pel. who notes the Parisian error *vn sie d'io* for *un seau d'eau*, p. 17, shewing only a variety in the initial letter. *EAU* = (*eo*), as *chapeau*, *mantear*, R. p. 37.—“In hac triphthongo auditur *e* clausum cum diphthongo *au*, quasi scribas *eo*, vt *eau* aqua (quam vocem maiores nostri scribebant et proferebant addito *e* foemino *eau*),” B. p. 52. “Pronounce these wordes *beau*, *veau*, almoste as if there were no *e*,” E. *ET* = (*ei*, *eei*) P. 118, “*ei* quoque [see Sylvius remarks on *ai*], seu *ei*, non tantum cum Græcis, neque nunc *i*, nunc *e* cum Latinis, hanc in hei interiectione servantibus, in voce autem Græca in *i*, aliquando in *e* permutantibus et pronuntiantibus; nec *ei* diuisas vocales efferimus, sed *ei* monosyllabum, voce scilicet ipsa ex vtraque in unam concreta, ut ingenium engein, non engen, nec engin.” S. p. 8. This ought to mean “not (*i*), nor (*e*), nor (*e*, *i*), but (*ei*),” yet the description cannot be trusted, see *AI*. We find: *peine*, *peintres*, *qeinture*, *s'emerueillat*, &c M. —

Meigrat, meilleures, peine, pareille, Pel.—peine, feindre, peindre, reine, Seine, Elaine = Hélène, R.—“Hæc diphthongus [ei] non profertur nisi mox sequente *n*, et ita pronuntiatur ut paululum prorsus ab *i* simplici differat, vt *guine* vagina [=gaïne], *plein* plenus; cuius tamen fœmininum *plene*, usus obtinuit ut absque *i* scribatur et efferatur, Picardis exceptis, qui ut sunt vetustatis tenaces, scribunt et integro sono pronuntiant *pleine*,” B. p. 45.—“Pronounce these wordes *neige*, *seigne*, or any words where *e* hath *i* or *y*, after it like *é* masculine, as though there were no *i* at al.” E.

EU=(eu, ey?) Barc. 806, L. 815, *EU*=(eu, y) P. 137.—“Eusonium habet varium, aliquando eundem cum Latinis, hoc est plenum, ut cos cotis c^uët, securus sêur, maturus mœur, qualis in euge, Tydeus [this should be (eu)]. aliquando exilem et proprius accedentem ad sonum diphthongi Gaecæ *eu*, ut cêur [in Sylvius the sign is eu with a circumflex over both letters, and a bar at the top of the circumflex, thus indicated for convenience], soror sêur, morior g-ê mœur: nisi quod *u* in his, non velut *f* sonat (quomodo in *au* et *eu*) sed magis in sonum *u* vocalis inclinat (can this mean (ey)?: id scribendo ad plenum exprimi non potest, pronuntiando potest. Sed in his forte et in quibusdam aliis, hæc vocis eû varietas propter dictionum differentiam inuenta et recepta est. Illam eû, hanc eû lineola in longum superne producta, sonum diphthongi minus compactum et magis dilutum significante notamus.” S. p. 9. The difficulty of distinguishing “round” vowels, that is those for which the lips are rounded, from diphthongs, especially in the case of (y, œ),—see Hart, *suprà* p. 167, p. 796, n. col. 1, and B.’s remark below, makes all such descriptions extremely doubtful. S. may have meant (y, œ) or (y, œ) by these descriptions, and these are the modern sounds. *EU*=(ey) M. 137, see note on that page for G. des autels, Pel. B.—“La sixiesme voyelle cest vng son que nous escripuons par deux voyelles *e* et *u*, comme en ces mots, *Peur*, *Meur*, *Seur*, qui semble aussi auoir este quelque diphthongue, que nos ancestres ayent prononcee et escripte, et puis apres,

comme nous auons dict de *Au* que ceste diphthongue ayt este reduicte en vne simple voyelle: ou bien que lon aye pris a peu pres ce que lon pouuoit.” R. p. 9.—“In hæc diphthongo neutra vocalis distinctè sed sonus quidem [quidam?] ex *e* et *u* temperatus auditur, quem et Græcis et Latinis ignotum vix liceat ulla descriptio peregrinis exprimere.” B. p. 46.—“*e* In these words, *du feu* which signifieth fire, *vn peu* a little, *demeurer* to dwell or tarye, *vn Ieu* a Playe or game, *tu veulx* thou wilt, are not pronounced like these: *Ie feu* I was, *I’ay peu* I haue bene able, *I’eu* I had, *Ie les ay veus* I haue seene them: for these last and such like, ought to be pronounced in this wise *Ie fu*, *I’ay pu*, *Iu*, *vus*, as though there were no *e* at all, but *u*, and in the former wordes, *e* is pronounced and ioyned with *u*.” E. As *eu* is frequently interchangeable with or derived from *o*, *ou*, the probability is that the transition was (u, eu, œ, ø) both the sounds (œ ø) being now prevalent, but not well distinguished, see 162, note 3, and 173, note 1. It will be seen by referring to this last place that I had great difficulty in determining what sounds M. Féline intended by “*l’e sourd*” and *eu* in modern French. I there decided that the former was (ø) and the latter (œ). M. Féline has been dead several years, but Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who conversed with him on the subject, says that I have just reversed the values of Féline’s letters, and that Féline’s *œ* *ê* are my (œ, ø) respectively. Hence wherever I have hitherto cited Féline’s pronunciations this correction must be made, and especially on 327, the signs (ø, œ) must be interchanged throughout, as (kœ læ siel kœlœ zhur) for (ke lœ siel kœlœ zhur). It will be seen in the same place, *suprà* 173, note 1, that M. Tarver made no distinction between the two sounds. M. Edouard Paris, in the introduction to his translation of St. Matthew into the Picard dialect of Amiens, brought out by the Prince, makes *e* “sourd” in *le, peu, de, jeu*, meaning, as the Prince informed me (lœ, pœ, dœ, zhœ), and *eu* “ouvert” in *veul peuple*, meaning, on the same authority, (vœf, pœplh). On turning to M. Féline’s

Dictionary I find, as interpreted by the Prince, (lœ, pœ, dœ, zhœ; vœf, pœpl), so that in the two words *le, de*, Féline differs from 'E. Paris, and the latter agrees with me in the sound I have assigned to these words. According to the Prince, half France says (la, da), and the other half (lœ, dœ). In Germany also the sounds (œ, œ) are confused, and have no difference of meaning. In Icelandie they are kept distinct by the different orthographies *u*=(œ), *ö*=(œ), 546, 548. Compare also the mutation or *umlaut*, (*o* . . *i*=*eh*, *e*, *i*), 557.

I=(i, ii) L. 815, P. G. 100, 110, occasionally (*ii* ?) P. 109, 817, n. *I*=(i) S. M. Pel. R. B.—“Our *i* is sounded as *i*, in these english words, *it, is*, or as the english double, *ee* as *si vous auez tiré*, sound as if it were written *see voos aue teeré*.” E.

O=(o) P. 93. “A, i, o, Latinorum pronuntiationem, quod sciam, apud Gallos non mutant.” S. p. 2. The traditional pronuntiation of Latin *o* in Italy is (o); and (o), as distinguished from (œ) which must be attributed to *au*, seems to be the sound accepted for French *o*, by the other authorities. See also B. 131, note col. 2.—“*o* Is sounded as in English, and in the same vse, as *pot, sot, opprobre*, sauing that in these wordes following, *o* is sounded like the english double *oo*, as *mol, fol, sol, col*, which must be pronounced, leauing *l*, thus: *foo, moo, soo, coo*, except this word *Sol*, as *vn escu Sol*, a Crowne of the Sun: where every letter is pronounced.” E.

OEU. “[scribimus] *oeuvre, vocu, oeuf* . . . in quibus tamen omnibus *o* penitus quiescit. Pronuntiamus enim *euure, euf, beuf*.” B. p. 54.

OI=(oi, œe ?) Barc. 806, *OI*=(oi, œe, oa ? P. 130. “oi, non i, cum Græcis, nec œ cum Latinis, sed vi vtriusque vocalis seruata, ut monachus moine: datiuo μοι, id est mihi moi. Eodem sono oy pronuntiamus ut genitivo μοι, id est mei moy.” S. p. 8. This ought to mean *oi*=(oi), and the last remark may refer only to the use of *moi* in French for both μοι, μοι in Greek. Again he says: “Quid quod hæc diphthongus pro e supposita Parrhisiensibus adeo placuit, vt ipsarum quoque mutarum voces in e desinentes, per oi Parrhisi-

enses corrupte pronuntient, boi, eoï, doi, goï, poi, toi, pro be, ce, de, ge, te; Quo minus mirum est Gallos pronomina moi toi soi pronuntiare. Desinant igitur Picardis, puritatem linguæ et antiquitatem integrius seruantibus illudere Galli, quod dicant mi, ti, si raro; et mè, tè, sè à mihi vel mi, tibi, sibi, vel ti, si, analogia primæ personæ, Quamquam moi, toi, soi, tolerabiliora sint, et fortè Græciantes, vt in pronomine ostendimus. Neque posthac in Normannos cauillentur, omnia hæc prædicta et consimilia non per oi, sed per e pronuntiantes, telè, estellè [s used for S.'s mark of mute s], sèè, ser, dé, tect, velè, vérè, ré, lé, amée, &c, aimèrèè, &c [modern, toile, étoile, soie, soir, dois, toit, voile, voire, roi, loi, amaye ? *amabam*, *aimeraye* ? *amarem*] Quam pronuntiationem velut postliminio reuersam hodiè audimus in sermone accolarum huius vrbis et incolarum, atque adeo Parrhisiensium. vt verum sit Horatianum illud, Multa renascentur, quæ iam cecidere. Esse quid hoc dicam ? pro stella estoillè dicunt adhuc nonnulli. pro stellatus autem si qui estoillè, non estellè, pro adueratus (sic enim pro asserta re et affirmata loquuntur) au-oîrè, non au-erè [u = (v)]: endoibte ab indebitatus, id est ære alieno oppressus, non endebte: soietè non seetè, diminutium à sericum pronuntiet, omnes risu emori et barbarum explodere.” S. p. 21. Viewed in relation to modern habits, some of these uses are very curious. *OI*=(oi, œe, œe ?) M. 130. *OI*=(oi, œe, e), Pell. As in the following words: sauroes, François, connoessances, j'avoë, renœt, auœt = *avaient*, pronœt, croë, toë, aparœtre, moë, terœt, voyeë, foës, —“et certain par les Écriz des Vieus Rimeurs François, qu'iz disœt iz aloyet iz fesoyet de troës silabes” Pel. p. 127.—“Aujourd'hui les uns diset eimer, les autres emer, les uns j'emœe les autres metet i ou y an la pénultime e diset j'emœeye, j'oëye e les autres. Les uns diset Reine les autres Roëne. Memes a la plus part des Courtisâns vous orrez dire iz allœt, iz venœt: pour iz aloeœt, iz venœœt.” Pel. p. 85.—*OI*=(oi) moindre, poindre, point, coin, soin, voyant, oyant, lar-

moyant, fouldroyant, and = (œ), œies, voela, &c R. *OI*=(oi, œ) and (oa) faultily, B. 130 note.—“Whereas our Countrymen were wont to pronounce these wordes, *connoistre* to knowe, *apparoistra* it shall appere, *Il parle bon François* he speaketh good French, *Elle est Angloise* she is an English-woman, as it is written by *oi* or *oy*: Now since fewe yées they pronounce it as if it were written thus, *coonêtre, apparétra, fraunsés, Aungléze.*” E. *OU*=(ou ?) L. 815. *OU*=(u) P. 149, “*ou seu où cum neutris* [Græcis et Latinis] pronuntiamus: siquidem nec per u Græcorum more, sed contra u in *ou seu où* persepe mutamus: Hac autem diphthongo caret sermo Latinus.” S. p. 8. 9. As there is no reasonable doubt that old french *ou*=(uu), this passage is quite unintelligible, unless, by saying that the Greeks called it *u*, he meant to imply that they called it (yy). No other passage in S. elucidates this. *OU* is called “o clôs,” =(sh ?) M. 149,

but see 131, note, col. 2; Pell. & R. evidently take *OU*=(u).—“In hac diphthongo neque o sonorum, neque u exile, sed mixtus ex vtroque sonus auditur, quo Græci quidem veteres suum v, Romani verò suum v vocale vt et nunc Germani, efferebant.” B. p. 49.—E. writes the sound *oo* in English letters.

U=(y) L. 815, P. 163, “ordine postremum, ore in angustum clauso, et labiis paululum exporrectis” S. p. 2, probably M. 164; and similarly Pell., R.—“Hæc litera, quum est vocalis, est Græcorum ypsilon, quod ipsa quoque figura testatur, efferturque veluti sibilo constrictis labris efflato,” B. p. 17.—E. 227, note 1; H. 228, note.

UI, is not alluded to by any other authority except P., probably because it occasioned no difficulty, each element having its regular sound (yi) as at present. But P. is peculiar, 110, 818. E. writes the sound *wee* in English letters.

The Nasal Consonants and their effect on the Vowels.

M, “in the frenche tong hath three dyuers soundes, the soundyng of *m*, that is most generall, is suche as he hath in the latyn tong or in our tong. If *m* folowe any of these three vovelles *a*, *e*, or *o*, all in one syllable, he shalbe sounded somthyng in the nose, as I haue before declared, where I have shewed the soundyng of the sayd thre vovels [143, 150. and also: “if *m* or *n* folowe nexte after *e*, all in one syllable, than *e* shall be sounded lyke an Italian *a*, and some thyng in the noose.”] If *m*, folowyng a vowell, come before *b*, *p*, or *sp*, he shalbe sounded in the nose and almost lyke an *n*, as in these wordes *plomb*, *colomb*, *champ*, *domptér*, *circumspection*, and suchlike.” P. folio 3, see also *suprà* 817.—“*M*, est ferme au commencement de la syllabe: en fin elle est liquide, comme *Marie*, *Martyr*, *Nom*, *Bam*, *Arrierebam*: qui a este cause a nos Grammairiens enseigner que *m* deuant *p*, estait presques supprimee, comme en *Camp*, *Champ*. *N* est volontiers ferme au commencement du mot, et en la fin: comme *Nanin*, *non*, mais au milieu elle est quelquefois liquide, comme en *Compaignon*,

Espaignol,” R. p. 24. Here the “liquid” *n* appears to be (nj), and *n* final is “firm,” as well as *n* initial, but a difference between *m* final and *m* initial is found, the latter only being “firm” and the former “liquid,” and this liquidity, which is otherwise incomprehensible, would seem to imply the modern nasality of the previous vowel, were not final *n*, the modern pronunciation of which is identical, reckoned “firm.” The two passages are therefore mutually destructive of each other’s meaning. In his phonetic writing R. makes no distinction between firm and liquid *m*, but writes liquid *n* (nj) by an *n* with a tail below like that of ç.

N=(n) only, Bar. 810. *N* “in the frenche tong, hath two dyuers soundes. The soundyng of *n*, thau is moost generall, is suche as is in latyne or in our tonge. If *n* folowe any of these three vavelles *a*, *e*, or *o*, all in one syllable, he shalbe sounded somthyng in the nose, as I have before declared, where I have spoken of the sayd thre vovelles. That *n* leseth never his sounde, nother in the first nor meane syllables, nor in the last syllables, I have afore declared in the generall

rules. But it is nat to be forgotten, that *n*, in the last syllable of the thirde parsons plureselles of verbes endyng in *ent*, is ever lefte vn sounded." P. fol. 13.—In the phrase *en allant*, M. heard *en nallant*, with the same *n* at the end of the first word as at the beginning of the second, 189.—"Franciscè sic rectè scripseris *Pierre s'en est alle*, quod tamen sic efferendum est, *Pierre s'en nest alle*. Sic *on m'en a parle* ac si scriptum esset, *on m'en na parle*, illo videlicet prioris dictionis *n* daghessato, et cum vocali sequentem vocem incipiente coniuncta, pro eo quod Parisiensium vulgus pronuntiat: *il se nest alle*, *on me na parle*, per *e* fœmineum vt in pronominibus *se* et *me*. Sed hoc in primis curandum est peregrinis omnibus quod antea in literam *m* monui [ita videlicet vt non modò labia non occludantur, sed etiam linguæ mucro dentium radicem non feriat p. 30], nempe hanc literam ante *κ*, *γ*, *χ*, pronuntiare consueuisse annotat ex Nigidio Figulo Agellius." B. p. 32. This description seems to indicate the modern pronunciation nearly. E. and H. have no remarks on M, N.

AM, *AN*=(*au*, *m*, *au*, *n*) P. 143, 190, but this nasalisation is rendered doubtful by his treatment of final *e* as (*o*,) 181, note 5, and 817.—For S. see under *E*, suprà p. 822, col. 1. "Vrei et qu'an Normandie, e ancores an Bretagne an Anjou e an. . . . Meine . . . iz prononcet l'a dauant *n* un peu bien grossemant, e quasi comme s'il i auoet *aun* par diftongue [which according to his value of *au* should = (*oon*), but he probably meant (*aun*)] quand iz diset Normand, Nautes, Aungers, le Mauns: graund chere, e les autres. Mes tele maniere de prononcer sant son terroir d'une lieue." Pell. p. 125. "Pronounce alwaies *an* or *ans*, as if it were written *aun*, *auns*," E. that is, in 1609, (*aan*, *aans*). "Also in these words following, *o* is not sounded, *en paon*,

en faon, *en tahon* . . . all which must be pronounced leauing *o* thus: *paun*, *faun*, *en taun*." E.

AIN=(*ein*), see under *AI*, for numerous examples. *AI*=(*in*), "Also in these wordes, *ains*, *ainçois*, *ainsi*, or any other word where a *i* is ioyned with *in*, a loseth his sound and is pronounced as english men doe pronounce their *I*, as if it were *ins*, *insee*, *insois*. Also *pain*, *vilain*, *hautain*, *remain*, are to bee pronounced as the english *i*." E.—*AI*=(*in*?) "We sound, *ain*, as, *in*: so in steed of *main*, *maintenant*, *demain*, *saint* . . . say, *min*, *mintenant*, *demin*, *sint*: but when *e*, followeth *n*, the vowel *i*, goeth more toward *a*; as *balaine* a whale, *sep'maine* a weeke, and to make it more plaine, *romain*, *certain*, *vilain*, *souuerain*, are pronounced as *romin*, *certin*, *vilin*: but adde *e*, to it, and the pronunciation is clean altered, so that, *romaine*, is as you sound, *vaine*, in English and such like, but more shorter." H. p. 186.

EM, *EN*=(*em*, *en*?) except in *-ent* of the 3rd person plural = (*-et*)? Bar. 810; *EM*, *EN*=(*a*, *m*, *a*, *n*) when not before a vowel, P. 189, "Quid quod Parrhisienses *e* pro *a*, et *contra*, præsertim *m* vel *n* sequente, etiam in Latinis dictionibus, Censorini exemplo, et scribunt et pronuntiant, magna sæpe infamia, dum amantes pro amantes, et *contra* amantes pro amantes, aliâque id genus ratione confundunt." S. p. 11. It is not quite certain whether S. is referring to the Parisian pronunciation of Latin or French, as the example is only Latin, but probably, both are meant. Observe his remarks under *E*, suprà p. 821, col. 2. *EM*, *EN*=(*em*, *en*). M. 189. *EM*, *EN*=(*am*, *an*), Pell. who objects to the pronunciation (*em*, *en*) of M., and says: "mon auis et de deuoir ecrire toutes teles diccions plus tot par *a* que par *e*. Car de dire qu'l i et difrance en la prolacion des deus dernieres silabes de *amant* et *firmamant*, c'est a fere a ceus qui regardet de trop pres, ou qui veult parler trop mignonement: Samblablement antre les penultimes de *conscience* e *alliance*. E le peut on ancor' plus certainement connoetre, quand on prononce ces deus propositions qui sont de *memme* ouye, *mes* de diuers sans, Il ne

m'an mant de mot: e, Il ne
 m'an mande mot. Combien
 que proprement à la rigueur ce ne
 soët ni a ni e. E. confesse que les
 silabes équeles nous metons e auant
 n, me samblet autant malessees a re-
 presanter par letres Latines, que nules
 autres que nous eyons en notre Fran-
 çoes. Brief, l'e qu'on met vulguere-
 mant an science sonne autrement
 que l'e de scientia Latin: la ou
 proprement il se prononce comme an
 François celui de ancien, sien, bien."

Pel. p. 25. "Toutefoes pour con-
 fesser verite, an toutes teles diccions,
 le son n'et pleinement e ni a (antre
 léquez i à diuers sons, comme diuer-
 ses mistions de deus couleurs selon le
 plus e le moins de chacune) toutefoes
 le son participe plus d'a que d'e. E
 par ce que bonnement il i faudroët
 une nouuele letre, ce que je n'intro-
 duï pas bien hardimant, comme j'e
 ja dit quelques foës; pour le moins
 an atendant, il me semble meilleur
 d'i metre un a. E sans doute, il i à
 plus grande distinccion an l' Italien,
 e memes an notre Prouuauçal, an
 prononçant la voyele e auant n. Car
 nous, e eus la prononçons clerement.
 Comme au lieu que vous dites sentir
 e mantir deuers l'a, nous pro-
 nonçons sentir e mentir
 deuers l' e: e si font quasi toutes
 autres nations fors les François."

Pel. p. 125.—R. writes phonetically:
 en, difereñses, enuoier, enfans, &c
 like M.—"Coalescens e in eandem
 syllabam cum m, vt temporel tempo-
 ralis, vel n, siue sola et sonora vt
i'enten ego intelligo: siue adiuncto
d vt *entend* intelligit; vel vt *content*
 contentus; pronunciat ut a. Itaque
 in his vocibus constant constans:
 and *content* contentus, *An* annus,
 and *en* in, diuersa est scriptura,
 pronunciatio verò recta, vel eadem, vel
 tenuissimi discriminis, et quod vix
 auribus percipi possit. Excipe
 quatuor has voculas, *ancien* trissylla-
 bum, antiquus; *lien* vinculum, and
moijen medium, *fien* fimus, dissyl-
 laba; and *quotidien* quotidianus,
 quatuor syllabarum: denique omnia
 gentilia nomina, vt *Parisien*, *Parisi-*
ensis, *Sauoisien* Sabaudiensis; in
 quibus e clausum scribitur et distinctè
 auditur, i and e nequaquam in diph-
 thongum conuenientibus. . . . Alter
 huius literæ sonus adulterinus est idem
 atque literæ i: geminatæ duplicis, in

unam tamen syllabam coalescentis,
 quanvis scribatur *ie*, litera *n* sequente
 atque dictionem finiente. Sic in his
 monosyllabis rectè pronuntiatis ac-
 cidit, *bien* bonum, vel *benè*, *chien*
canus: *Chrestien* Christianum dissyl-
 labum, *mien* meus, *rien* nihil: *sien*
suus; *tien* tuus vel tene, cum com-
 positis; *vien* venio, vel *veni* cum
 compositis: quæ omnia vocabula sic
 à purè pronuntiantibus efferuntur
 ac si scriptum esset *i* duplici *biien*
chiien &c." B. p. 15.—"When e
 feminine maketh one sillable with
 m or n, it is sounded almost like a,
 as *enfantement*, *emmailloter*, pro-
 nounce it almost as *anfaumentant*,
ammallioter, except when i or y
 commeth before *en* as *moyen*, *doyen*,
ancien, or in wordes of one sillable,
 as *mien*, *tien*, *chien*, *rien*, *sien*, which
 be all pronounced by e and not by a.
 Also, all the verbes of the third per-
 son plural that doe end in *ent*, as
Ilz disent, *Ilz rient*, *Ilz faisoient*,
Ilz chantoyent, there e is sounded as
 hauing no n at all, but rather as if
 it were written thus: *ee dizet*, *ee*
riet, *ee faizoyet*, *ee shantoyet*." E.

EIN=(ein, ain), see under *AI* for
 numerous examples, and the quota-
 tion from B. under *EI*. It seems
 impossible to suppose that in the
 xvi th century it had already reached
 its modern form (ea), into which
 modern *in* has also fallen.

IN=(in). No authority notices any
 difference in the vowel, as M., Pell,
 R. all write *in* in their phonetic
 spelling, and it is not one of the
 three vowels, a, e, o, stated by P.,
 under M, N, to be affected by the
 following m or n. See the quota-
 tions from E. and H. under *AIN*.
 E. gives the pronunciation of *hono-*
rez les princes as *ónoré lé preences*,
 which seems decisive.

ON=(on ?) Bar. 810, (u n) P. 149.—M.
 Pel. R. write simply *on*=(on). E.
 gives the pronunciation of *nous en*
parlerons après elles que dira on, as
noou-zan-parleroon-zapré-zelles, *ke*
deera toon.

UN=(yn). "V vocalis apud Latinos
 non minus quàm apud Gallos, sonum
 duplicem quibusdam exprimit se-
 quente n, in eadem syllaba. Vt enim
 illorum quidam cunctus, percunctari,
 punctus, functus, hunc, et alia quæ-
 dam natiuo u vocalis sono mane[n]te
 pronuntiant, ita iidem cum aliis,

pungo, fungor, tanquam per o scripta, pongo, fongor, proferunt, adulterata u vocalis voce genuina. Id quod sequente m, in eadem syllaba omnes Latini vbique faciunt, scamnum, dominum, musarum, et cetera pronuntiantes perinde ac si per o scriberentur: ita vt aliud non sonet o, in tondere, sontes, rhombus, quam u in tundere, sunt, tumba. Atqui o diductiore rictu pronuntiandum est quàm u." S. p. 3. This seems to refer to the French pronunciation of Latin, rather than of French, and it agrees with the modern practice. S. pro-

ceeds thus: "Ita Galli vnus vn communis commun, defunctus defunct, et alia quædam, sono vocalis seruato pronuntiant, [that is, as (yn)]. Contra vndecim u^{nc}e, uncia u^{nc}è, truncus tr^{unc}è, et pleraque alia, non aliter pronuntiant quàm si per o scriberentur." S. p. 4. No other authority mentions or gives the slightest reason for supposing that either u or n differ in this combination from the usual value. P. writes *vn* for his *ung*, and M. has *un, vne*, Pell. has *un*, E. pronounces *il est vn honorable personnage* as *ee-lé-tun-nonorable persoonnage*.

The conclusion¹ from these rather conflicting statements seems to be, that sometime before the xvi th century *ain, en, ein, ien, in, un* were pronounced (ain EEN, EN, ein, in, yn) without a trace of nasality; that during the xvi th century a certain nasality, not the same as at present, pervaded *an, on*, changing them to (a,n, o,n), and perhaps (a,n, o,n), so that, as explained by P. 817, foreigners heard a kind of (u) sound developed, and English people confused the sounds with (au,n, u,n). In the beginning of the xvii th

¹ This conclusion was the best I could draw from the authorities cited, but since the passage was written I have seen M. Paul Meyer's elaborate inquiry into the ancient sounds of *an* and *en*. (Phonétique Française: *An et En* toniques. Mém. de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, vol. 1, pp. 244-276). Having first drawn attention to the occasional derivation of Fr. *an, en* from Latin *in*, he says: "Notons ici que le passage d'*in* à *en* et celui d'*en* à *an* sont deux phénomènes phonétiques d'ordre fort différents. Dans le premier cas l'*n* est encore assez détachée de la voyelle et l'*i* s'éteint en *e*, ce dont on a de nombreux exemples dès le temps des Romains. Le passage de l'*e* à l'*a* ne pourrait se justifier de même. Aussi est-il nécessaire de supposer qu'au temps où le son *en* s'est confondu avec le son *an*, l'*n* faisait déjà corps avec la voyelle. Ce n'est pas *e* pur qui est devenu *a* pur, mais *e* nasalisé qui est devenu *a* nasalisé." p. 246. But this is theoretical. We have the fact that *femme* has become (fam) in speech, constantly so rhyming in French classics, and that *solennel* is (solanel) and a large class of words like *évidemment* (evidamaa) change *em* into *am* without the least trace of a nasal vowel having interposed. Hence the proof that M. Meyer gives of the

early date at which *en an* were confounded in French, which is most complete, exhaustive and interesting, does not establish their pronunciation as the modern nasal vowels. M. Meyer gives as the result of his investigation: "En Normandie, et, selon toute probabilité, dans les pays romans situés sous la même latitude, EN était encore distinct de AN au moment de la conquête de l'Angleterre (1066), mais l'assimilation était complète environ un siècle plus tard." p. 252. He adds: "en anglo-normand *en* et *an* sont toujours restés distincts, et ils le sont encore aujourd'hui dans les mots romans, qui ont passés dans l'anglais," and says we must acknowledge "qu'en ce point comme en plusieurs autres, le normand transporté en Angleterre a suivi une direction à lui, une voie indépendante de celle où s'engageait le normand indigène." After M. Meyer's acute and laborious proof of the confusion of *en, an* in France, and their distinction in England, we need not be astonished if *ai, ei* in England also retained the sound (ai) long after it had generally sunk to (EE) in France. These are only additional instances of the persistence of old pronunciations among an emigrating or expatriated people.

century these sounds, or else (Δ, n , u, n) were adopted by the Frenchman E., in explaining sounds to Englishmen. As to *en*, it became (*an*) or perhaps (*a, n*), even in XVIth century probably not before, but it must have differed from *an*, because Englishmen did not confuse it with (*aun*), many Frenchmen wrote (*en*), and P. 817, does not allow it to be nasal. The complete fusion of *an*, *en*, into one nasal probably took place in XVIIth century, except in the connection *ien*, where *en* either remained (*en*) or was confused with *in*. The combinations *ain*, *in*, seem to have been quite confused, and we have no reason to suppose that they were pronounced differently from (*in*). Whether *ein* followed their example it is difficult to say. Probably it did, as it is now identical in sound. But *un* remained purely (*yn*). We had then at the close of the XVIth century *an*, *on*, *in*, *un* = (*a, n*, *o, n*, *i, n*, *y, n*). Now in the XVIIth or XVIIIth century a great change took place in French; the final *e* became absolutely mute. Simultaneously with this change must have occurred the disuse of the final consonants, so that words like *regard regarde*, which had been distinguished as (*régard regardē*), were still distinguished as (*régar regard*), now (*régar, regard*). It then became necessary to distinguish *un*, *une*, which would have become confused. About this time, therefore, I am inclined to place the degradation of (*in*, *yn*) into (*e, n*, *ə, n*). We should then have the four forms (*a, n*, *o, n*, *e, n*, *ə, n*), which by the rejection of *n* after a nasalized vowel, a phenomenon with which we are familiar in Bavarian German, would become (*a, o, e, ə*). The change thence to (Δ, Δ , Δ, Δ) or ($\Delta\Delta$, $\Delta\Delta$, $\Delta\Delta$, $\Delta\Delta$) the modern forms is very slight. The subject is a very difficult one, but there seems to be every reason to suppose that there was scarcely a shade of nasality in Chaucer's time, except perhaps in *an*, *on*, which generated his (*aun*, *uun*), and that the complete change had not taken place till the end of the XVIIth or beginning of the XVIIIth century. One important philological conclusion would result from this, namely that the modern French nasalisation offers no ground for the hypothesis of a Latin nasalisation. If this last existed, it must be otherwise traced. The history of Portuguese nasalisation now becomes interesting, but I am as yet unable to contribute anything towards it. The fact however that only two romance languages nasalise, while the Indian languages have a distinct system of nasalisation, and nasality is accomplished in Southern Germany, and is incipient, without loss of the *n*, in parts of the United States, is against the inference for Latin nasalisation from the existent nasalisation of French and Portuguese.

Other Consonants.

L mouillé. The nature of the sound cannot be inferred from Bar. 810, though it seems to be acknowledged. —“Whan soeuer the .iiii. letters illa, ille, or illo come to gither in a nowne substantiue or in a verbe, the i nat

hauyng an o, commynge next before hym, they vse to sounde an i shortly and confusely, betwene the last l and the vowel folowyng: albe it that in writtyng they expresse none suche, as these wordes, *ribaudaille, faille*,

bailler, gaillart, ueillart, billart, feuille, fille, cheuille, quocuille, ar-dillon, bastillon, covillon, and suche like, in redynge or spekyng they sounde thus: *ribaudoillie, faillie, baillier, gaillart, ueillart, billart, fueillie, fillie, cheuille, quocuille, ardillion bastillion, covillion*: but, as I haue sayd, if the i have an o commynge next before hym, in all suche wordes they sounde none i after the letter l, so that these nownes substantiues *moylle, uoille, toille*, and suche lyke be except from this rule. . . Except also from this rule *uille* whiche soundeth none i after his latter l." P. i, 7.—"There is two maner of wordes harde for to be pronounced in french. The fyrst is written with a double ll whiche must be sounde togider, as *lla, lle, lly, llo, llu*, as in these wordes, *bailla* gave, *tailla* cutte, *ceulle* gader, *feuille* lefe, *bally* bayly, *fally* fayle, *mouillet* white, *engenoullet* knele, *mallot* a tymer hamer, *feullu* full of leaves, *houllu*." G.—M. and R. have new characters for this sound; Pell. adopts the Portuguese form *Ch*. E. talks of ll which "must be sounded liquid" in some words and "with the ende of the tongue" in others. But H. explains well; "when two, ll, follow, *ai, ei, oi, or ui*, they be pronounced with the flat of the tongue, touching smoothly the roofof the mouth: yong boyes here in England do expresse it verie well when they pronounce *luceo* or *saluto*: and Englishmen in sounding *Collier*, and *Scollion*; likewise the Italian pronouncing *voglio, duoglio*: for they do not sound them with the end, but with the flat of the tongue, as *tailler* to cut, *treillis* a grate, *quenouille* a distaffe, *bouillir* to seethe; where you must note that, *i*, [which he prints with a cross under it to shew that it is mute,] serueth for nothing in words of *aill* and *ouill*, but to cause the two, ll, to be pronounced as *liquides*." H. p. 174. The transition from (li) through (lr) to (lj) was therefore complete in H.'s time. The sound has now fallen generally to (i, j, jh).

N *mouillé*, or GN. Bar. 809 and note, is indistinct.—"Also whan so ever these .iii. letters *gna, gne, or gno* come to gyther, eyther in a nowne substantiue or in a verbe, the reder shall

sounde an i shortly and confusely, betwene the n and the vowel folowynge, as for: *gaigné, seigneur, mignon, champignon, uergoigne, maintiengne, charoigne*, he shall sounde, *gaignia, seigneur, mignon, champion, uergoigne, charoigne, maintiengnie*, nat chaungynge therefore the accent, no more than though the sayd i were vsounded. But from this rule be excepted these two substantiues *signe* and *régne*, with their verbes *signer* and *regner*, which with all that be formed of them the reader shall sounde as they be wrytten onely." P.—"The second maner harde to pronounce ben written with *gn*, before a uowell, as *gna, gne, gni, gno, gnu*. As in these wordes *gagna* wan, *saigna* dyd blede, *ligne* lyne, *pigne* combe, *uigne* vynes, *tigne* scabbe, *compagne* felowe, *laigne* swell, *mignon* wanton, *mignarde* wanton, ye shal except many wordes that be so written and nat so pronounced, endyng specially in *e*, as *digne* worthy, *cigne* swanne, *magnanime* hygge corage, etc. They that can pronounce these wordes in latyn after the Italians maner, as (*agnus, dignus, magnus, magnanimus*,) have bothe the understanding and the pronouncynge of the sayde rule and of the wordes." G.—M. & R. have distinct signs for this sound; see R. 826 under N. Pell retains *gn*.—"When you meete *gn*, melt the *g* with the *n*, as *ognon, mignon*, pronounce it thus, *onion, minion*." E.—"We pronounce *gn*, almost as Englishmen do sound, *minion*; so melting, *g*, and touching the roofof the mouth with the flat of the tongue, we say *mignon, compaignon*: say then *compa gne*, and not *compag-ne*. When the Italian saith *guadagno, bisogno*, he expresseth our *gn*, verie well." H. p. 198. It is not possible to say whether the original sound was (ni, nr) or (qi, qr), but from H. it is clear that at the beginning of the xvii th century it was (nj), as now.

Final consonants were usually pronounced, L. 815, and all authorities write them, although we find in P. i, 27, "Whan so euer a frenche worde hath but one consonant onely after his last vowel, the consonant shalbe but remissely sounded, as *auec, soyff, fil, beaucoup, mot*, shalbe sounded in maner *aue, soy, fi, beaucou, mo*. how

be it the consonant shall haue some lyttell sounde: but if t. or p folowe a or e, they shall haue theyr distinct sounde, as *chat, débt, ducdt, combdt, handp, decret, regrét, entremét*; and so of all suche other." These examples cross the modern practice of omission and sounding in several places.

H is a very doubtful letter, B. 805 and note 3. The question is not whether in certain French words *H* was aspirated, but whether the meaning attached to "aspiration" in old French was the same as that in modern French or in English. P. gives a list of 100 "aspirated" words. B. 67 says: "Aspirationis nota in vocibus Græcis et Latinis aspiratis, et in Francicam linguam traductis, scribitur quidem sed quiescit," except *hache, hareng, Hector, Henri, harpe*.

The other consonants present no difficulty. We may safely assume *B*=(b), *C* (k, s), *Ch* (sh), *D* (d), *F* (f), *G* (g, zh), *J* (zh), *suprà* p. 207, *K* (k), *L* (l), *P* (p), *Qu* (k), *R* (r), *S* (s), *T* (t), *V* (v), *X* (s, z), *Z* (z).

The rules for the omission of consonants when not final, seem to agree entirely with modern usage, and hence need not be collected.

Sufficient examples of French phonetic spelling according to M., Pell., and R. have been given in the above extracts. But it is interesting to see the perfectly different systems of accentuation pursued by P. and M., and for this purpose a few lines of each may be transcribed.

From P. i, 63. "Example how the same boke [the *Romant of the Rose*] is nowe tourned into the newe Frenche tong.

*Maintes gentes dient que en songes
Ne sont que fables et mensonges
Mais on peult telz songes songier
Que ne sont mye mensongier
Ayns sont apres bien apparrant, &c.*

*Máintoíandiet, kansóvngos
Nesovnkofables e mansongos
Maysovnpevttezsóvngosovngiér
Kenesovnmýomansovngiér
Aynsovntaprebienapparávnt, &c.*

In M. the accent is illustrated by musical notes; each accented syllable corresponds to F of the bass, and each unaccented syllable to the G below, so that accentuation is held to be equivalent to ascending a whole tone. So far P. agrees with M., for he says (book 1, ch. 56) "Accent in the frenche tonge is a lyftinge vp of the voyce, vpon some wordes or syllables in a sentence, aboue the resydue of the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence, so that what soeuer worde or syllable as they come toguyder in any sentence, be sowned higher than the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence vpon them, is the accent." The following are some of M.'s examples, the accented syllable being pointed out by an acute: "*ç'ét mon máleur, ç'ét món frere, ç'et món am' é mon éspoer, ç'ét ma grán'mere, ç'ét mon bón compánon, ór et íl bon ámy, jé*

"Contra verò in vernaculis Gallicis scribitur simul et pronunciatu aspiratio, ut in illis quæ à Latinis non aspiratis deducuntur," and, as to the quality of the sound, he says: "aspirationem Franci quantum fieri potest emolliunt, sic tamen vt omnino audiatur, at non asperè ex imo gutture efflata, quod est magnoperè Germanis et Italis præsertim Tuscis observandum." B. 25. This seems to point to the modern hiatus.

S was constantly used as an orthographical sign to make *e* into *é*, to lengthen *a* and so on. Hence many rules and lists of words are given for its retention or omission, which may be superseded by the knowledge of the modern orthography, with the usages of which they seem precisely to agree.

VOES á TOE, É TOE á MOE, il n'et pas fórt bon, ç'ét vn bién bon báton, món compánon, á vizíon, mon cónfrere, vit sájement."

P. constantly admits the accent on the last syllable, M. says it is a Norman peculiarity, which is very disagreeable, and proceeds thus: "il faot premierement entendre qe james l'acçent eleué, ne se rencontr' en la dernière syllabe des dissyllabiques, ne polysyllabiques. E qe le ton declinant ou çirconflexe, ne se treuue point q'en la penultime syllabe, si ell' et long' e la dernière brieue, pouruu q' elle ne soit point terminé' en e brief: car allora il y peut auenir diuersité de ton, selon la diuers' assiete du vocable. . . . car il faot entendre qe le' monosyllabes en notre lange, font varier le' tons d' aocuns vocables dissyllabiques, ny n'ont eu' memes aocun ton stable." fo. 133 a.

Palsgrave says: "Generally all the wordes of many sillables in the frenche tong, haue theyr accent eyther on theyr last sillable, that is to say, sounde the laste vowell or diphthong that they be written with, hygher than the other vowels or diphthongues commyng before them in the same worde. Orels they haue theyr accent on the last sillable save one, that is to say, sounde that vowel or diphthong, that is the last saue one hygher than any other in the same worde commyng before hym: and whan the redar hath lyftvp his voyce at the soundyng of the said vowel or diphthong, he shal whan he commeth to the last sillable, depresse his voyce agayne [compare suprâ p. 181, note, col. 2], so that there is no worde through out all the frenche tonge, that hath his accent eyther, on the thyrde sillable, or on the forth sillable from the last, like as diuerse wordes haue in other tonges: but as I haue sayd, eyther on the very last sillable, orels on the next sillable onely. And note *that* there is no worde in the frenche tong, but he hath his place of accent certaine, and hath it nat nowe vpon one sillable, nowe vpon another. Except diuersite in signification causeth it, where the worde in writtyng is alone." Book I. chap. lviii.

B. is very peculiar; he begins by saying: "Sunt qui contentant in Francica lingua nullum esse accentibus locum," which shews, in connection with the diversity of opinion between P. and M., that the modern practice must have begun to prevail. Then he proceeds thus: "Sunt contrâ qui in Francica lingua tonos perinde vt in Græca lingua constituent. Magnus est vtrorumque error: quod mihi facile concessuros arbitror quicumque aures suas attentè consuluerint. Dico igitur Francicæ linguæ, vt & Græcæ & Latinæ, duo esse tempora, longum vnum, alterum breue: itidemque tres tonos, nempe, acutum, grauem, circumflexum, non ita tamen vt in illis linguis obseruatos. Acuunt enim Græci syllabas tum longas tum breues, & Latinos idem facere magno consensu volunt Grammatici, quibus planè non assentior. Sed hac de re aliàs. Illud autem certò dixerim, sic occurrere in Francica lingua tonum acutum cum tempore longo, vt nulla syllaba producat quæ itidem non attollatur: nec attollatur vlla quæ non itidem acuatur, ac proinde sit eadem syllaba acuta quæ producta & eadem grauis quæ correpta. Sed tonus vocis intentionem, tempus productionem vocalis indicat . . .

Illa verò productio in Francica lingua etiam in monosyllabis animadvertitur, quæ est propria vis accentus circumflexis." B. therefore seems to confuse accent and quantity, as is the case with so many writers, although he once apparently distinguishes an accented from an unaccented long syllable, thus in *entendement*, he says that although the two first are naturally long, the acute accent is on the second; whereas it would be on the last in *entendement bon*, on account of the added enclitic. He lays down important rules for quantity, and without repeating them here, it will be interesting to give his examples, marking those which he objects to¹. *Wrong* mèstrëssë mësse fëstë pröphëstë misëricördë pärölë. *Right* mais-trëssë mësse faictë pröphëtë misëricördë pärölë; ie veü, tu veüx, il veüt; veü *votum*, veüx *vota*; beüf beüfs, neüf neüfs, eülx, ceülx; fït *fecit*, fist *faceret*, füt *fuit*, füst *esset*, eüt *habuit* eüst *haberet*, èst, röst, töst, plaist *placet*, plüst *plueret*, èt *et*, plaïd *contentio iudicælis*, pleüt *placuit*, plüt *pluit*; ie meür *moriôr*, tu meürs *moreris*, meür *maturus*, meürs *maturî*, meüre *matura*, sî ië dî, quî èst cë. Rule 1, misëricördë, èntëndement, ènvîë=èn vië, ènvîëux. Rule 2, èndörmîr, feïndrë, teïndrë, böntë, tëmpörëï, bôn päis, sömmë cömmë dönnë bönnë sönnë tönnë, cönsömmë ördönnë rësönnë èstönnë, sönger besöngne; ènnëmi. Rule 3, äimëë föndüë vëlüë; müë nüë, düë fîë lië ämië jouë louë mouë nouë aïjë, plaijë ioïjë voijë, ènvoijë; müer nüer fier lier ioüer loüer nouer, ènvoiÿër. Rule 4, aültre, aültant, haültain, haültëmënt, haültainë, haült èt droïct. Rule 5, s=(z), iäsër braisë saïson plaïsîr caüsë bisë misë prisë ösër chösë pösër choïsîr loïsîr noïsë toïsë üsër rüsë müsë frisë caüsërä ösërä embräsërä repösërä choïsîrä prisërä, cuïsînë, üsërä, accüsërä, excüsërä, üsägë, visägë, cämüsë; prisëë accüsëë excüsëë [the last è should evidently be ë]; pësër gësîr gësînë; trëzë quätörzë, moïsî, crämoïsî, voïsîn couïsîn, voïsînë couïsînë. Rule 5 bis, aillë baillë caillë faillë mailleë paillë saillë taillë vaillë. Rule 6, pässe, aimässe, ouïsse. Rule 7, (s mute) hästë islë, bläsmë, aimäsmë, èsmeütë, èsmouïvoir, blësmë mësmë, cärësmë bäptësmë, èscrivîsmë, seüsmës, rëceümës, vîsmës, fîsmës, èntëndîsmës, Cösmë; äsnë älsnë [erroneous in original], Rösnë; èspërön èspërönnë, [erroneous in original], èspiër; èst röst töst füst fist eüst, hästë tästë tëstë bëstë èstrë maïstrë naïstrë fëstë gîstë vîstë croüstë vouüstë; döсноïÿër; èstë "*pro verbo esse et pro ætate*," röstîr röstë; nöstrë maïson, vöstrë raïson, ië suïs vöstrë, pätnöstrë. Rule 8, cataïrrë, càtaïrreux; ferrër guërrë ferrë pouïrrîr, èntërrër. Finally B. notices the absence of accent in enclitics, and the final rising inflection in questions, observing, in accord with Meigret, "cuius pronuntiationis vsque adeo sunt obseruantes Normanni, vt etiam si nihil interrogent, sed duntaxat negent aut affirmant aliquid, sermonis finem acutè, non sine aurium offensione pronuntient."

P.'s rules amount to placing the accent on the penultim when the

¹ Beza's treatise is now very accessible in the Berlin and Paris reprint, 1868, with preface by A. Tobler. Un-

fortunately the editor sometimes corrects the original in the text itself.

last contains what is now mute *e*, and on the last in all other cases. Both M. and P., make accent to be a rising inflexion of the voice. The French still generally use such an intonation, but it does not seem to be fixed in position, or constant in occurrence upon the same word, but rather to depend upon the position of the word in a sentence, and the meaning of the speaker. In modern French, and apparently in older French (*suprà* p. 331) there is nothing approaching to the regular fixed stress upon one syllable of every word, which is so marked in English, the Teutonic languages, and Slavonic languages, in Italian, Spanish and Modern Greek. The nature of the stress and the effect on unaccented syllables differ also materially in different languages. In English the syllables following the principal stress are always much more obscure than those preceding it. This is not the case at all in Italian. In Modern Greek, the stress, though marked, is nothing like so strong as in English. Mr. Payne considers that the ancient Normans had a very strong stress, and that the syllables without the stress, and which generally preceded it, became in all cases obscure. With the extremely lax notions which we find in all ancient and most modern especially English writers, on the questions of accent, vocal inflexion, and stress, with its effect on quantity, it is very difficult to draw any conclusions respecting ancient practice. A thorough study of modern practice in the principal literary languages of the world, and their dialects, seems to be an essential preliminary to an investigation of ancient usage.

E. gives 12 dialogues in French and English with the pronunciation of such French words as he considers would occasion difficulty, indicated in the margin. The following list contains all the most important words thus phoneticised. The orthography both ordinary and phonetic is that used by E.

Achepté asheté, *accoustrements* acoo-
trements, *advancerez* auauunseré, *aiguillon*
éegelleeoon, *ainsi* insee, *m'ameine* ma-
méne, *d'Anglois* daungléz, *au* ó, *aucun*
ókun, *aucune* ókune, *au-iour-d'hay*
oioordwee, *Pauline* lóne, *aultre* ótre,
aultrement ótremen, *d'aultruy* dótrwee,
l'auumonies lómónier, *aussi* óssee,
autant ótaun.

Baillez ballié balliez, *baptisez* bateezé,
besognes bezoonies, *blancs* blauns, *boeuf*
béuf, *boiste* boite, *bordure*, bordure,
bouche booshe, *bouilli* boollée, *bouillié*
boollié, *bracelets* braselé, *brillands*
brilliouns, *brusler* brúler.

Caillette kalliette, *ceinture* sinture,
cette ste, *chair* sher, *chauld* shó, *chesnaye*
shénéye, *cheuaultz* shenós, *cheueleure*
sheuelure, *cheuille* sheueellie, *chrestiens*
kretiens, *cignet* scenet, *cieux* seeus cieus,
cœur keur, *coiffeure* coifure, *col* coo,
commandé coommaundé, *compaignie*
companie, *concepuoir* coonseuoir, *con-*

naissance koonéssance, *corps* cór, *costé*
kóté, *cousteau* kootéó, *couster* cootera,
crêpe crépe, *crispelus* krépelu, *cure-*
oreille curorellie.

Debuons deuoons, *demandérons* de-
maunderoons, *demesler* démeler, *de-*
sieuner déiuner, *desnouët* dénooet,
despouillez depoolleez, *dict* deet, *dîner*
deener, *doigts* doi, *doubte* doote, *doux*
doó.

Enfants anfauns, *enseignant* ansé-
neeaunt, *enseignant* anséniet, *l'entends*
iantan, *m'entortiller* mantorteellier,
eschorchee ékorsheé, *escondre* écoon-
dweere, *d'escarlade* dékarlate, *l'escrivy*
lécreeré, *escuyer* équier, *d'esgaré* dégar,
dégart (before a vowel), *esgaré* egaré
m'esgratignez mégrateeniez, *esguiere*
eguiere, *l'esguiser* légu-yzer, *esguilles*
egullies, *l'esguillette* légeellieéte, *esleux*
élúz, *esloignez* élonié, *l'esmeraude* léme-
róde, *d'espargner* déparnier, *espaulles*
épólle, *espingle* épeengle, *l'espingleray*

lepeengleré, esprit espreet, est è, qu'estant ketaun, estes éte, estiez étiez, l'estomach lestomak, estriller étreelier, l'esturgeon léturgeon, l'estuy letwee, esveillée éuellée, esuentail evantail, mezeuserez mesceuzeré.

Fagots fagos, faillent falliet, fait fét, faite fét, fauldra fôdra, faut-il fô-tee, fenestres fenetres, ferets férés, felle feellie, filleul feellieul, filleule feellieule, filz feez, fondements foon-demans, François Frauncez, fruiet frweet, fustaine fûtine.

Gaillard galliard, gands gauns, gauche gôshe, gentilhomme ianteellioomme genoulx, genoos, goust goot.

Habille abeelié, m'habiller mabeellier, hastes hâté, haute hôt, heure eur, hiersoir ersoir, homme oomme, honneur oonneur, houppe hoope, huit wet, l'huis luee, humains vmins, humbles vmbale, humilité vmeeleeti.

D'iceluy deecelwee, qu'ils kee.

Jesus Christ Iesu-kreet, ioyaux ioyôs.

Liet leet, longs loon.

Mademoiselle madmoyzelle, main min, maistresse, métresse, maluaise mûéze, mancheon maunshoon, marastre mâratre, meilleur melliour, meittes meete, melancholie melankolie, merveille meruellie, mesme même, mets mé, monstrez moontre, morfonds morfoons, moucheoir mooshoir, mouiller moolier, moult, moo.

Neantmoings neaunmoins, nepveu neuveu, n'est né, niece niese, noeud neu,

nom noon, nostre nôtre, nouveauté nooveté, nuict nweet, n'out nount.

Obmetons ometoons, ocelladées eul-liadé, œuvres euvre, ostez ôté.

Parapetz parapéz, pareure parure, peigneor piniour, peignez péniez, pieds, pié, plaist plét, pleu plu, plustost plutô, poitrine poitreene, poignards poniars, poignet poniet, pouldreux poudreus, pour poor, prestes prêtes, prestz prés, prochains proshins, propiciation pro-peeseeasseeon, pseaulmes séômes, puis-sant pueessaunt.

Quatrains kadrins.

Raccoustréz racootrez, receu resu, rends ran, rescomfort récomfor, responce reponse, respondre répoondre, rhume rume, rideaulx reedeô, rognez roonié, ronds roons, rosmarin roomarin, royaulx royôs, rubends ruban.

Sans sauns, sainct sint, sainte sinte, saints sinz, sasse sâle, sauûegarde soue-garde, sçais sé, seconds segoôn, seiche sêshe, sept set, soeur seur, solz soo, spirituels speercetué.

Tailleur tallieur, tant taun, tantost tauntôt temps, tån tans, teste tête, tost tôt, touche tooshe, tousiours tooioor, tout too, toutes toote.

Vynze onze.

Veoir voir, veoy voy, verds vers, vestir véteer, vestu vêtu, veu vu, veulx veuz, vey vee, vice veese, viste vette [veete?], vistement veetemant, vous voo.

At the close of the XVIII th century Sir William Jones (Works 1799, 4to, i, 176) supposes an Englishman of the time to represent "his pronunciation, good or bad," of French, in the following manner, which he says is "more resembling the dialect of savages than that of a polished nation." It is from an imitation of Horace by Malherbe.

Law more aw day reegyewrs aw nool otruh parellyuh,

Onne aw bo law preeay :

Law crooellyuh kellay suh boushuh lays oreellyuh,

Ay noo laysuh creeay.

Luh povre ong saw cawbawn oo luh chomuh luh couvruh

Ay soozyet aw say lwaw,

Ay law gawrduh kee velly ô bawryayruh dyoo Loovruh

Nong dayfong paw no rwaw !

The interpretation may be left to the ingenuity of the reader, and the orthography may be compared to the following English-French and French English, in Punch's Alphabet of 25 Sept., 1869.

M ay oon Mossoo kee ponx lweemaym tray

Bowkoo plooo bong-regardong ker vraymong ilay !

N iz é Ninglicheman ! Rosbif !! Olraï !

Milor ! Dam ! Comme il tourne up son Nose ! O maïe aïe !!

Since the above pages were in type, I have been favoured by Mr. Payne with a full transcript of that part of the Mag. Coll. Oxford MS. No. 188, (suprà p. 309, n. 1), which contains the 98 rules for French spelling, partially cited by M. F. Génin in his Preface to the French Government reprint of Palsgrave. This MS. is of the xvth century, but the rules appear to have been much older. They incidentally touch upon pronunciation, and it is only those portions of them which need here be cited. The numbers refer to the rules.

E.

"1. Diccio gallica dictata habens primam sillabam vel mediam in E. stricto ore pronunciatam, requirit hanc literam I. ante E. verbi gratia bien. chien. rien. pierre. miere. et similia." Here is a distinct recognition of a "close e," and the examples identify the sounds in *père, mère*, now open, but close according to the orthoepists of the xvth century, with the vowel in *bien, chien, rien*, which therefore tends to confirm the opinion expressed above p. 829, that *en* was not then nasalized in the modern sense. "2. Quando-cumque hec uocalis. E. pronunciat acuta per se stare debet sine huius .I. processione verbi gratia .beuez. tenez. lessez." As each example has two syllables in *e*, it is difficult to say whether the rule applies to one or both and hence to understand the meaning of "acute *e*." The last *e* in each is generally regarded as "masculine," but the first in "*beuez, tenez*," was the "feminine" and in "*lessez*" the "open" according to other writers. Nor is this obscurity much lightened by the following rules: "3. Quamvis E. in principio alicuius sillabe acute pronunciat in fine anterioris sillabe I. bene potest preponi vt bies. priez. lez. affiez &c." Here if *bies = biaux*, we have the same mixture of masculine and open *e* as before. The two next rules seem to call the "feminine *e*," that is, the modern *e* mute, a "full *e*." "4. Quodcumque adiectivum feminini generis terminat in .E. plene pronunciat geminabit ee. vt tres honouree dame. 5. Quamvis adiectivum masculini generis terminet [in ?] E plene pronunciatum non geminabit .E. vt treshonouree sire nisi ad differenciam vne Comittee anglicè a shire. Vu comite anglie a counte 6. Quamvis adiectivum masculini generis non terminet in E. Vt vn homme vient. homme adiectivum tamen feminini generis terminabit in simplici cum

se implere [?] pronunciat vt meinte femme vne femme." There can be no doubt that *e* feminine was fully pronounced, but how far it differed from the *e* "stricto ore," and *e* "acute pronunciatum," it is not possible to elicit from these curt remarks. It is observable that *eo* and *e* are noted as indifferent spellings in certain words now having the "muto-guttural *e*." "8. Item ille sillabe. ie, ce. ieo. ceo. indifferenter possunt scribi cum ceo vel ce sine o."

S.

"12. Omnia substantia terminancia per sonum .S. debent scribi cum .S. vt signurs lordes. dames ladyes." This plural *s* was therefore audible, but the writer immediately proceeds to point out numerous exceptions where *z* was written for *s*, as 13. in *gent*, plural *gents* or *gentz*, 14. in *filz*, 15. or *x* for *s* in *deux loialx*, 16. or the common contraction *9* for *us* in *no9 = nous*, 17. in *nos vos* from *noster vester*, either *s* or *z* may be used. In all these cases it would however appear that (*s*) was actually heard, and if any meaning is to be attached to "aspiration" we must suppose that an (*s*) was sounded in the following case: "18. "Item quodcumque aliqua sillaba pronunciat cum aspiratione illa sillaba debet scribi cum s. et t. loco aspiratione verbi gratia est fest pleist." The next is obscure. "19. Item si .d. scribitur post .E. et .M. immediate sequitur d. potest mutari in s." In 21. 93. and 94. we find *s* mute in *fismes, duresme, mandasmes*, and probably by 96. in *feist toust*, and possibly also in: "73. Item in verbis presentis et preteriti temporum scribetur. st. a pres I e. o. v. com baptiste fist est test lust &c.," though this partially clashes with 18.

U after L, M, N.

"23. Item quodcumque hec litera l. ponitur post A. E. et O. si aliquid consonans post l. sequitur l. quasi v. debet pronunciaci verbi gratia. malme

mi soule. loialment bel compaignoun." This does not mean that *al*, was pronounced (ay), but that it was pronounced as *au* was pronounced, and this may have been (ao) as in Meigret or (oo) as in other orthoepists of the sixteenth century. With this rule, and not with S, we must connect: "67. Item aliquando s. scribitur et vsonabitur cum ascun sonabitur acun," aucun? as M. Génin transcribes. "36. Item iste sillabe seu dicciones quant grant Demandant sachant et huiusmodi debent scribi cum simplici .n. sine .v. sed in pronunciatione debet .v. proferri &c." This can scarcely mean that *an* was pronounced as if written *aun* with *au* in the same sense as in the last rule cited. It must allude to that pronunciation of *an* as (aun) to which Palsgrave refers and which introduced an English (aun), *suprà* p. 826, col. 1, and therefore confirms the older English accounts.

Oy and E.

"26. Item moy. toy. soy. possunt scribi cum e. vel o. per y. vel i. in differenter. — 58. Item in accusatio singulari scribetur me in reliquis casibus moy." This, together with Bareley's names of the letters, p. 805, is well illustrated by the curious passage from Sylvius, p. 824.

Final Consonants.

"27 Item quodcumque aliqua dictio incipiens a consonante sequitur aliquam dictionem terminantem in consonante in rationibus pendentibus [in connected phrases] consonans interioris dictionis potest scribi. Sed in pronunciacione non proferri vt a pres manger debet sonari a pre manger. — 29. Item I. M. N. R. T. C. K. quamvis consonans subsequitur bene possunt sonari per se vel per mutacionem litere." Does this *mutation* refer to the following? "51. Item scias quod hec litere C. D. E. F. G. N. P. S. et T. Debent mutari in sono in strictura c. ante uocalem vt clerici. clers et debet in gallico clers rudri homines ruds hommes et debet sonari ruz hommes. bones dames debent bon dames et tunc .n. sonari solempne vyfs hounte [homme?] loget vis homme et sic De alijs. — 52. Item quando ista diocio graunt sight magnitudinem adiungitur cum feminino genere ita vt e sit sequens

t. mutatur in D. vt grande dame grande charge." Observe this xvth century use of English *sight* for *great*, as an adjective. — "53. Item quando grant adiungitur masculino generi vt grant seignour vt quando signat confessionem non mutabitur t. in D. quamuis E. sequitur vt iay grante."

GN.

"39. Item quodcumque hec litera .n. scribitur immediate post g. quamuis sonet ante g. non debet immediate prescribi vt signifant &c. — 40. Item si .n. sonat g. et non subsequitur bene potest A immediate prescribi. — 41. Item seignour ton seignour son seignour. — 92. Item quodcumque .n. sequitur I in media dictione in diuersis sillabis g debet interponi vt certainement be-nignement &c. sed g non debet sonari." All these seem to refer awkwardly and obscurely to (nj).

GU, QU.

"46. Item qi qe quant consueuerunt scribi per k sed apud modernos mutatur k. in q. concordent cum latino I k. non reperitur in qū qd' quis sed I. — 54. Item posr G. vel E. quamuis v scribatur non debet sonari vt quatre guerre. Debent sonari qatre gerre."

Words Like and Unlike.

"50. Item diuersitas stricture facit Differentiam aliquam quamuis in voce sint consimiles verbi gratia ciel seel seal celee ceele coy quoy moal moel cerf serf teindre. tenir attendre [Génin has: teindre tendre tenir attendre] esteant esteyant aymer amer foail fel stal [Génin: feal] veele viel veile veile ville vill' [Génin: veele viel veile ville vill] brahel breele erde herde euerde essil huissel assel nief neif suef noef [Génin: soef] boalle. baile bale baale littere fornier forer forier rastel rastuer mesure meseire piel peel berziz berzi grisil greele grele tonne towne neym neyn." The transcript was made by Mr. Parker of Oxford, but the proof has not been read by the original; Génin certainly often corrected as he edited; here the transcript is strictly followed. — "86. Item habetur diuersitas inter apprendre prendre et reprendre oez oeps vys et huys kunyl et kenil. — 90. Item habetur diuersitas inter estreym strawe et estreyn hanel. — 91. Item inter daym et dayn."

These seem to be all the passages bearing upon the present dis-

cussion. They are not numerous, nor very important, nor always very intelligible, but they seem all to point to such a previous state of pronunciation of French, as our English experience would lead us to suppose might have preceded that of the xvith century as so imperfectly colligible from the writings of contemporary orthoepists.

It should also be mentioned that the Claudius *Holyband* whose *French Littelton* is described on p. 227, note, under date 1609, is called *Holliband* in a previous edition of the same book, dated 1566, in the British Museum. This is 3 years before Hart's book, and as this older edition also contains the passage cited *suprà* p. 228, note, saying that the English seem to Frenchmen to call their *u* like *you*, and to name *q* *kiou*, whereas the Frenchmen pronounce like the Scotch *u* in *gud*, while Hart gives *iu* as the English sound, and identifies it with the Scotch and French vowels (see especially p. 796, note, col. 1, [88])—we are again led into uncertainty as to the sound that Hart really meant, and to consider that the (iu) sound, though acknowledged by no orthoepist before Wilkins, may have penetrated into good society at a much earlier period. Again, the confusion of spelling in *Holyband* and *Holliband*, reminds us of Salesbury's identification of *holy* and *holly* (*suprà* p. 779, l. 2 from bottom). And lastly it should be mentioned that this name is but a translation, and that the author's real name, as he writes it elsewhere, is *Desainliens* (under which his works are entered in the British Museum Catalogue) being the same as *Livet's de Saint-Lien*, or *à Santo Vinculo* (*suprà* p. 33, l. 8 from bottom). The Latin work there cited is not in the British Museum, but as its date is 1580, and the 1566 edition of the French *Littelton* there preserved does not differ sensibly from that of 1609 here quoted, this occasions no incompleteness in the present collections from French Orthoepists of the xvith century.

§ 4. *William Bullokar's Phonetic Writing, 1580, and the Pronunciation of Latin in the xvith Century.*

Bullokar concludes his *Book at Large* with a prose chapter between two poetical ones. The poetry is so bad that the reader will be glad to pass it over. The prose contains a little information amidst an overpowering cloud of words; and as a lengthened specimen of this important contribution to the phonetic writing of the xvith century is indispensable, I shall transliterate his Chapter 12. There is some difficulty in doing so. Long *a*, *e*, *y*, *o* are lengthened by accents thus *á*, *é*, *ý*, *ó* when they apparently mean (*aa*, *ee*, *ii*, *oo*), and *i* is said to be lengthened by doubling as *iy*, *yi*, when it would also be (*ii*) according to the only legitimate conclusion at which I could arrive in treating of Bullokar's pronunciation of this sound, pp. 114, 817, note. The mention of this combination *iy*, *yi*, which amounts to a reduplication of *i*, although I have not found any instance in which it had been used by Bullokar, and the constant omission of any distinction between long and short *i*, confirm the

former theory that he called long *i* (*ii*). In the present transcript only such vowels are marked long as Bullokar has actually so marked, or indicated by rule, as (*uu*, *yy*). Bullokar's doubled consonants, though certainly pronounced single, have also been retained. Bullokar has also a sign like Greek ζ which he uses for both *s* and *z*, but which he identifies with *s*. It will be transliterated (*s*) or (*z*) according to circumstances. Bullokar's grammatical "pricks and strikes" are entirely omitted. They have no relation to the sound, and are quite valueless in themselves, although he laid great store by them. On the other hand I have introduced the accent mark, for which he has no sign. The title of the chapter is left in ordinary spelling.

¶ The 12. Chapter.

Sheweth the vse of this amendment, by matter in prose with the same ortography, conteining arguments for the premisses.

Hiir-in iz sheu'ed an ek'sersiiz of dhe amend'ed ortog'rafi biifoor sheu'ed, and dhe yys of dhe priks, striks, and noots, for devi'd'iq of sil'lab'lz akord'iq tuu dhe ryylz biifoor sheu'ed. Wheer-in iz tuu bii noot'ed, dhat no art, ek'sersiiz, miks'tyyr, si'ens, or okkyy-pasion, what-soever, iz inklyyd'ed in oon thi'q oon'li: but nath in it severa'l disti'ksionz elements, prin'sip'lz, or deviz'ionz, bi dhe whitsh dhe saam kum'eth tuu hiz per'fet yys. And bikauz dhe si'g'l deviz'ionz for i'q'l'sh spiitsh, aar at dhis dai so unper-fetli pik'tyyred, bi dhe elements (whitsh wii ka'l let'terz) proviid'ed for dhe saam (az mai appiir plain'li in dhis foormer treet'is) *Ii* hav set furth dhis wurk for dhe amend'ment of dhe saam: whitsh *Ii* hoop wil bii taa'k'n in gud part akkord'iq tuu mi meen'iq: for dhat, dhat it sha'l sav tshardzh'ez in dhe elder sort, and sav greet tiim in dhe ruth, tuu dhe greet komod'iti of a'l estaats, un'tuu whuum it iz nes'esari, dhat dheer bii a knoou'ledzh of dheir dyy'ti, un'tuu God tshiif'li, and dhen dheir dyy'ti oon tuu an udher: in knoou'iq of whitsh dyy'ti konsist'eth dhe hap'i estaat of manz liif: for ig'norans kauz'eth man'i tuu goo uut of dhe wai, and dhat of a'l estaats, in whuum ig'norans duuth rest: wheer-bi God iz greet'li dis'pleez'ed, dhe kom'on kwi'etnes of men hind'ered: greet komon welths devi'd'ed, madzh'istraats dis-obei'ed, and infer'iorz despiiz'ed: priv'at gain and eez sowht and dheer-bi a kom'on wo wrowht.

And az dhe dzhudzh'ment of dhe kom'on welth and wo, duuth not li in priv'at personz, (and spes'ia'lli of dhe infer'ior sort,) jet owht dheer tuu bii in everi oon a kaar of hiz dyy'ti, dhat hiz priv'at liif bii not kontrari tuu dhe kom'on kwi'etnes, and welth of a'l men dzhenera'lli, (and spes'ia'lli of dhe wel mind'ed sort, whuu aar tuu bii boor'n widha'l in sum respekts for dheir ig'norans, when it reetsh'eth not tuu dhe giiv'iq okkaz'ion of liik offens in udher: for whuu kan wash hiz handz kleen of a'l fa'lts?

And syy'erli (in mi opin'ion) az fa'lts hav dheir biig'n'iq of dhe

first fa'l of Ad'am, so *iz* dhe saam enkrees'ed bi *ig'norans*: dhowh sum wuuld ter'm it tuu bii dhe mudh'er of god'l'ines: for *if* men weer not *ig'norant*, but did knoou wheer-in tryy felis'*iti* did konsist, dhei wuuld not fa'l in-tuu soo man'i er'orz, tuu dis-*kwiet* dheir mi'ndz, and enda'n'dzher dheir bod'*izz* for trans'tori thi'qz, and sum-timz for ver'i trif'lz. But sum wil sai, a'l thi'q in dhis wor'ld aar trans'tori, whitsh *Ii* wil konfes, az tuutsh-iq a'l kree'tyyrz and ek'sers'izeez in dhe saam.

Jet dhe gift of spiitsh and writ-iq *iz* liik-liest tuu kontin'yy with dhe last, az loq az dheer *iz* an'i bii-iq of man: and for dhat, *it iz* dhe spes'ia'l gift of God, wheer-bi wii bii instrukt'ed of uur dyt'iz from tim tuu tim, booth nuu, hav biin, and sha'l bii az loq az dheer *iz* an'i bii-iq of man, let us yyz dhe saam in dhe per-fetest yys, for eez, prof'it, and kontin'yyans, whitsh dhis amend'ment wil perfoo'r'm in iiq'l'ish spiitsh, and hin'dereth not dhe reed-iq and writ-iq of udh'er laq'gadzh: for *Ii* hav left uut no let-ter biifoor in yys. And dhowh wii duu sum-what var'i from udh'er nas'ionz in dhe naam-iq of sum let-terz, (spes'ia'lli wheer wii hav differiq suundz in vois,) jet dheer *iz* no fa'lt in *it*, as loq az wii yyz naamz agrii-iq tuu uur ooun laq'gadzh: and in udh'er laq'gadzh, let us yyz naamz akkord-iq tuu dhe suund of dhe saam laq'gadzh, dhat wii wuuld leer'n, *if* dhei bii provid'ed of sufis'ient let-terz: and *if* dhe ortog'rafi for dheir laq'gadzh bii unper-fet, whuu niid tuu bii offend'ed, *if* wii (for spiid'i leer'n'iq) yyz fig'yyrz and naamz of let-terz, akkord-iq tuu dhe suundz of dheir spiitsh.

Dhe Lat'in mai remain az *it* duuth, bikauz *it iz* yyz'ed in so man'i kun'triiz, and dhat buuks print'ed in Iiq'land mai bii yyz'ed in udh'er kun'triz, and liik-wiiz dhe print-iq in udh'er kun'triiz, mai bii yyz'ed hiir: but *if* a teetsh'or (for dhe eez of a ruq iiq'l'ish leer'n'or of dhe Lat'in) duu ad dhe striik tuu *c. g. i. v.*¹ bikauz of dheir div'erz sever'al suundz, and naam *th* az *it* weer but oon let'er, az *th*: and sai dhat *:u:* after *q iz* syyper-flyyus:² and tsha'ndzh *:z:* for *:s:* so suund'ed biitwiin twuu vuu'elz, whuu kuuld dzhust-li fiind fa'lt with-a'l? when dhe Lat'in *iz* so suund'ed bi us iiq'l'ish: whitsh unper-fetnes must bii maad plain bi oon wai or udh'er tuu a leer'n'or and must bii duunn eidh'er bi per-fet fig'yyr of per-fet naam agrii-iq tuu hiz suund in a word, or bi dub'l naam-iq of let-terz dub'l suund'ed: udh'erwiiz, dhe leer'n'or must of nesess'iti leer'n bi root, ges, and loq yys: az uur nas'ion waz driv'en tu duu in leer'n'iq of iiq'l'ish spiitsh whitsh waz hard'er tuu bii leer'ned (dhowh hii had dhe suund and yys dheer-of from hiz in-fansi) dhan dhe Lat'in, wheer-of hii un'derstuud nev'er a word, nor skant hii'ardd an'i word dheer-of, suund'ed in a'l hiz liif biifoor; dhe rez'n heer-of waz, bikauz dhe let-terz in yys for Lat'in, did a'l-moost furn'ish ev'eri sever'al div'izion in dhe saam spiitsh: eksep'tiq dhe dub'l suund'ed lett'erz afoor-said:

¹ Bullokar uses *c', g', v'* for (*s, dzh, v*), and *g*, for (*dzh*). Italics here indicate ordinary spelling.

² Bullokar writes *q* alone for *qu* in the sense of (*kw*) or rather (*ku*).

whitsh dub'l and treb'l suund'iq (no duut) gryy¹ bi korrup'tiq dhe saam from tiim tuu tiim, bi udher nas'ionz, or bi dhe Lat'inz dhemselvz' miq'g'led with uth'er nas'ionz: for (*Ii* suppooz') dhe Ital'ian duuth not at dh's dai maak :i: a kon'sonant biifoor' an'i vuuel, and giiv un'tuu it dhe suund of :dzh: az wii iiq'lish duu a'l'waiz in dhat plas; but maak'eth it a sil'lab'l of it-self, az in dhis word :*iacob*: of thrii sil'lab'lz in Lat'in: *iacobus* of foor'r sil'lab'lz; and wii iiq'lish sai, dzhak'ob: of twuu sil'lab'lz, dzhakob'us of thrii sil'lab'lz; and in miir iiq'lish: Dzhaamz: of oon sil'lab'l; dhe Ital'ian a'l'so for dhe suund of uur :dzh: writ'eth gi: whitsh iz not yyz'ed in dhe Lat'in but :g: oon'li for dhooz twuu suundz of ,g, and, dzh: or, i, biifoor' a, o, u, and sum'tiim biifoor' ,e, in Lat'in: bi whitsh wii mai a'l'so ges, dhat ,e, in Lat'in at dhe biigin'iq had dhe suund of ,k, oon'li, for dhat, dhat dhe Lat'in hath dhe suund of :k: and noo udh'er let'ter jiild'ed dhat suund, but ,e, oon'li in dhe Lat'in: ekssept: *qu*: suppl'ed dhe ruum sum tiim: for dhe Lat'in reseiv'² not ,k, in'tuu dhe num'ber of dheir let'terz. And for dhe his'iq suund of ,e, (thowht radh'er tuu bii krept in bi lit'l and lit'l) dhe Lat'in was sufis'ientli proviid'ed bi dheir let'er ,s, whuuz suund wii iiq'lish duu moost tiimz in dhe Lat'in, and in uur o'ld ortograf'i, yyz in dhe suund of ,z, when ,s, kum'eth biitwiin' twuu vuuelz: whitsh ,z, iz thowht tu bii no Lat'in let'ter: and dheer-foor it mai bii thowht dhat dhe Lat'in rint'li suund'ed did not jiild so groon'iq a suund in dheir his'iq suund of :s.

And for uur thrii suundz yyz'ed in ,v, dhe Frentsh duu at dh's dai yyz oon'li twuu un'tuu it: dhat iz, dhe suund agrii'iq tuu hiz o'ld and kontin'yyed naam, and dhe suund of dhe kon'sonant ,v, wheer-bi wii mai a'l'so ges, dhat dhe Lat'in at dhe biigin'iq yyz'ed ,v, for dhe suund of dhe kon'sonant: and yyz'ed :u: for dhe sound of dhe vuuel.

But nuu-soev'er dub'l or treb'l suund'iq of let'erz kaam in: whi iz it not lau'ful tuu enkre'es let'terz and fig'yyrz, when suundz in spiitsh aar enkre'es'ed? for spiitsh waz kauz of let'terz: dhe whitsh whuu-soev'er first invent'ed, hii had a regard tuu dhe diviz'ionz dhat mint bii maad in dhe vois, and waz wil'iq tuu proviid' for ev'eri of dhem, az wel az for oon, or sum of dhem: and if (sins dhat tiim) dhe suundz in vois hav biin fuund tuu bii man'i moo and div'erz, amoq' sum udh'er pii'p'l, whi shuuld not let'terz bii aksept'ed, tuu fur'nish dhat laq'gadzh whitsh iz prop'r tuu a god'li and siv'il nas'ion of kontin'yya'l guv'er'nment, az dh's uur nas'ion iz? and dhe bet'er iz, and ev'er sha'l bii if leer'niq (with Godz gras) flur'ish in dhe saam: dhe ground of whitsh leer'niq, and dhe yys and kontin'yyans dheer-of iz let'terz, dhe

¹ Bullokar writes "gre'w, thre'w." He represents (ii) by e', and (u) by v or u with a small semicircle below which may be indicated by Italics. Then after distinctly referring his simple v or u to French (yy), in his

11th Chap. he marks as synonymous the signs: e'v, e'u, v, u, e'w. Hence his gre'w, thre'w=(gryy, thryy) and have been so transcribed.

² Misprinted (reseui).

un-per-fetnes wheer-of ov'er-thryy man'i gud wits at dheir biigin'iq and waz kauz of loq tiim lost in dhem dhat spiidd best.

Dhe Lat'in waz moost-eez'i tuu us iiq'lish tuu bii lee'r'ned first, biikauz of xxj. letterz, xiiij. or xiiij. weer per-fetli per-fet, agrii'iq in naam and suund, and no letter misplased, syyperflyyus, or suund'ed, and not wriit'n, eksept in abrevias'ionz, and eksept bi mis-yys (az *Li* taak it) wii iiq'lish suund'ed *ignarus* az *ignarus*: *magnus* az *maq'nus*. A'l'so *lignum* az lig'num, and so of udh'er wordz, wheer a vuu'el kaam nekst biifoor: *g*: in oon sil'lab'l, and *n*: biigan an udh'er sil'lab'l fol'ouu'iq: a'l'so dhe un-per-fet letterz of dub'l or treb'l suund in Lat'in, had oon of dhooz suundz, agrii'iq tuu dhe naam ov dhem, so dheer want'ed but fiv or siks fig'yyrz or letterz tuu fur'nish ev'eri severa'l diviz'ion of dhe vois in dhe Lat'in, az wii iiq'lish suund dhe saam: whitsh bii dheez, *c'* *g'* *i'* *q'* *v'*¹ (tuu bii suppooz'ed radh'er ab-yyz'ed bi tsha'ndzh of tiim, dhan so un-ser-tein at dhe biigin'iq,) biisiidz dhis, dhe Lat'in hath dhe aspiras'ion or let-ter (*h*) ver'i siil-dum after an'i kon'sonant in oon sil'lab'l, and dhat after *t*: in dhe suund of *th*: oon'li and after *c*: in dhe suund of *k*: oon'li, and after *r*: in dhe suund of *r*: oon'li, in a feu wordz deriv'ed from dhe griik: neidh'er hath dhe Lat'in dhe suund of, tsh. ii. uu. sh. dh. w. wh. j, (nor dhe suund of the thrii ha'lf vuu'elz, 'l. 'm. 'n. in dhe per-fet suund of iiq'lish spiitsh) neidh'er in siq'g'l let-ter, sil'lab'l, nor suund in word: a'l whitsh aar ver'i kom'on in iiq'lish spiitsh.

Wheer-for dhe Lat'in teetsh'orz, with Lat'in ortog'rafi, did not (nor kuuld) suffis'ientli fur'nish iiq'lish spiitsh with letterz, but patsh'ed it up az wel az dhe kuuld (or at dhe leest, az wel az dhe wuuld) but nothiq per-fet for iiq'lish spiitsh, az appiireth bi dhe foormer tree'tis, so dhat of, xxxvij. severa'l diviz'ionz in vois for iiq'lish spiitsh,² oon'li dheez siks, *a. b. d. f. k. x.* weer per-fetli per-fet, and dheer-bi xxxi diviz'ionz in vois unper-fetli fur'nished: wheer-of sum aar ut'erli want'iq, sum dub'l or treb'l suund'ed, and sum mis-naam'ed, biisiid sum mis-plaas'ed, sum wriit'n, and not suund'ed, and sum suund'ed dhat aar not wriit'n. Whitsh un-per-fetnes maad dhe nat'iv iiq'lish tuu spend loq tiim in lee'r'niq tuu reed and wriit dhe saam (and dhat tshiif'li bi root) hol'p'n bi kontin'yya'l ek'sersiiz biifoor had in hiz eerz, bi mi'ariq udh'er, and bi hiz ooun yys of speek'iq whitsh hii waz fain tuu leen moor untuu', dhan tu dhe giid'iq of dhe o'ld ortog'rafi, so far un-per-fet for iiq'lish spiitsh: whitsh help of ek'sersiiz biifoor sheu'ed in dhe nat'iv iiq'lish, dhe stra'ndzher waz ut'erli void of, biisiid sum stra'ndzh diviz'ionz of suundz in vois in iiq'lish spiitsh, amog'. stra'ndzherz, ut'erli un-yyz'ed:

¹ Bullokar's 37 letters as given in his eleventh chapter will be found *suprà* p. 37, l. 19 from bottom. Several of his letters are in duplicate, for the purpose of keeping his spelling like the old, and making changes chiefly by points. In

a second enumeration he adds *k, ph, r'* = (*k, f, r*).

² Bullokar's signs for (*s, dzh, dzh, u, v*) respectively, the second and third being the same.

whitsh kauz'ed dhem at dhe first sînt, not oon'li tuu kast dhe buuk awai, but a'l'so tuu thi'qk and sai, dhat uur spiitsh waz so ryyd and barbarus, dhat it waz not tuu bii lee'rned, bi wrît'iq or print'iq: whitsh dispair man'i of uur ooun nas'ion (wîl'iq tuu leer'n) did fa'l in'tuu: for dhe moor wîl'iq hii was tuu fol'oou dhe naam of dhe let'ter, dhe fard'er-of hii waz, from dhe tryy suund of dhe word: and ad'iq hiir-untuu an un-pas'ient and un-diskreet teetsh'or, man'i gud wîts weer over-throou'n in dhe biigin'iq, whuu (udherwiiz mînt hav gon foo'rward, not oon'liin reed'iq and writ'iq dheir nat'iv laq'gadzh, but a'l'so (bi dhe abil'iti of dheir friindz) prosiid'ed in greet'er duu'iqz, tuu dheir ooun prof'it and stei in dhe kom'on welth a'l'so: of whitsh sort, weer dhe juth of noo'b'l blud, and sutsh az had par'ents of greet abil'iti: whuu par'ents (throwh tend'er luv') kuuld not hard'li enfor's dhem tuu treed dhat pain'ful maaz: and dhe juth fiind'iq it hard, and dheer-bi had noo deli'it dheer-in, took an'i dhe leest okkaz'ion tuu bii ok'kyypied udherwiiz wheer-bi knoou'ledzh waz lak'iq in sutsh, in whuum dhe kom'on welth (for dheir abil'iti and kred'it) rekwi'ired moost, and sutsh az bi a'l reez'n mînt bii lînts tuu giid udher, and steiz tu up-ho'ld udher, hav biin driv'n man'i tiimz tuu bii giid'ed bi udher dheir far-infer'iorz: whuu (for nesess'iti or udher okkaz'ion) man'i tiimz ab-yyz duu'iqz priv'at, and sum-tiim pertain'iq tuu dhe kom'on welth, whitsh iz tshiif'li maintein'ed bi lee'r'niq (Godz gras biifoor a'l thi'qz prefer'ed): whitsh lee'r'niq in dhe infer'iorz, kauz'eth dyy obei'diens toward' dhe syyper'iorz, and bii'iq in dhe syyper'iorz teecheth dyy guv'er'nment, and fiina'lli teetsh'eth a'l estaats tu liv in oon yy'niti of dhe estaat of dhe kom'on welth, everi estaat in dheir degrii and ka'l'iq, not withuut dhe partik'yylar prof'it, kwi'etnes, and saaf-gard of everi estaat: wheer-untuu if Ii have ad'ed an'i thi'q bi dhis mi amend'ment of ortog'rafi, for dhe yys and prof'it of lee'r'nor'z and dhe saam aksept'ed akkord'iqli, Ii wîl not oon'li spiid'ile imprint. dhe Gram'ar, but a'l'so put mi help'iq hand untuu. a nes'essari Dik'sionari agrii'iq tuu dhe saam, if God lend me liif, and dhat Ii mai bii eez'ed in dhe bur'd'n, dhat dyy'ti bi nat'yyr kompel'eth mi spesia'lli tuu taak kaar of.

ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN IN THE XVIITH CENTURY.

Information respecting this subject is given incidentally by Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, Bullokar and Gill. Palsgrave generally illustrates the French sounds by the Latin, "when pronounced aright" (suprà p. 59), implying that there was a wrong, and therefore perhaps a usual pronunciation, which is the one we most desire to learn. By combining these authorities the result seems to be as follows.

A aa, a, Æ ee, B b, C k, s, CH k, D d, dh, th, E ee, e, F f, G g, dzh, GN qn, H h, I ei, i, J dzh, K k, L l, M m, N n, NG qg, O oo o, u, Æ ee, P p, QU kw, R r, S s, z, T t, th, TH th, U, yy, u, V v, X ks, Y=I, Z z.

¹ By omission of the diacritics, this word is misprinted (lou).

A may have been (*a*, *a*, *æ*), but probably (*a*) only.

Æ, (E) Palsgrave says (i, 10) "be written in latine and nat sounded," i.e. I suppose, not sounded as diphthongs. It seems clear from Smith (suprà p. 121) that the real sound of Æ, and therefore probably of (E), was (*ee*).

C was (*k*) before *a*, *o*, *u* and (*s*) before *e*, *i* according to present custom, and probably (*s*) before *æ*, *œ*.

CH=(*k*) according to Bullokar, suprà p. 842, l. 19.

D. The only proper sound was (*d*), but we find Palsgrave saying of French D (i, 30): "D in all maner thynges confermeth hym to the general rules aboue rehersed, so that I se no particular thyng wherof to warne the lernar, save that they sounde nat *d* of *ad* in these wordes, *adultère*, *adoptiõn*, *adoulcér*, like *th*, as we of our tonge do in these wordes of latine *ath athjuuandum* for *ad adjuuandum* corruptly." I have assumed this *th* to mean (*dh*) as being derived from *d*. But Salesbury writes (*kwith*) for *quid*.

E. Besides the regular sound of (*ee*, *e*), Salesbury shews that (*ii*) had crept in occasionally, compare (*liidzh·it*)=*legit*, p. 767. I do not find this mentioned by any other authority.

G=(*g*) before *a*, *o*, *u* and (*dzh*) before *e*, *i*, as at present. Both Salesbury and Bullokar note and stigmatise the use of (*qn*) for GN, which seems to have been in general use.

I short =(i) throughout. I long =(ei) in Salesbury, (ei) in Gill most probably. Whether Bullokar said (*ii*) or (ei) depends on his English pronunciation of long I. It is to be observed that he as well as Smith (p. 112), does not admit the sound of (*ii*) in Latin. Hence Bullokar's sound of long *i* must have been quite distinct from (*ii*), as (*ii*, *ii*) are at this day kept quite distinct in Iceland and Teviotdale, in both cases perhaps by inclining (*ii*) towards (*ee*), p. 544.

T, usually (*t*), but when final often (*th*) as (*am·ath*) *amat*, according to Salesbury, see D. Palsgrave also finds it necessary to say, in reference to the French word *est*: "if the next worde folowyng begyn with a vowell, it shall be sounded *et*: but neuer *est* sounding *s*, nor *eth*, soundynge *t* like *th*, for *t* hath neuer no suche sounde in the frenche tonge," (i, 44), which seems to be directed against this Latin usage.

TH=(*th*) see suprà p. 842, l. 19.

U vowel, when long seems to have been generally (*yy*) suprà p. 841. But Palsgrave seems to consider this wrong, and to prefer (*uu*), suprà p. 149. The short vowel could have been nothing but (*u*, *u*).

EXAMPLES.—Latin spelling in Italics, pronunciation in Roman letters.

Salesbury gives: *agnus* aq·nus, *amat* am·ath, *dederit* ded·erith, *dei* dee·ei, *dico* dei·ku, *ego* eg·u, *ignis* iq·nīs, *Jesu* Dzhee·zyy, *legit* lii·dzhith, *magnus* maq·nus, *qui* kwei, *quid* kwith, *sal* saul, *sanctus* san·tus, *sol* sooul, *tibi* tei·bei, *tollis* tou·lis, *tu* tyy, *vidi* veidei, but objects to every one of these pronunciations.

Bullokar writes, translating his symbols literatim: *Cicero* *rheto-*

rica singulos vicit, Sis'ero rethor'ika siq'gyylooz vi'sit, corvus non vocē cucullum kor'vus non vo'se kyykul'lum, p. 4. Georgius Gigas et Gilbertus gerunt gladium ad extinguendum gibbum germinantem in gula Dzheor'dzhius Dzhig'as et Gilbertus dzher'unt gladiū ad ekstiqguen'dum gǫb'bum dzherminan'tem in gyy'la, p. 5. Injustus jejūnat jactuōsē non juxta juramentum Johannis indzhus'tus dzhe-dzhyynat dzhaktyo'ze non dzhuks'ta dzhyyramen'tum Dzhohan-nis p. 5. Invisus miser non delectatur placidis musis invi'zus mi'zer non delektat'ur plas'idis myy'zis, p. 6. Vitiosi judicium fugiunt ob punitiōnem stultitię suę visio'zi dzhyydis'ium fyy'dzhiunt ob pyynis'io-nem stultis'iee syy'ee. Unus vestrum cumulavit hunc acervum yy'nus ves'trum kyymyyla'vit huqk aserv'um, p. 7. Thraso, Thales, Thessalia, Thra'so, Tha'les, Thessa'lia. Ignarus, magnus, lignum, iqna'rus, maq'nus, liq'num. Bullokar in these examples has neglected to use his accents which mark length.

Gill writes a few Latin names thus, the numbers refer to the pages of his *Logonomia*: *Julius Cæsar* Dzhyy'lius Se'zar 43. *Cicero* Siz'eroo 43, 85. *Terentia* Teren'tia 84. *Crassus* Kras'us 85. *Hippia* Hip'ia 85. *Sylla* Sil'a 85. *Quintius* Kwĩn'sius 86. *Venus* Ven'us 100. *Cynthia* Sin'thia 101. *Phoebe* Fee'be 101. *Charissa* Karis'a 101. *Corydon* Kor'idon 103. *Pyrocles* Pirook'les 108.

The use of (ei) for long I, seems to guarantee the old use of (ii), which may have been Bullokar's pronunciation. And the use of (yy) for long U, seems to confirm the conjecture of its old use in the same sound, *suprà* p. 246, rather than (uu), because as (ii) changed into (ei), so would (uu) have changed into (ou), whereas (yy) is naturally preserved. This confirms to some extent the remark on p. 583, note 8. The only other important point is the non-development of *si-*, *ti-* before a vowel, into (shi-), hereby confirming the absence of this development in English, *suprà* p. 214.

§ 5. *Alexander Gill's Phonetic Writing, 1621, with an examination of Spenser's and Sidney's Rhymes.*

Dr. Gill, born in the same year as Shakspeare, and occupying the high literary position of head master of St. Paul's School, London, at the time of Shakspeare's death, must obviously be considered as the best single authority for the pronunciation of the more educated classes in Shakspeare's lifetime. Hence it is necessary in these examples to give prominence to what has fallen from his pen. We have had frequent occasion to lament that Dr. Gill has not explained the value of all his signs with sufficient clearness. The reasons why I suppose his *j* to have been (ǣi), and his *d* and *au* to have been (aa) will be found on pp. 115, 145.

The greatest difficulty in transcribing Dr. Gill's phonetic passages arises from the carelessness of the printing. Dr. Gill has furnished a list of Errata, which he requests may be corrected before reading, but in some instances these contain no corrections at all, and they

are exceedingly deficient. The commencing and concluding observations create difficulties :

“ Syllabæ quæ naturâ suâ communes sunt, possunt etiam indifferenter per vocales longas aut breves describi, vt (shal) aut (shaal), (dans) aut (daans), (bi bii, ded deed, whoom whuum, modher, mudher, sai saai, mai maai, &c.) Quædam accentu variant, vt ibi dictum est : itaque in his nil titubabis. Errata leuiora præteribis : cognita et agnita sic restitues. Quinetiam characterum penuriam in I, pro J, quoties opus refarcies. Denique capite 25 et deinceps, accentuum notatio, longarum vocalium quantitati veniam inueniet.”

It is evident that owing to these errors much doubt must be felt by a reader of the xixth century on many of the very points respecting which precise information is desirable. I had endeavoured to correct errors by a reference to other occurrences of the same word. But after much consideration I determined to give a literal transcript of the text as it stands, as I have done for Hart and Bullokar, correcting only the errors marked in the errata and supplying the accent mark (·), so that the reader will be able to form his own opinion. I have used (i) for the short i, believing it to have been the sound intended by Dr. Gill. See also § 7 of this Chapter. But I have let (i) stand for short i when it appeared to be a misprint for i=(ii).

Almost the only examples of phonetic writing as such, given by Dr. Gill, are Psalms 62, 67, 96, 97, 104 according to the Authorized Version, and as that version had only been published ten years when his book appeared, these transcripts possess a peculiar interest and are given at length.

The poetical examples are chiefly adduced to give instances of rhetorical figures, and are principally taken from Spenser and Sidney,—not one line from Shakspeare being quoted throughout the book, which need not excite surprise, as the first folio edition of Shakspeare's plays did not appear till two years after the publication of Gill's second edition. There are a few epigrams from Harrington, a poem of Withers, a song of Ben Jonson, and one or two other songs cited. I have thought it best to give all the longer quotations from Spenser's *Faerie Queen* in the order in which they occur in the poem, and to collect the other quotations according to the authors. We have thus a very tolerable collection of literary examples differing materially from the dry sticks furnished by Hart and Bullokar. Their main interest, however, consists in their being written phonetically by a man who was contemporary with nearly all the writers, and who therefore was able to furnish us with the pronunciation of English current in their time. We shall not go far wrong if we read like Dr. Gill. At the same time he clung to the older form of pronunciation, not admitting Harts (ee) for ai, although he does allow (deseev·, konseev·) which were the current pronunciations of the xvii th century, and apparently admitted (oi, aa) which properly also belong to that period. It will

be found that his quotations from Spenser often differ from Mr. Morris's (Globe) edition, sometimes designedly, sometimes perhaps from carelessness.

How far Dr. Gill's pronunciation represented that of Spenser, Sidney, and the other authors themselves, is an interesting question; but there is no direct means of answering it. The only path open is an examination of their rhymes. Accordingly Spenser's and Sidney's rhymes will be considered immediately after the specimens which Gill has given. And in the last section of this chapter not only Shakspeare's rhymes, but also his puns will be examined for the purpose of determining his individual pronunciation.

Extracts from Spenser's Faerie Queen.

The references are to the book, canto, and stanza of the F. Q., and to the page of Gill's *Logonomia*.

Mutsh gan dheï praaiz dhe triiz so strai^kht and hæi
Dhe sail'iq pæin, dhe see'dar proud and taa^l,
Dhe vœinprop elm, dhe pop'lar nev'er drœi,
Dhe biild'er ook, sool ki^q of for'ests aa^l,
Dhe as'pin gud for staa^vz, dhe sœi'pres fyy'neral.
1, 1, 8, p. 105.

Dhe laa'di sad tu sii hîz soor konstraint,
Krœid out, Nou nou, sîr knœikht, sheu what juu bii.
1, 1, 19, p. 108.

Nou, when dhe rooz'i-fi^qgred morn'iq faier
Wee'ri of aadzhed Tæi'thoonz saf'ern bed,
Had spred her pur'pl roob thrukh deu'i aier,
And dhe hœikh hîlz Ti'tan dîskuv'ered.
1, 2, 7, p. 106.

Az when tuu ramz, stîrd wîth ambis'ius præid,
Fœikht for dhe ryyl of dhe fair fliis'ed flok;
Dheir horn'ed fronts so feers on eidh'er sœid
Du miit, dhat wîth dhe ter'or of dhe shok
Aston'ied booth stand sens'les as a blok,
Forget'ful of dhe naq'iq vœktorœi:
So stund dheez twain unmuuv'ed az a rok.
1, 2, 16, p. 99.

... Mer'si, mersi (Sîr) voutsaa^f tu sheu
On sil'i daam subdzhekt tu hard mîstshans'.
1, 2, 21, p. 116.

Hîz dii'erest Laa'di deed wîth feer hii found,
1, 2, 44, p. 111.
Her siim'iq deed hii found, wîth fain'ed feer.
1, 2, 45, p. 111.

gi mœi frail eiz dheez læinz wîth teerz du stiip,
Tu thi^qk nou shii, thrukh gœil'ful, han'dli^q
Dhokh tryy az tutsh, dhokh daukh'ter of a ki^q,
Dhokh faair az ev'er lîv'iq wœikht waz fair,
Dhokh not in word nor diid il mer'it^q,
Iz from her knœikht divors'ed in despair'.
1, 3, 2, p. 114.

Of græiz·lî Plu·to shii dhe daakht·er waz,
 And sad Proser·pîna dhe kwiin of hel :
 Jet shii dîd thîq·k her pi·erles wurth tu pas
 Dhat par·entadz, wîth prîd shii so dîd swel :
 And thun·driq Dzhoov dhat mæikh in hev·n duth dwel
 And wiild dhe world, shii klaim·ed for her sêir ;
 Or if dhat an·i els dîd Dzhoov eksel ;
 For tu dhee hêi·est shii dîd stîl aspêir·
 Or if ookht hêi·er weer dhen dhat, dîd it deezêir·.

1, 4, 11. p. 110.

Ful man·i mîs·tshiifs fol·ou kryy·el wrath ;
 Abhor·ed blud·shed, and tyymul·tyyus strêif,
 Unman·lî mur·dher, and unthri·ftî skath,
 Bî·er dispêit, wîth raq·k·erus rust·i knêif,
 Dhe swel·îq spliin, and fren·zî radzh·îq rêif.

1, 4, 35. p. 106.

Dhe waa·lz weer hêi, but noth·îq stroq, nor thî·k ;
 And goold·n fuul aal ov·er dhem displaaid· :
 Dhat pyy·rest skêi wîth brêikht·nes dheei dismaaid·.

1, 4, 4. p. 98.

Wîth hîd·eus hor·or booth togeedh·er smêit,
 And sous so soor, dhat dheei dhe hev·n afrai·.

1, 5, 8. p. 98.

Hii dzhent·lêi askt, wheer aal dhe piip·l bii,
 Whîtsh in dhat staat·lî build·îq wunt tu dwel ?
 Whuu an·swereed hîm ful soft, hii kuuld not tel.
 Hii askt again·, wheer dhat saam knêikht was laid,
 Whoom greet Orgo·lîo wîth pyyîs·ans fel
 Had maad hîz kai·tîv thral ? again· hii said,
 Hii kuuld not tel. Hii asked dhen, whîtsh wai
 Hii in mæikht pas ? Ignaa·ro kuuld not tel.

1, 8, 32. p. 111.

But, neidh·er dark·nes foul, nor fîl·thî bandz
 Nor noi·us smel, hîz pur·pooz kuuld wîth·roold·.

1, 8, 40. p. 104.

But noi·us smel hîz pur·pooz kuuld not hoould
 But dhat wîth kon·stant zeel and kour·adzh boould,
 Aft·er loq painz and laa·bors man·îfoould ;
 Hii found dhe meenz dhat priz·ner up tu reer.

1, 8, 40. p. 105.

Dhen shal êi juu rekount· a ryy·ful kaas
 (Said hii) dhe whîtsh wîth dhîs unluk·i ei
 qî laat biineld· ; and had not greet·er graas
 Mii reft from it, had biin partaak·er of dhe plaas.

1, 9, 26. p. 100.

Wii met dhat vîl·an, dhat vêil mîs·kreant,
 Dhat kurs·ed wêikht, from whoom êi skaapt whêileer·,
 A man of hel, dhat kaa·lz hîmself· Despair·.

1, 9, 28. p. 105.

For what hath loîf, dhat mai it luv·ed maak ?
 And gîvz not raad·h·er kaa·z it dai·lêi tu forsaak ?

Feer, sîknes, aadzh, los, laa·bor, sor·oou, strëif,
 Pain, huq·ger, koold, dhat maaks dhe hart tu kwaak;
 And ever fîk·l for·tyyn radzh·îq rëif;
 :Aal whîtsh, and thouz·andz moo, duu mak a loth·sum lëif.

1, 9, 44. p. 103.

Hii dhat dhe blud·red bîl·oouz, lëik a waal
 On eidh·er sêid dispart·ed with hîz rod;
 Tîl aal hîz arm·ôi drëi·fuut thrukh dhem jod.

1, 10, 53. p. 106.

Dhîs said, adoun· hii luuk·ed tu dhe ground
 Tu haav returnd·; but daazed weer hîz ein
 Thrukh pas·îq brëikht·nes whîtsh dîd kwëit konfound·
 Hîz fiib·l sens, and tuu eksîid·îq shëin.
 So dark aar thîqz on eerth kompaard tu thîqz dîvëin·.

1, 10, 67. p. 116.

So down hii fel, and fuurth hîz lëif dîd breeth
 Dhat van·isht in·tu smook, and kloud·ez swîft:
 So down hii fel, dhat dh·erth hîm underneeth·
 Dîd groon, az fiib·l so greet lood tu lift:
 So down hii fel, az a hyydzh rok·î klîft
 Whuuz faals foundaa·sion waavz hav washt awai·,
 And rooul·ing down greet Nep·tyyn duth dismai·,
 So down hii fel, and lëik a heep·ed moun·tain lai.

1, 11, 54. p. 121.

. . . moest wretsh·ed man

Dhat tu afek·sionz duz dhe brëid·l lend:
 In dheir begî·nîq dheî ar week and wan,
 But suun throukh sufferans, groou tu feer·ful end:
 Whëilz dheî are week, bîtëimz· with dhem kontend·,
 For when dheî oons tu per·fekt streqth du groou,
 Stroq warz dheî maak, and kryy·el bat·rî bend
 Gainst fort of Reez·n, it tu ov·erthroou.
 Wrath dzhel·osî, griif, luv, dhîs skwëir hav laid thus loou.

Wrath dzhel·osî, griif, luv, du dhus ekspel·
 Wrath is a fëir, and dzhel·osî a wiid;
 Griif îz a flud, and luv a mon·ster fel:
 Dhe fëir of sparks, dhe wiid of lî·l siid;
 Dhe flud of drops, dhe mon·ster fîlth dîd briid:
 But sparks, siid, drops, and fîlth du thus delai·:
 Dhe sparks suun kwentsh, dhe sprîq·îq siid outwiid·,
 Dhe drops drei up, and fîlth wëip kleen awai·,
 So shal wrath, dzhel·osî, griif, luv, dëi and dekai·.

2, 4, 34. 35. p. 123.

No trii, whuuz bran·tshez dîd not braav·lî sprîq;
 No brantsh, wheron· a fëin burd dîd not sît;
 No burd, but dîd hîs shrîl noot swiit·lëi sîq;
 No soq, but dîd kontain· a luv·lëi dît,
 Triiz, bran·tshez, burdz, and soqz, weer fraam·ed fît
 For to alyyr· frail mëindz tu kaar·les eez:
 Kaar·les dhe man suun woks, and hîz week wît

Waz ov'er·kum of thi·q dhat dīd hīm pleez.
So pleez'ed, dīd hīz wrath·ful kuur'adz hāir apee·z.

2, 6, 13. p. 123.

And iz dher kaar in heev'n? and iz dher luv
In heev'n·lāi spīr'its tu dheez kree'ttyrz baas,
Dhat mai kompas·ion of dheir iiv·lz muuv?

2, 8, 1. p. 118.

. . . Aal dhat plees·iq iz tu līv·iq eer,
Waz dheer konsort'ed in oon har·monii.
Burdz, vois·ez, in·stryymnts, waa'terz, wēindz, Aal agrii.

Dhe dzhoi·us burdz shroud'ed in tsheer·ful shaad
Dheir noots un·tu dhe vois attem·pred swiit:
Dh- andzheel·ikal soft trem·bli·q vois·ez maad
Tu dh- in·stryymnts dīvāin· respon·dens miit:
Dhe sil·ver sound·iq in·stryymnts dīd miit
With dhe baaz mur·mur of dhe waa'terz faal:
Dhe waa'terz faal with dīf·erens dīskriit·
Nou soft, nou loud, un·tu dhe wēind dīd kaal,
Dhe dzhent·l war·bli·q wēind loou an·swered un·tu Aal.

2, 12, 70. 71. p. 118.

Ne let hīz faair·est Sīn·thia refy·yz·
In mīr·orz moor dhen oon herself· tu sii,
But eidh·er Glooria·na let hēr tshyyz
Or in Belfee·be fash·ioned tu bii:
In dh- oon her ryyl, in dh- odh·er her raar tshas·tītii.

Pref. to 3, st. 5. p. 101.

Hy·ydz see of sor·oou, and tempest·eus griif,
Wheer·in· mēi fiib·l bark iz tos'ed loq,
Far from dhe hoop'ed naav·n of reliif:
Whēi du dhēi kryy·el bīl'ooz beet so stroq,
And dhēi moist moun·tainz eetsh on odher throq,
Threet·iq tu swal·oou up mēi feer·ful loif?
O du dhēi kryy·el wrath and spoit·ful wroq
At leqth alai·, and stīnt dhēi storm·i stroif,
Whītsh in dheez trub·led bou·elz rainz and raadzh·eth reif.
For els mēi fiib·l ves·el, kraazd and kraakt,
Kan·ot endyyr·.

3, 4, 8. p. 99.

Fordhēi· shii gaav hīm warn·iq ev·eri daai
Dhe luv of wīm·en not tu entertāin·;
A les·n tuu tu hard for līv·iq klaai.

3, 4, 26. p. 100.

So tīk·l bii dhe termz of mor·taal staat,
And ful of sut·l sof·izms whītsh du plai
With dub·l sens·ez, and with faals debaat·.

3, 4, 28. p. 97.

Unthaq·ful wretsh (said hii), iz dhīs dhe mīd
With whītsh her sov·erain mer·si dhou dust kwēit?
Dhēi loif shii saav'ed bēi her graa·sius diid:
But dhou dust meen with vīl·enus dīspoit·.

Tu blot her on'or and her heev'nly laikht.
 Dæi, radh'er dæi, dhen so dísloi'alæi
 Diim of her hæikh dezert; or siim so laikht,
 Faair deeth it iz tu shun moor shaam, dhen dæi;
 Dæi, radh'er dæi, dhen ev'er luv dísloi'alæi.

But if tu luv dísloi-altæi it bii,
 Shal æi dhen haat her [dhat] from deeth'ez door
 Mii broukht? ah, far bii sutsh reprotoosh' from mii.
 What kan æi les du dhen her luv dherfoor,
 Sæth æi her dyy reward' kannot' restoor'?
 Dæi, raadher dæi, and dæi'iq duu her serv,
 Dæi'iq her serv, and lîv'iq her adoor'.
 Dhæi lœif shii gaav, dhæi lœif shii duth dezerv'.
 Dæi, raadher dæi, dhen ev'er from her serv'is swerv'.
 3, 5, 45. 46. p. 121.

Diskur'teus, dísloi-aal Brit'omart;
 What ven'dzhans dyy kan ek'wal dhei dezart;
 Dhat hast with shaam'ful spot of sin'ful lust,
 Defæild' dhe pledzh komit'ed tu dhæi trust?
 Let ug'læi shaam and end'les in-famæi
 Kul'er dhæi naam with foul reproo'tshez rust.
 4, 1, 53. p. 118.

Amoq' dheez knœikhts dheer weer thrii bredh'ern boould,
 Thrii booulder bredh'ern never wer iborn;
 Born of oon mudh'er in oon hap'i moould,
 Born at oon burdh'en in oon hap'i morn,
 Thræiz hap'i mudh'er, and thræis hap'i morn,
 Dhat boor thrii sutsh, thrii sutch not tu bii fond.
 Her naam waz Ag'ape, whuuz tshîl'dren weern
 :Aal thrii az oon; dhe first hæikht Præi'amond,
 Dhe sek'ond Dæi'amond, dhe juq'gest Træi'amond.

Stout Præi'amond, but not so stroq tu strœik;
 Stroq Dæi'amond, but not so stout a knœikht;
 But Træi'amond, waz stout and stroq alœik'.
 On hors-bak yy'zed Træi'amond tu fœikht,
 And Præi'amond on fuut had moor delœit';
 But hors and fuut knyy Dæi'amond tu wiild,
 With kurt'aks yy'zed Dæi'amond tu smœit;
 And Træi'amond tu hand'l speer and shiild,
 But speer and kurt'aks both, yyzd Præi'amond in fiild.
 4, 2, 41, 42. p. 124.

. . . Doun on dhe blud'i plain
 Herself shii thryy, and teerz gan shed amain',
 Amoqst her teerz immi'ks'iq prai'erz miik,
 And with her prai'erz, reez'nz tu restrain'
 From blud'i strœif.

Shii held hēr wrath·ful hand from ven·dzhans soor.

But draa·iq neer, eer hii hēr wel biheld :

Iz dhīs dhe faith (shii said ?) and said no moor,

But turnd hēr fast, and fled awai· for ev·ermoor.

4, 7, 36. p. 103.

Fresh shad·oouz, fit tu shroud from sun·i rai ;

Fair landz, tu taak dhe sun in seez·n dy ;

Swiit spriqz, in whtsh a thouz·and nīmfs dīd plai ;

Soft rum·bliq bruuks, dhat dzhent·l slumb·er dryy ;

Heikh reer·ed mounts, dhe landz about tu vvy ;

Loou luuk·iq daalz, disloind· from kom·on gaaz ;

Delēit·ful bourz, tu sol·as luv·erz tryy ;

Fair lab·erīnths, fond run·erz eiz tu daaz :

:Aal whtsh bēi naa·tyyr maad, dīd naa·tyyr self amaa·z·.

4, 10, 24. p. 114.

But hii her sup·liant handz, dhooz handz of goold ;

And iik her fiit, dhooz fiit of sīlver trēi·

Whtsh sooukht unrēikh·teusnes and dzhust·is soold,

Tshopt of, and naid on heikh, dhat aal mēikht dhēm bīmoold·.

5, 2, 26. p. 111.

Extracts from Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia.

. . . Reez·n tu mī pas·ion iild·ed

Pas·ion un·tu mī raadzh, raadzh tu a hast·i revendzh·.

3, 1. p. 110.

And haav·iq plaast mēi thoukhts, mēi thoukhts dhus plaa·sed mii,

Mii thoukht ; nai, syyr ēi waz, ēi waz in faair·est Wud

Of Samothe·a land, a land dhat whēil·um stuud

An on·or tu dhe world, whēil on·or waz dheir end.

4, 9. p. 113.

Dhe feir tu sii mii wroqd for aq·ger burn·eth,

Dhe aai·er in teerz for mēin aflik·sion wiip·eth,

Dhe see for griif tu ēb hīz floou·iq turn·eth,

Dhe eerth with pīt·i dul her sen·ter kiip·eth,

Faam iz with wund·er blaaz·ed,

Tōim fliiz awai· for sor·oou,

Plaas stand·eth stēl amaa·z·ed,

Tu sii mēi nēikht of iiv·lz whtsh hath no mor·oou.

Alas, aal oon·lēi shii no pīt·i taak·eth

Tu knoou mēi mīz·erēiz, but tshaast and kryyel

Mēi faal hēr gloo·rī maak·eth.

Jīt stēl hīz eiz gīv tu mēi flaamz dheir fyel.

Fēir, burn mii kwēit tēl sens of burn·iq leev mii :

Ai·er, let me draa dhīs breth no moor in aq·guish :

See, dround in dhii of vī·tal breth bireev· mii :

Erth, taak dhīs eerth wheer·in mēi spīr·its laq·guish :

Faam, sai ēi waz not born,

Tōim, hast mēi dēi·iq ou·er :

Plaas, sii mēi graav uptorn·

Fēir, ai·er, see, eerth, faam, tōim, plaas, sheu juur pour.

Alas, from Aal dheir helps am ði eksæld;
 For herz am ði, and deeth feerz hîr displeez'yyr;
 Fði deeth, dhou art bigæil'ed,
 Dhokh ði bii herz, shii sets bæi mii no treez'yyr.
 3, 15. p. 125.

Extracts from Sir John Harrington's Epigrams (A.D. 1561-1612.

Fði but a mans disgraast, noot'ed a nov'is.
 Yee but a mans moor graast, noot'ed of no vøis.
 Dhe miid of dhem dhat luv, and du not liv am'is.
 2, 17. p. 113.

gi kAald dhii oons mæi dii'eerest Mal in vers.
 Whitsh dhus ði kan inter'pret if ði wîl,
 Mæi dii'erest Mal, dhat iz, mæi kost'liest il.
 2, 81. p. 112.

Tu praaiz mæi wøif, juur dAAkht'er, (so ði gadh'er)
 Juur men sai shii resem'bleth moost hîr fadh'er.
 And ði no les tu praiz juur sun, hîr brudh'er,
 Affirm' dhat hii iz tuu mutsh lèik hîz mudh'er.
 Ei knoou not if wii dzhudzh arèikht', or er,
 But let hîm bii lèik juu, so ði lèik her.
 2, 96. p. 112.

Markus neer seest tu ven'ter Aal on præim,
 Til of hîz adzh kwèit waas'ted waz dhe præim.
 2, 99. p. 112.

Wheer dwelz Mister Kaar'les?
 Dzhest'erz hav no dwel'iq.
 Wheer lèiz hi?
 In hîz tuq bæi moost menz tel'iq.
 Wheer boordz hi?
 Dheer wheer feests aar found bæi smel'iq.
 Wheer bæits hi?
 :Aal behèind', gainst Aal men jel'iq.
 3, 20. p. 118.

Konsern'iq wøivz hoould dhîs a ser'tain ryył,
 Dhat if at first juu let dhem haav dhe ryył,
 Juursel' at last with dhem shal haav no ryył,
 Eksept' juu let dhem ev'er-moor tu ryył.
 3, 33. p. 109.

Songs and Miscellaneous Extracts.

What if a dai, or a munth, or a jeer,
 Kroun dhøi dezøirz' with a thou'zand wisht konten'tiqz?
 Kannot dhe tshauns of a nèikt or an ouer
 Kros dhøi deløits' with a thou'zand sad tormen'tiqz?
 For'tyyn, on'or, beut'i, jyyth,
 Aar but blos'umz dî'øiq [døi'iq]:
 Wan'ton pleez'yyr, doot'iq luv,
 Aar but shad'doouz fløi'iq.
 :Aal our dzhoiz, aar but toiz
 gid'l thoukhts deeseev'iq.

Noon hath pou'er of an ou'er
In dheir loivz bireev'iq.

Thomas Campian. p. 144, with the music.

Faaier bœi na'ttyr bi'i'iq born,
Bor'ooud beu'ti shii duth skorn.
Hii dhat kîs'eth her, niid feer
Noo unhoool'sum ver'nîsh dheer;
For from dhens, nii oon'lei sîps
Dhe pyr nek'tar of her lîps:
And with dhez at oons nii klooz'ez,
Melt'iq ryy'bîz, tsher'iz, rooz'ez.

George Withers. p. 98.

Nou dhat dhe herth iz kround with smæl'iq fœier
And sum du driqk, and sum du daans,
Sum rîq
Sum sîq,

And aal du strœiv t- advaans'

Dhe myyz'ik hæi'er:
Wheerfoor' shuuld œi
Stand si'lent bœi?

Whuu not dhe leest

Booth luv dhe kAAZ and AA'torz of dhe feest.

Ben Jonson, ode 14. p. 143.

Mœin eiz, no eiz, but foun'tainz of mœi teerz:
Mœi teerz, no teerz, but fludz tu moist mœi hart:
Mœi hart, no hart, but har'bour of mœi feerz:
Mœi feerz, no feerz, but fiil'iq of mœi smart.

Mœi smart, mœi feerz, mœi hart, mœi teerz, mœin eiz,
Ar blind, drœid, spent, past, waast'ed with mœi krœiz.
And jît mœin eiz dhokh blœind, sii kAAZ of griif:
And jît mœi teerz, dhokh drœid, run doun amaain':
And jît mœi hart, dhokh spent, atendz' reliif:
And jît mœi feerz, dhokh past, inkrees' mœi paain':
And jît œi liv, and liv'iq fiil moor smart:
And smart'iq, krœi in vain, Breek hev'i hart.

SONG, "*Break Heavy Heart.*" p. 119.

Swiit thooukhts, dhe fuud on whitsh œi fiid'iq starv;
Swiit teerz, dhe driqk dhat moor Aagment' mœi thirst;
Swiit eiz, dhe starz bœi whitsh mœi kours duth swarv;
Swiit hoop, mœi deeth whitsh wast mœi lœif at fîrst;
Swiit thooukhts, swiit teerz, swiit hoop, swiit eiz,
Hou tshaanst dhat deeth in swiit'nes lœiz?

SONG, "*Deadly Sweetness.*" p. 119.

Maa'tshîl iz haq'ed, Dhe diil haz -im faq'ed
And bren'ed iz hiz byyks. In hiz kryyk'ed klyyks.
Dhokh Maa'tshîl iz haq'ed Maa'tshîl iz haq'ed
Jît nii iz not wraq'ed. Anb [and] bren'ed iz hiz byyks.

Reus Macchiavellus, Northern Dialect. p. 122.

Raaz'iq mœi hoops, on hîlz of hœikh dezœir,
Thîqk'iq tu skaal dhe heev'n of hîr hart,
Mœi slend'er meenz prezumd' [prezyymd'] tuu hœi a part.

Her thund'·er of disdain· forst mii retair·,
And thryy mii down &c.

Daniel, DELIA, Sonnet 31. p. 99.

Kontent· whuu lîvz with trôid estaat,
Niid feer no tshandzh of froun·iq faat :
But hii dhat siiks, for un·knoun· gain,
Oft lîvz bei los, and leevz with pain.

Specimen of Phonetic Spelling. p. 20.

Dhe loq ar laa·zi, dhe lit·l ar loud :
Dhe fair ar slut·ish, dhe foul ar proud.

p. 76.

Praiz of an hæikh rek·nîq·, an a trik tu bii greet·lii renoun·ed
Juu with juur prik·et purtshast. Lo dhe vîk·torî faa·mus
With tuu godz pak·iq· oon wum·an sil·lî tu kuz·n.

*Accentual Hexameters. Stanihurt's Translation of
Virg. Æn. 4, 93-95. p. 100.*

Psalm 62. p. 20.

1 Tryy·lêi mæi sooul wait·eth upon· God : from hîm kum·eth mæi
salu[y]aa·sion. 2 Hii oon·lêi iz mæi rok and mæi salvaas·sion: Hii iz
mæi defens·; ei shal not bi greet·lêi muuv·ed. 3 Hou loq wîl jii
îmadzh·in mîst·shiif against· a man? jii shal bi slain aal of juu :
az a bou·iq waa! shall ji bii : and az a tot·erîq fens. 4 Dheel
oon·lêi konsult· tu kast hîm down from hîs ek·selensêi, dheei delo·it
in lèiz : dheei bles with dheeir mouth, but dheei kurs in·wardlêi·
Sel·ah. 5 Mæi sooul wait dhou oon·lêi upon· God : for mæi ekpek·
ta·sion iz from hîm. 6 Hii oon·lêi iz mæi rok and mæi salvaas·sion ;
Hii iz mæi defens· ; ei shal not bi muuv·ed. 7 In God iz mæi sal·
vaa·sion and mæi gloo·rî ; dhe rok of mei stregh and mæi ref·yydzh
iz in God. 8 Trust in hîm at aal tîmz ji piip·l ; pour out juur hart
bifoor hîm : God iz a ref·yydzh for us. Sel·ah. 9 Syyr·lêi men
of loou degrii· ar van·itêi, and men of hæi degrii· ar a lei : tu bi
laid in dhe bal·ans, dheei ar aaltogedh·er lèikht·er dhen van·itêi.
10 Trust not in opres·ion, bikum· not vain in rob·erêi ; if ritsh·ez
înkrees·, set not juur hart upon· dhem. 11 God hath spook·n
oons ; twêis haav ei haard dhîs, dhat pour·biloq·eth un·to God. 12
:Aal·so un·to dhii, oo Lord, biloq·eth mer·sî : for dhou ren·derest
tu ev·erêi man akkord·iq tu hîz wurk.

Psalm 67. p. 21.

1 God bi mer·siful yy[u]n·tu us and bles us : and kaa·z hîz faas tu
shêin upon· us. Sel·ah. 2 Dhat dhêi waai maai bi knoun upon
eerth, dhêi saav·iq heelth ameq· aal naa·sionz. 3 Let dhe piip·l
praiz dhi, oo God ; let aal dhe piip·l prais dhii. 4 O let dhe
naa·sionz bi glad, and sîq for dzhoi : for dhou shalt dzhudzh dhe
piip·l reikht·euslêi, and gov·ern dhe naa·sionz upon· eerth. Sel·ah.
5 Let dhe piip·l praiz dhii oo God ; let aal dhe piip·l praaiz dhii.
6 Dhen shal dhe eerth jîild hîr in·krees ; and God, iiv·n our ooun
God, shal bles us. 7 God shal bles us, and aal dhe endz of dhe
eerth shal feer hîm.

Psalm 96. p. 22.

1 O siq un'tu dhe Lord a nyy soq; siq un'tu dhe Lord AAL dhe eerth. 2 Siq un'tu dhe Lord, bles hiz naam; sheu fuurth hiz salvaa'sion from dai tu dai. 3 Deeklaar hiz gloo'ri amoq' dhe heedh'en: hiz wun'derz amoq' AAL piip'l. 4 For dhe Lord iz greet, and greet'lei tu bi praiz'ed: Hii iz tu bi feer'ed abuv' AAL Godz. 5 For AAL dhe godz of dhe naa'sionz ar ei'dolz: but dhe Lord maad dhe heev'nz. 6 On'or and Maa'dzhestei ar bifoer him: streqth and beut'i ar in hiz sank'tuarai. 7 Giv un'tu dhe Lord (oo jii kin'drez of dhe piip'l) giv un'tu dhe Lord'gloo'ri and streqth. 8 Giv un'tu dhe Lord dhe gloo'ri dyv un'tu hiz naam: briq an of'riq and kum in'tu hiz kuurts. 9 O wur'ship dhe Lord in dhe beut'i of hoo'lines: feer bifoer him AAL dhe eerth. 10 Saai amoq' dhe heedh'en dhat dhe Lord reei'neth: dhe world AAL so shall bi estab'lished dhat it shal not bi muuv'ed: Hii shal dzhudzh dhe piip'l reikh'teuslei. 11 Let dhe heev'nz redzhois', and let dhe eerth bi glad: let dhe see roor and dhe ful'nes dheerof. 12 Let dhe fiild bi dzhoi'ful, and AAL dhat iz dherin': dhen shal AAL dhe triiz of dhe wud redzhois'. 13 Bifoer dhe Lord; for Hii kum'eth, for Hii kum'eth tu dzhudzh dhe eerth: Hii shal dzhudzh dhe world with reikh'teusnes, and dhe piip'l with hiz tryyth.

Psalm 97. p. 22.

1 Dhe Lord reei'neth; let dhe eerth redzhois: let dhe multi'tyvd of dhe oilz bi glad dherof. 2 Kloudz and dark'nes ar round about him: reikh'teusnes and dzhudzh'ment ar dhe habitaas'ion of hiz throon. 3 A fœier go'eth bifoer him: and burn'eth up hiz en'emæiz round about. 4 Hiz laikht'nîqz inloikht'ned dhe world: dhe eerth sau, and trem'bled. 5 Dhe hiz melt'ed laik waks at at dhe prez'ens of dhe Lord; at dhe prez'ens of dhe Lord of dhe whool eerth. 6 Dhe heev'nz deklaar hiz reikh'teusnes: and AAL dhe piip'l sii hiz gloo'ri. 7 Konfound'ed bi AAL dheei dhat serv graav'n ei'madzhez, and boost dhemselvz of ei'dolz: wur'ship him AAL ji godz. 8 Si'on haard, and waz glad, and dhe daakh'terz of Ju'da redzhois'ed: bikauz of dhæi dzhudzh'ments, oo Lord. 9 For dhou Lord art haikh abuv' AAL dhe eerth: dhou art eksal'ted far abuv' AAL godz. 10 Jii dhat luv dhe Lord, haat iiv'l; Hii prezerv'eth dhe sooulz of hiz saints: Hii deliv'ereth dhem out of dhe hand of dhe wi'ked. 11 Laikht iz soon for dhe reikh'teus, and glad'nes for dhe up'reikht in hart: 12 Redzhois' in dhe Lord, jii reikh'teus: and giiv thaqs at dhe remem'brans of hiz hoo'lines.

Psalm 104. p. 23.

1 Bles dhe Lord, oo mai sooul: oo Lord mai God dhou art veri greet: dhou art kloodh'ed with On'or and Madzh'estei. 2 Whuu kuv'erest dhoi self with laikht, az with a garment: whuu stretsh'est out dhe heev'nz laik a kur'tain; 3 Whuu lai'eth dhe beemz of hiz tsham'berz in dhe waa'terz; whuu maak'eth dhe kloudz hiz tshar'et: whuu walk'eth upon dhe wiqz of dhe wöind. 4 Whuu

maak'eth hīz angelz spir'its: hīz mīn'isterz a flaam'iq fāier.
 5 Whuu laid dhe foundaas'ionz of dhe eerth: dhat it shuuld not
 bi remuuv'ed for ever. 6 Dhou kuv'erest it with dhe diip az with
 a garment: dhe waa'terz stuud abuv' dhe mountainz. 7 At dhēi
 rebbyk' dheei fled: at dhe vois of dhēi thund'er dheei haast'ed
 awai. 8 Dheei go up bēi dhe mount'ainz, dheei go doun bēi dhe
 val'leiz un'tu dhe plaas whītsh dhōu hast found'ed for dhēm. 9
 Dhōu hast set a bound dhat dheei mai not pas over: dhat dheei
 turn not again' tu kuv'er dhe eerth. 10 Hii sendeth dhe sprīqz
 in'tu dhe val'leiz; whītsh run amōq' dhe hīlz. 11 Dheei giv' drīqk
 tu ev'rēi beast of dhe fiild; dhe wōild as'es kwentsh dheeir thīrst.
 12 Bēi dhēm shal dhe foulz of dhe hev'n haav dheeir habītaas'ion,
 whītsh sīq amōq' dhe bran'shez. 13 Hii waat'ereth dhe hīlz from
 hīz tsham'berz: dhe eerth iz satisfāied with dhe fryyt of dhēi
 wurkz. 14 Hii kaa'z'eth dhe gras tu groou for dhe kat'el, and
 herb for dhe serv'is of man: dhat hii mai brīq fuurth fuud out of
 dhe eerth. 15 And wēin dhat maak'eth glad dhe hart of man, and
 oil tu maak hīz faas tu shēin, and breed whītsh stregth'neth mans
 hart. 16 Dhe triiz of dhe Lōrd ar ful of sap: dhe see'darz of
 Leb'anon whītsh Hii hath plant'ed. 17 Wheer dhe bārdz maak
 dheeir nests: az for dhe stork dhe fīr triiz are hīr hous. 18 Dhe
 hōikh hīlz ar a ref'yydzh for dhe wōild goots: and dhe roks for
 dhe kun'iz. 19 Hii apuunt'ed dhe muun for seez'nz; dhe sun
 knoou'eth hīz goo'iq doun. 20 Dhōu maak'est dark'nes, and it iz
 nōikht: wheerīn' aal dhe beasts of dhe for'est du kriip fuurth.
 21 Dhe juq lēi'onz roor aft'er dheeir prai, and siik dheeir meet
 from God. 22 Dhe sun arēiz'eth, dheei gadh'er dhemselyz' tu-
 gedh'er, and lai dhēm doun in dheeir denz. 23 Man go'eth
 fuurth un'tu hīz wurk; and tu hīz laa'bor, untīl' dhe iiv'niq. 24
 O Lōrd hou man'ifoould ar dhēi wurks? in wīz'dum hast
 dhōu maad dhēm aal: dhe eerth iz ful of dhēi rītsh'ez. 25
 So iz dhīs greet and wōid see, wheerīn' ar thīqz kriip'iq
 innum'erabl, booth smaal and greet beasts. 26 Dheer go dhe
 ships; dheer iz dhat Lev'i'athan [Lev'i'athan?] whuum dhōu
 hast maad tu plai dheerīn'. 27 Dheez wait aal upon dhii dhat
 dhōu maist giv' dhēm dheeir meet in dyy seez'n. 28 Dhat dhōu
 giv'est dhēm dheei gadh'er: dhōu oop'nest dhēi hand, dheei ar
 fīl'ed with gud. 29 Dhōu hōid'est dhēi faas, dhēi ar trub'led:
 dhōu taak'est awai dheeir breth dheei dēi, and return' tu dheeir dust.
 30 Dhōu send'est forth [fuurth] dhēi spir'it, dhēi ar kreaat'ed:
 and dhour enny'est dhe faas of dhe eerth. 31 Dhe gloo'ri of dhe
 Lōrd shal indyyr' for ev'er: dhe Lōrd shal redzhois' in hīz wurks.
 32 Hii luuk'eth on dhe eerth, and it trem'bleth: hii toutsh'eth
 [tutsh'eth?] dhe hīlz and dhēi smook. 33 Qi wīl sīq un'tu dhe
 Lōrd az loq as ēi liv': ēi wīl praiz mēi God whēil ēi haav mēi
 bii'iq. 34 Mēi medītaas'ion of hīm shal bi swiit: ēi wīl be glad
 in dhe Lōrd. 35 Let dhe sīn'erz bi konsum'ed [konsyym'ed?] out
 of dhe eerth, let dhe wīk'ed bii no moor: bles dhōu dhe Lōrd, oo
 mēi sooul. Praiz jii dhe Lōrd. Amen.

AN EXAMINATION OF SPENSER'S RHYMES.

An inspection of the examples of Spenser's pronunciation as given by Dr. Gill, pp. 847-852, shews that as Dr. Gill read them the rhymes were not unfrequently faulty.¹ If then this authority is to be trusted we have entirely left the region of perfect rhymes, and have entered one where occasional rhymes are no guide at all to the pronunciation, and very frequent rhymes are but of slight value. Still it seemed worth while to extend the comparison further, and see how far Spenser in his rhymes conformed to the rules of pronunciation which we gathered from contemporary authorities in Chap. III. Before, however, giving the results of an examination of all the rhymes in the *Faerie Queen*, I shall examine the bad rhymes in contemporary poems of considerable reputation, in order that we may see and understand what limits of approximation in the sound of rhyming vowels and even consonants, some of our best versifiers deem to be occasionally or even generally sufficient, that is, how closely they approach to final or consonantal rhyme (p. 245) on the one side, and assonance on the other. For this purpose I have selected Thomas Moore and Alfred Tennyson. Every one admits that Moore was at least a master of the mechanical part of his art. His lines are generally rhythmical, and his rhymes good, as might be expected from a song writer with a delicate perception of music. Of his writings I choose the most elaborate, the *Loves of the Angels*, and *Lalla Rookh*, and note all the rhymes which are false according to my own pronunciation. Of Tennyson, who is also a master of his art, I select the *In Memoriam*, as his most careful production in regular rhymed verse, and do the like with it. The following are the results.

Mode of Reference.

FW 1, 2 Fireworshippers, part 1, paragraph 2.

LA prol., Loves of the Angels, prologue. LA 2, 8. Do., story 2, paragraph 8.

LH 6, Light of the Harem, paragraph 6.

PP 24, Paradise and the Peri, paragraph 24.

VP 3, 17, Veiled Prophet, part 3, paragraph 17.

T 28, Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, section 28. Tep. Do. epilogue.

The examples are arranged according to the sounds, which, according to my pronunciation, are different, but must have been identical, according to the pronunciation of the poets, if the rhymes are perfect.

*Faulty Rhymes observed in Moore and Tennyson.*I. *Both rhyming syllables accented.*

(aa)=(æ)

last hast VP 2, 24

command brand VP 1 2

command hand VP 3 5—T ep.

glance expanse LA 1, 20. PP 5.

[in all these cases the first word is occasionally pronounced with (æ), more frequently with (ah).]

¹ In the few extracts that are given we find: (Aal fyyneral 1, 1, 8. waz pas 1, 4, 11. wheileer despair 1, 9, 28. luv muuv 2, 8, 1. morn weern 4, 2, 41. faikht smait 4, 2, 42.) And the following seem to be forced, a double value to -er, and -y being assumed,

(Britomart dezart 4, 1, 53. har-monii agrii 2, 12, 70. tshas'titii bii 3, intr., 5. dislo'alai doi 3, 5, 45.) The spelling here used is the preceding transliteration of Dr. Gill's, the references are to book, canto, stanza, of the *Faerie Queene*.

(aa)=(A, AA, o, oo)

bar war VP 3, 14

guard lord T 124

haunts wants T 96 [the first word has sometimes (AA), and the second either (A) or (o).]

(aaɪ)=(eɪ, ɪ)

hearth earth T 30. 76

(aa, AA)=(ee)

vase grace VP 2, 5. [the first word is very rarely called (vees), or (veez) generally (vAAZ, vAAZ).]

(A)=(aa), see (aa)=A

(AA)=(aa), see (aa)=(AA)

(AA)=(ee), see (ee)=(AA)

(æ)=(aa), see (aa)=(æ)

(æ)=(ee)

amber chamber FW 4, 37 [the second word in these cases is usually (tshæm·bɪ), occasionally (tshaam·bɪ); I do not know (tshæm·bɪ).]

clamber chamber FW 1, 8

have grave T 54

(e)=(ee)

death faith T 80. 106. 112.

said maid VP 1, 28 [the word *said* is perhaps occasionally called (seed).]

unsaid maid T 72

(e)=(i)

heaven driven FW 1, 1. 1. 15. 2, 11. 4, 8. LA 2, 42. VP 1, 33. 2, 33.

heaven forgiven LA 1, 14. 2, 13. 2, 66. FW 4, 1. PP 32.

heaven given FW 1, 2. 4, 4. 4, 7. 4, 24. LA 1, 9. 2, 8. 2, 37. 2, 46. 3, 1. 3, 5. LH 23. VP 1, 3. 1, 19. 1, 25. 2, 8. 2, 24. 2, 27.—T 16. 39

heaven o'erdriven T 61

heaven riven FW 3, 1. LH 6

heaven unriven VP 3, 11

[any attempt to say (hɪv·n) would no doubt have been scouted by any poet, but all poets allow the rhyme.]

inherit spirit PP 14 [(sper·it) is now thought vulgar]

yes this FW 3, 2 [compare Sir T. Smith, *suprà* p. 80].

(e)=(ii)

breath beneath LA 1, 15. 2, 2. VP 2, 31

breath underneath T 98

breath wreath LH 18. 22. VP 1, 9

death beneath FW 1, 17. 1, 18. 3, 6. 3, 14.—T 40

death sheath FW 4, 28. VP 1, 2.

death wreath FW 2, 13.—T 71

death underneath VP 3, 17

deaths wreaths LA 2, 63

heaven even FW 1, 17. LA 1, 6. 2, 38. PP 26. VP 1, 34

treads leads *v.* FW 4, 25

(eɪ, ɪ)=(ooɪ, ooɪ)

earth forth LA 3, 13. LH 30

(eɪ,ɪ)=(aaɪ) see (aaɪ)=(eɪ, ɪ)

(ə)=(o)

done upon FW 2, 11

done gone LA 1, 12

dusk kiosk VP 1, 24

one gone LH 5

one on T 42. 80. 82. ep.

one upon LA 2, 71. PP 32

rough off LH 5

run upon VP 1, 34

shun upon LA 2, 43. 2, 62

sun upon LA 2, 17. VP 1, 1

(ə)=(oo)

above grove LH 2

above love wove LA 3, 8

beloved roved LH 3

come home LA 2, 74. 3, 8. LH 18 twice. 22. VP. 2, 33. 3, 17.—T 6. 8. 14. 39.

discover over LH 4

love grove LH 20

love rove VP. 1, 18. 2, 35

lover over LH 1. 6.

loves groves FW 1, 9. LH 6. VP 1, 13.

one alone LH 24.—T 93

one shone VP 1, 15. LA *prol.* 5

one tone FW 4. 25

(ə)=(u)

blood good T 3. 33. 53. 82. 104

blood stood FW 2, 12. 2, 13. 4, 9

blood understood VP 1, 27. 3, 21

bud good T *ep.*

flood good T 126

flood stood FW 1, 13. 1, 18. 2, 8. 3, 11. 4, 29. PP 9

flood wood LH 25.—T 84

floods woods PP 12.—T 83

shut put T 35

thrush push T 89

(ə)=(uu)

beloved moved T 51

blood brood FW 1, 2, 3, 1. 4, 4.

blood food FW 3, 14.

come dome FW 1, 1.

come tomb FW 2, 9.—T 83

flood food VP 2, 5,

love move FW 4, 7. LH 5.—T 17. 25. 39. 100

love prove T prol. 26. 47. 83.
 loved proved PP 15. VP 1, 20.—T 103.
 129. ep.

loved removed LA 3, 10.—T prol. 13.
 loved unmoved FW 1, 3. 2, 12. LA 1,
 16. VP 2, 27

loves moves T ep.

some dome=*judgment* VP 1, 16

(əɪ, ɪ)=(ɔɪ, ɔəɪ)

curse horse T 6

words chords LA 2, 36. 2, 67. LH 33.

VP 2, 17.—T 47

word lord LA prol. 2.

(əɪ, ɪ)=(ooɪ, ooɪ)

return'd mourn'd FW 2, 13

urn mourn T 9

[some persons say (muum)]

word adored VP 1, 29

word sword FW. 1, 13. 2, 3

words swords VP 1, 2. 1, 8

(ee)=(ii)

bear fear T prol.

bears years T 51

wears tears s. LA 1, 15

(ee)=(aa), *see* (aa)=(ee)

(ee)=(æ), *see* (æ)=(ee)

(ee)=(e), *see* (e)=(ee)

(ee)=(ii)

to day quay T 14

(oi)=(i)

Christ mist T 28

Christ evangelist T 31

behind wind s. VP 1, 8

blind wind s. VP 3, 5

find wind s. T 8

kind wind s. VP 3, 2.—T 106

mankind wind s. T 28

[many readers always read (weind)
 in poetry instead of wind; Gill
 has generally (weind) even in
 prose.]

(oi)=(oi)

I joy T ep. [the pronunciation (oi
 dzhei) would be out of the question]

(ou)=(oo, oou)

brow below LH 5

brow know T 89

down grown VP 2, 10

down own LA 2, 39. PP 24

now low T 4

powers doors T 36

shower pour LH 2. [the pronunciation
 (pəuɪ) is now vulgar.]

(i)=(e), *see* (e)=(i)

(i)=(oi), *see* (oi)=(i)

(i)=(ii)

did seed T ep.

(ii)=(e), *see* (e)=(ii)

(ii)=(ee), *see* (ee)=(ii)

(ii)=(ee), *see* (ee)=(ii)

(iu)=(uu)

anew through LA 3, 10

anew two VP 3, 27

dew through VP 2, 4

ensue through T 115

few true FW 1, 17

hue drew LA 1, 20

hue knew through LA 1, 15

hue threw LH 25

hue too VP 1, 36

hue true FW 3, 10

hue who VP 3, 3

[if *hue* is pronounced (jhuu) and not
 (hiu) the six last cases may be
 esteemed rhymes.]

knew too FW 1, 13

new too T 13

perfume bloom LA prol. 2

perfume gloom T 93

lure sure VP 1, 29

lute shoot VP 1, 29. [some say (luur,
 luut).]

mute flute VP 3, 2. [some say (fiut).]

view true VP 1, 23. [some say (triu).]

use chose T 34

yew through T 74

(o)=(aa), *see* (aa)=(o)

(o)=(o), *see* (o)=(o)

(o)=(oo)

font wont T 29. [some say (wont) and
 others (wənt).]

God rode FW 3, 5. 4. 15

gone alone LA 1, 20. 2, 71. LA prol.

5. VP 2, 10.—T 103

gone shone FW 2, 9. PP 18. VP 1,

29. LA 1, 3. [some say (shan).]

loss gross T 40

lost boast T 1

lost ghost T 91

lost most LA 3, 7. 3, 9.—T. 27. 83

test host VP 3, 6

on shone LA 1, 2. 2, 20. VP 1, 7.

[some say (shan).]

wan shone FW 4, 15

(oi)=(oi), *see* (oi)=(oi)

(əɪ)=(əɪ, ɪ), *see* (ər, ɪ)=(əɪ)

(or, ɔəɪ)=(ooɪ, ooɪ)

lord adored FW 4, 12

storm form T 16. [some say (fɔɔɪm)
always, others distinguish (fɔɔɪm)
shape, (fɔɔɪm) seat.]

(oo) = (ə), see (ə) = (oo)

(oo) = (əu), see (əu) = (oo)

(oo) = (u)

mode good T 46

(oo) = (uu)

door moor T 28. [some say (moɔɪ).]

hope group FW 4, 16

more moor T 40. [probably a *rhyme*
riche p. 246, as: here hear T 35.]

more poor T 77

(ooɪ) = (eɪ, ɪ), see (eɪ, ɪ) = (ooɪ)

(ooɪ) = (ɔɪ), see (ɔɪ) = (ooɪ)

(ɔɔɪ) = (əɪ, ɪ), see (əɪ, ɪ) = (ɔɔɪ)

(ooɔ) = (əu), see (əu) = (ooɔ)

(u) = (ə), see (ə) = (u)

(u) = (oo), see (oo) = (u).

(u) = (uu).

foot brute T prol.

good food VP 2, 33

woods moods T 27. 35. 87

(uu) = (ə), see (ə) = (uu)

(uu) = (iu), see (iu) = (uu)

(uu) = (oo), see (oo) = (uu)

(uu) = (u), see (u) = (uu)

(dh) = (th)

breathe wreath s. VP 2, 7

(dhz) = (ths)

breathes sheaths FW 1, 2

breathes wreathes LH 2

(ɪ) = (ɔɪ, ɔɔɪ), see (ɔɪ, ɔɔɪ) = (ɪ)

(ɪ) = (ooɪ, ooɪ), see (ooɪ, ooɪ) = (ɪ)

(s) = (z)

bliss his VP 1, 2

else tells T 75

face gaze T 32

grace vase VP 2, 5 [adopting the pro-
nunciation (vaaz, vAAZ) or (veez),
this is faulty; only the unusual (vees)
saves the rhyme.]

house s. boughs T 29

(th) = (dh), see (dh) = (th)

(z) = (s), see (s) = (z)

house s. bows T 35

house s. vows T 20

ice flies T 105

paradise eyes LA 2, 11. VP 1, 3.—T
24. ep.

peace disease T 104

peace these T 88

race phase T ep.

this is PP 10.—T 20. 34. 83.

II. *An Unaccented Rhyming with an Accented Syllable.*

(eɪ, ɪ) *unaccented* = (eɪ, ɪ) *accented*
islander myrrh VP 3, 4

(eɪ, ɪ *unacc.* = (iiɪ) *acc.*

universe fierce VP 1, 25

(eɪ, æɪ) *unacc.* = (Aɪɪ) *acc.*

festival all VP 3, 19

musical fall VP 2, 17

(eɪ, æn) *unacc.* = (aan, ahn) *acc.*

circumstance chance T 62. [some say
(sɪˈkɛmstæns) with a distinct sec-
ondary accent on the last syllable.]

countenance chance T 112

deliverance trance VP 3, 18

inhabitants plants LH 10

utterance trance LH 33

visitant haunt VP 1, 12

(eɪm, əm) *unacc.* = (oom) *acc.*

masterdom home T 100

(eɪn, ən) *unacc.* = (ən) *acc.*

Lebanon sun FW 2, 11. PP 22

orison one VP 1, 22

(eɪ) *unacc.* = (əɪ) *acc.*

agony I, LA 2, 42

energies cries T 111

harmony die LA 2, 42

insufficiencies eyes T 110

miseries eyes FW 4, 7

mysteries replies T 37

obscurity lie LA 2, 60

prophecies rise T 90

sympathy die T 30

sympathy I T 61

tastefully hie VP 2, 2

(i) *unacc.* = (ii) *acc.*

agonies sees FW 1, 13

armory see VP 3, 1

canopies breeze VP, 3, 2

constancy be T 21

desperately sea FW 1, 17

destinies please LA 3, 15

energies ease VP 2, 7

eternities seas VP 2, 7

exquisite sweet FW 3, 13

harmonies breeze VP 2, 10. LH 17

history be T 101

immensity see LA 1, 20
 immortality thee VP 2, 9
 impatiently me LH 10
 instantly sea LH 19
 mockeries breeze VP 1, 9
 mystery thee T 95
 mystery sea LA 2, 38
 mysteries these LA, 2, 41

partially thee VP 1, 21
 philosophy be T 52
 poesy thee T 8
 purity bee LA 2, 16
 purity be LA 1, 7. 1, 16
 solemnly she LA 2, 44
 witchery free LH 24
 yieldingly three LA prol. 4

Some of these rhymes, as may be seen, are justifiable by diversities of pronunciation. Others are really rhymes of long and short vowels. But others cannot be made into rhymes with the help of any known received pronunciations. Thus:—1) bar war, guard lord, clamber chamber, amber chamber, have grave, heaven given [very common], heaven even [also common], death beneath, death sheath, &c. [common], earth forth, one gone, rough off, above grove, come home [very common], love grove &c., one alone &c., blood, good &c., flood stood &c., thrush push, blood food, come tomb, love move &c., curse horse, word lord [so that as we have: guard lord, we might have: word guard!] word sword, Christ mist, I joy, brow below, down grown &c., now low, loss gross, lost boast &c., mode good, hope group:—2) breathe wreath, breathes sheaths, bliss his, else tells, house *s.* boughs &c., ice flies &c.—are about as bad rhymes as can be, the first division being purely consonantal rhymes, and the second mere assonances. The rhymes of an unaccented and accented syllable are all bad, but the double use of unaccented final *-y*, *-ies*, to rhyme either with (*-ii*, *-iiz*) or (*-ai*, *-aiz*) at the convenience of the poet is really distressing; compare: agony I, agonies sees; energies cries, energies ease; harmony die, harmonies breeze; mysteries replies, mysteries these &c. It is at once evident that any attempt to derive the pronunciation of the *xix*th century from an examination of modern rhymes must utterly fail.

Now the extended examination of Spenser's rhymes above named, leads to a similar result. It would not only be impossible from them to determine his pronunciation, but his usages cross the known rules of the time, even if we include Hart's varieties, so multifariously, that the poet was evidently hampered with the multiplicity of rhyming words which his stanza necessitated,¹ and became careless, or satisfied with rough approximations.

The language in which he wrote was artificial in itself. It was not the language of the *xvi*th century, but aped, without reflecting, that of the *xv*th. The contrast between the genuine old tongue of Chaucer, or modern tongue of Shakspeare, and the trumped up tongue of Spenser, which could never have been spoken at any time, is painful. Coming to the examination of Spenser's rhymes fresh from those of Chaucer, the effect on my ears was similar to that produced by reading one of Sheridan Knowles's mock Elizabethan English dramas, after studying Shakspeare. It is sad that so great a poet should have put on such motley.

¹ The scheme of his rhymes is *a b a b b c b c c*, necessitating 2, 3, and 4 rhyming words.

Sometimes, either the author or the printer,—it is impossible to say which, but in all subsequent citations I follow Mr. Morris,—seems to think he can make a rhyme by adopting an unusual spelling. At other times unusual forms of words, long obsolete or else provincial, are adopted, and different forms of the same word chosen to meet the exigencies of the rhyme.

Unusual Spellings and Forms for appearance of Rhymes.

- infusd chusd = *chose* used 2, 2, 5
 fire yre stire = *stir* 2, 5, 2.
 draws jawes waves = *waves* 2, 12, 4.
 [see Salesbury, *supra* p. 785.]
 strond hond fond stond = *strand hand found strand*, 2, 6, 19. lond fond = *land found* 3, 2, 8. hand understand fond = *found* 3, 1, 60. [here the two first words have been left unchanged.]
 aboard affoord foord = *aboard afford ford* 2, 6, 19.
 entertayne demayne = *demean* 2, 9, 40
 paramoure succoure floure = *floor poure* 2, 10, 19.
 fayre hayre = *heir shayre = share* 2, 10, 28.
 weet = *wit v. feet* 2, 10, 71. [*weet* is constantly used.]
 gate hate awate = *await* 2, 11, 6.
 assault exault withhault = *withheld fault* 2, 11, 9. fault hault assault 6, 2, 23.
 tooke strooke = *struck* 2, 12, 38. strooke looke 2, 12, 38. broken stroken wroken, 6, 2, 7. tooke strooke awooke looke 6, 7, 48.
 vele = *veil* unhele concele 2, 12, 64.
 vele appele revele 3, 19. vele concele 4, 10, 41. Florimele vele 5, 3, 17.
 paynt faynt taynt daynt = *dainty* 3, intr. 2.
 way convey = *convey assay way* 3, 1, 2.
 surcease encrease preasse = *press peace* 3, 1, 23. preace = *press surcease peace* 4, 9, 32.
 fayre debonayre compayre = *compare, repayre* 3, 1, 20. fayre prepayre = *prepare* 3, 4, 14. chayre = *chere, dear, ayre, fayre* 3, 5, 51.
 sex wex = *wax v. vex flex = flax* 3, 1, 47.
 beare appeare theare 3, 2, 11.
 accomplishid = *-ed hid* 3, 3, 48.
 clim = *climb swim him* 3, 4, 42.
 alive deprive atchive = *achieve* 3, 5, 26.
 strowne sowne overflowne = *overflowed* 3, 9, 35.
 towne crowne downe compassiowne 3, 9, 39.
 bloud stoud remoud = *blood stood removed* 3, 9, 43.
 furst nurst = *first nursed* 3, 11, 1.
 rowme renowme = *room renown* 3, 11, 47.
 food feood = *feud blood brood* 4, 1, 26.
 craft draft = *draught beraft = bereft* engraft 4, 2, 10.
 burds = *birds words lords* 4, 2, 35.
 appeard reard affeard sward = *sword* 4, 3, 31. 33.
 speech = *speech empeach reach* 4, 10, 36.
 yeares peares = *peers* 4, 10, 49.
 powre recoure = *recover boure stoure* 4, 10, 58. lowre conjure recure = *recover* 5, 10, 26.
 Waterford boord = *board* 4, 11, 43.
 clieffe grieffe = *cliff grief* 4, 12, 5.
 grieve misbelieve shrieve mieve = *move* 4, 12, 26.
 layd sayd mayd denayd = *denied* 4, 12, 28.
 course sourse wourse = *source worse*, 5, intr. 1.
 hard outward shard = *sheared* 5, 1, 10.
 achieved believed prievied = *proved* 5, 4, 33. grieved relieved reprieved, 5, 6, 24.
 enter, bent her, adventer = *adventure, center* 5, 5, 5.
 knew rew = *row vew dew* 5, 5, 22.
 threw alew = *halloo few* 5, 6, 13.
 hight keight = *caught dight plight* 3, 2, 30. fight dight keight 5, 6, 29.
 wond fond kond = *woned found conned* 5, 6, 35.
 bridge ridge, lidge = *ledge* 5, 6, 36.
 smot = *smote forgot not spot* 5, 7, 29.

¹ The Globe edition Complete Works of Edmund Spenser, edited from the original editions and manuscripts by R. Morris, with a memoir by J. W. Hales, London, 1869. In this edition the stanzas of the *Faerie Queen* are

numbered, and hence my references to book, canto, and stanza can be easily verified. It has not been considered necessary to extend this examination beyond the *Faerie Queene*.

brast = *burst* fast past 5, 8, 8. just lust
 thrust brust = *burst* 5, 8, 22.
 strooke shooke quooke = *quaked* 5, 8, 9.
 betooke shooke quooke 6, 7, 24.
 had had sprad 5, 9, 25.
 price devise flourdelice 5, 9, 27.
 Eirene [in two syllables] clene strene =
strain, race 5, 9, 22.
 treat extreat = *extract* great seat 5, 10, 1.
 happinesse decesse = *decease* wretched-
 nesse 5, 10, 11.
 left theft reft gieft = *gift* 5, 10, 14.
 streight bright quight despight = *quite*
despite 5, 11, 5. quight sight des-
 pight sight 6, 11, 25.

strooke smooke = *struck smoke* looke
 shooke 5, 11, 22.
 doole = *dole* schoole foole 5, 11, 25.
 askew hew arew = *on a row blew = blue*
 5, 12, 29.
 espyde cryde scryde eyde = *espied cried*
(de)scried eyed 5, 12, 38.
 erst, pearst = *pierced* 6, 1, 45. earst
 pearst = *erst pierced* 6, 3, 39.
 reliv'd = *relieved* reviv'd riv'd depriv'd
 3, 8, 3.
 abroad troad = *tread* s. 6, 10, 5.
 flud = *flood* mud 6, 10, 7.
 brest drest chest kest = *breast dressed*
chest cast 6, 12, 15.
 gren = *grin* v. men when 6, 12, 27.

Occasionally, but not very often, Spenser indulges in unmistakable assonances, or mere consonantal rhymes, or anomalies, which it is very difficult to classify at all, as in the following list.

Anomalies, Eye Rhymes, Assonances.

mount front 1, 10, 53.
 fyre shyre conspyre yre 1, 11, 14 [here
shyre was a mere rhyme to the eye.]
 away decay day Spau 1, 11, 30.
 bath wrath hat'th = *hateth* bath 2, 2, 4.
 bough enough 2, 6, 25 [where *enough*
 is quantitative and not numerative.]
 mouth drouth couth = *could* 2, 7, 53.
 [eye-rhymes.]
 towre endure sure 2, 9, 21. [conso-
 nantal rhyme.]
 deckt sett = *decked set* 2, 12, 49. [an
 assonance.]
 Chrysogonee degree 3, 6, 4, [but] Chry-
 sogonee alone gone throne 3, 6, 5.
 [the very next stanza, whereas the
 former spelling is reverted to in 3,
 6, 51.]
 nest overkest = *overcast*, opprest 3, 6, 10.
 more store yore horrore = *horror* 3, 6, 36.
 stayd strayd sayd denayd = *denied* 3,
 7, 57. day tway denay = *deny* dismay
 3, 11, 11.
 gotten soften often 4, intr. 5. [an
 assonance.]
 health wealth deal'th = *dealeth* stealth
 4, 1, 6. [this may only be a long and
 short vowel rhyming.]
 maligne benigne indigne bring 4, 1, 30.
 [even if -igne is pronounced (-ign),
 as occasionally in Gill this will only
 be an assonance.]
 follie jollie dallie 4, 1, 36.
 evill drevill devill 4, 2, 3. [even when
 the two last words rhymed, as they
 were usually spelled, as *drivel divel*,
 they only formed consonantal rhymes
 with the first, and the spelling seems

to have been changed to make an
 eye-rhyme.]
 yborn morne morne werne = *weren* 4,
 2, 41. [see above p. 858, note.]
 mid hid thrid = *thread* undid 4, 2, 48
 emperisht cherisht guarisht florisht 4,
 3, 29 [consonantal rhymes.]
 discover mother other brother 4, 3, 40
 [assonance]
 aimed ordained 4, 4, 24 [assonance]
 ventred = *ventured* entred = *entered* 4,
 7, 31 [this would have been a rhyme
 in the XVIIth century.]
 dum = *dumb* overcum mum becum =
become 4, 7, 44, [here the spelling
 seems unnecessarily changed, the
 rhyme being, probably, good.]
 foure paramoure 4, 9, 6 [consonantal
 and eye rhyme]
 woont = *wont* hunt 5, 4, 29. [change of
 spelling probably used to indicate
 correct pronunciation, compare]
 wount hunt 6, 11, 9.
 neare few 5, 4, 37 [this may be con-
 sidered as an assonance, (near feeu),
 which takes off much of the harsh-
 ness apparent in the modern (niir
 fu).]
 grovell levell 5, 4, 40
 warre marre darre farre = *war mar*
dare far 5, 4, 44, [the spelling ap-
 parently altered to accommodate
dare, which had a long vowel, the
 others having short vowels.]
 thondred sondred encombred nombred
 5, 5, 19, encomber thonder asonder
 6, 5, 19, [assonance]
 endeavour labour favour behaviour 5, 5,

35 [part assonance, part consonantal rhyme.]
 attend hemd = *hemmed* kemd = *kempt*
combed portend 5, 7, 4, [assonance,
 it is curious that *kemd* was unnecessarily forced in spelling.]
 discover lover endeavor ever 5, 7, 22
 [consonantal rhyme].
 stronger longer wronger = *wrong doer*,
 5, 8, 7. [Did Spenser say (*stroq'er*
rwoq'er), or (*stroq'ger*, *rwoq'ger*),
 or did he content himself with an
 assonance? I lately heard (*siq'gr*)
 from a person of education.]
 desynes betymes crymes elymes = *designs*
betimes crimes climbs 5, 9, 42. [as-
 sonance.]
 tempted consented invented 5, 11, 50.
 [assonance.]
 washt scracht = *washed scratched* 5, 12,
 30. [assonance.]
 roade glade = *did ride, glade* 6, 2, 16.
 [consonantal rhyme.]

most ghost host enforst = *enforced*, 6,
 3, 39. [not only are the consonants
 different in the last word, but the
 vowel is probably short and not long
 as in the others.]
 queason reason season seisin 6, 4, 37.
 [With the last rhyme compare Sales-
 bury's *seesyn* (seez'in) for SEASON,
 p. 783.]
 maner dishonor 6, 6, 25.
 hideous monstrous hous battailous 6,
 7, 41. [consonantal or eye rhyme,
 unless Spenser called *hous* (hus).]
 live v. give drive thrive 6, 8, 35. [con-
 sonantal or eye rhyme]. forgive drive
 live v. grieve 6, 9, 22.
 alone home 6, 9, 16. [assonance.]
 wood stood bud aloud flud = *flood* 6, 10,
 6. [Did Spenser, like Bullokar, say
 (alud-) ?]
 turne mourne learne 6, 10, 18. [con-
 sonantal rhyme.]

The above examples, which it does not require any historical knowledge to appreciate, are amply sufficient to prove that Spenser allowed himself great latitude in rhyming, so that if we find him continually transgressing the rules of contemporary orthoepists, we cannot assume that he necessarily pronounced differently from all of them, or that he agreed with one set rather than another. When however we come to examine other words which he has rhymed together, where his rhymes, if they could be relied on would be valuable orthoepical documents, we find not only apparent anticipations of usages which were not fixed for at least a century later, but such a confusion of usages that we cannot be sure that he was even aware of these later pronunciations. Hence his rhymes not only do not shew his own custom, but they do not justify us in supposing that the more modern practice had even cropped up in stray cases. The principal conclusion then to be drawn from such an examination is that we have left the time of perfect rhymes, exemplified in Chaucer and Gower, far behind us, and that beginning at least with the xvth century we cannot trust rhymes to give us information on pronunciation. The previous examination of the rhymes of Moore and Tennyson shew that the same latitude yet remains. The esthetic question as to the advantage of introducing such deviations from custom does not here enter into consideration. But it would seem sufficiently evident that they arose at first from the difficulty of rhyming,¹ and there is no doubt that they remain in the majority of cases for the same reason. Their infrequency, and the mode in which they are generally disguised by orthography, or apparently justified from old usage, would seem to imply that the poet did not in general consciously adopt them, as musicians have adopted and developed the use of discords, in order to produce a

¹ See what Chaucer says, *supra* p. 254, note 2.

determinate effect. Hudibras is of course an exception, and all burlesque poems, where the effect intended is evident and always appreciated, but is not exactly such as is sought for in serious poems.¹ The following examples from Spenser may seem over abundant, but the opinion is so prevalent that old rhymes determine sounds, and Spenser's authority might be so easily cited to upset the conclusions maintained in the preceding pages on some points of importance, that it became necessary to show his inconsistency, and the consequent valuelessness of his testimony, by extensive citations. The arrangement as in the case of the modern poets is by the sounds made equivalent by the rhymes, but Dr. Gill's pronunciation, as determined by his general practice is substituted for my own. At the conclusion a few special terminations and words are considered, which I could not conveniently classify under any of the preceding headings.

Anomalous and Miscellaneous Rhymes in Spenser.

(a)=(aa)

awakt lakt=*awaked lacked* 2, 8, 51.
blacke lake make partake 5, 11, 32.
lambe came 1, 1, 5. lam sam dam=
lamb same dam 1, 10, 57. ame=*am*
dame same 1, 12, 30.

starr farr ar=*are* 1, 1, 7.

gard hard ward prepard=*prepared* 1,
3, 9.

was chace 6, 3, 50.

waste s. faste waste v. 1, 2, 42. past
last hast=*haste* 1, 4, 49.

¹ Those who wish to see the ludicrous and consequently undesirable effect which is often produced by such false rhymes, should consult a very amusing book called: *Rhymes of the Poets by Felix Ago*. (Prof. S. S. Haldeman), Philadelphia, 1868. 8vo. pp. 56. These rhymes are selected from 114 writers, chiefly of the xviith and xviiith centuries, and were often correct according to pronunciations then current. The following extract is from the preface: "*It is better to spoil a rhyme than a word.* In modern normal English therefore, every word which has a definite sound and accent in conversation, should retain it in verse; *great* should never be perverted into *greet* to the ear, *sinned* into *signed*, *grinned* into *grind*, or *wind* into *wind*" (wind, weind). "A few words have two forms in English speech, as *said*, which Pope and Th. Moore rhyme with *laid* and *head*; and *again*, which Shakespeare, Dryden, and Th. Moore rhyme with *plain* and *then*, and *Suckling* with *inn*." "The learned Sir William Jones is the purest rhymers known to the author, questionable rhymes being so rare in his verse as not to attract attention. His *ARCADIA* of 368 lines has but *forlorn* and *horn*; *god*, *rode*; *wind*, *behind*; *mead*, *reed*

(*mead* of *meadow* being *med* and not *meed*)." In a foot note he cites the rhymes: *mead* head, *meads* reeds *Dryden*, *tread* head *Herrick*, *mead* reed *Johnson*. "*CAISSA* of 334 lines, *SOLIMA* of 104, and *LAURA* of 150, are perfect. *THE SEVEN FOUNTAINS*, of 542 lines, has only *shone—sun*, and *stood—blood*. *THE ENCHANTED FRUIT*, 574 lines, has *wound—ground* twice, which some assimilate. The few questionable rhymes might have been avoided; and these poems are sufficiently extended to show what can be done in the way of legitimate rhyme. Versifiers excuse bad rhymes in several ways, as Dr. Garth [A.D. 1672-1719]—

Ill lines, but like ill paintings, are allow'd
To set off and to recommend the good:
but it is doubtful whether the Doctor would thus have associated *allow'd* and *good*, if he could have readily procured less dissonant equivalents. Contrariwise, some authors make efficient use of what to them are allowable rhymes, and much of the spirit of Hudibras would be lost without them.

Cardan believ'd great states depend
Upon the tip o' th' Bear's tail's end;
That, as she whisk'd it t'wards the Sun,
Strew'd mighty empires up and down;
Which others say must needs be false
Because your true bears have no tails!
—Butler."

(aa)=(aa)? or=(a)?

[In most of the following as in some of the preceding one of the words has now (ee).]

ame=*am* came shame 1, 5, 26.

prepar'd hard far'd 2, 11, 3. reward hard prepar'd 3, 5, 14. [compare 3, 8, 14, 4, 2, 27, 5, 4, 22.]

hast=*haste* fast 1, 6, 40. haste past fast hast *v.* 1, 9, 39. tast=*taste* cast 2, 12, 57. [compare 3, 2, 17, 3, 7, 38, 6, 10, 35, 6, 12, 16.]

gave have crave brave 1, 1, 3. wave save have 2, 6, 5. brave have slave 2, 7, 33. [compare 2, 8, 24, 2, 10, 6.]

w initial does not affect the subsequent *a*?

ran wan 1, 8, 42. man wan *a.* began overran 2, 2, 17. ran wan *v.* wan *a.* can 2, 6, 41. began wan *a.* 3, 3, 16. farre starre are=*are* warre 1, 2, 36.

ward saufgard far'd 2, 5, 8. reward far'd shard 2, 6, 38. 2, 7, 47. hard regard reward 3, 1, 27. 3, 5, 14. 4, 2, 27. ward unbard = *unbarred* far'd 4, 9, 5.

dwarfe scarfe 5, 2, 3.

was gras has 1, 1, 20, was pas 1, 1, 30. 1, 8, 19, was grass pas alas! 1, 9, 36. 2, 1, 41. 2, 6, 37, was masse 2, 9, 45. has was mas 2, 12, 34. 3, 4, 23. 5, 7, 17. was chace 6, 3, 50.

al=(*al*, *aal*, *aal*)?

fall funerall 1, 2, 20. fall martiall call 1, 2, 36. shall call fall 3, 1, 54. vale dale hospitale *avale*=*hospital avail* 2, 9, 10.

(*ee*)=(*aa*)

[The following rhymes in one stanza shew that *ea* could not have had the same sound as long *a*: speake awake weake shake sake be strake knee bee=*be*, 1, 5, 12, but the spelling and rhyme would lead to the conclusion that *ea* and long *a* were identical in:]

weake quake bespake 3, 2, 42.

dare spear 3, 10, 28, fare share compare appeare 5, 2, 48. fare whileare prepare bare 6, 5, 8.

regard rear'd 3, 8, 19.

grace embrace cace=*case* encrease 2, 7, 16.

late gate retrate = *retreat* 1, 1, 13. estate late gate retrate 1, 8, 12, 4, 10, 57. 5, 4, 45, 5, 7, 35. intreat late 4, 2, 51. treat late ingrate hate

6, 7, 2. entreat obstinate 6, 7, 40

nature creature feature stature 4, 2, 44.

receave=*receive* gave have 2, 10, 69.

endeavour, save her, favour, gave her 5,

4, 12. have save gave leave 5, 11,

46, leave have 6, 1, 9. save reave

forgave gave 6, 7, 12.

(*ai*)=(*aa*)

[The word *proclaim* has a double form with or without *i*, as we have seen supra p. 253, and similarly for *claim*; the latter word has both forms in French, hence such rhymes as the following are intelligible.]

proclame overcame dame same 1, 12, 20,

frame same name proclame 2, 5, 1.

came game fame proclame 5, 3, 7.

clame shame 4, 4, 9. came name clame

same 4, 10, 11. came clame tame

4, 11, 12.

[The following rhymes, however, seem to lead to the pronunciation of *ai* as long *a*, and if we took these in the conjunction with the preceding, where *ea* is equal long *a*, we should have *ai*=*ea* as in Hart, and both=long *a*, contrary to the express declarations of contemporary orthoepists, and to the rhymes of long *a* with short *a* already given. As Spenser's contemporary, Sir Philip Sidney apparently read *ai* as (*ee*) in Hart's fashion, see below p. 872, Spenser may have adopted this pronunciation also, and then his rhymes of *ai*, *a*, were faulty. But it is impossible to draw any conclusion from Spenser's own usage.]

Hania day 2, 10, 24. sway Menevia 3,

3, 55, pray day Æmylia 4, 7, 18.

say Adicia 5, 8, 20.

staide=*stayed* made shade displaide 1,

1, 14, 5, 4, 38. made trade waide

=*weighed* 1, 4, 27. made dismaide

blade 1, 7, 47. 6, 10, 28. layd sayde

made 1, 8, 32. said made laid 2, 7,

32. displayd bewrayd made 2, 12,

66. mayd blaed=*blade* dismayd 3,

1, 63. playd made shade 3, 4, 29. 3,

10, 10. decayd disswade 4, 9, 34.

taile entraile mayle bale 1, 1, 16.

whales scales tayles 2, 12, 23. faile

prevaile bale 3, 7, 21. assayle flayle

avayle dale 5, 11, 59.

slaine paine bane 2, 11, 29. retaine

Gloriane 5, 8, 3.

aire rare spare 1, 2, 32. fayre dispayre

shayre=*share* 1, 3, 2. chaire fare

sware bare 1, 3, 16. faire bare 1, 4,

25. ware=*aware* faire 1, 7, 1. declare

fayre 1, 7, 26. fare whilebare dispayre

rare 1, 9, 28 [see p. 858, note.] fayre

hayre shayre = *share* 2, 10, 28. 6, 2, 17. repaire care misfare share 4, 8, 5. care aire faire 4, 8, 8. haire = *hair* [certainly (heer)] bare are [certainly (aar)] faire 4, 11, 48. faire care 5, 9, 40. faire despaire empaire misfare, 5, 11, 48.

faire compare, 1, 2, 37 [see: compare appeare under (ee) = (aa).] payre prepare 1, 3, 34. fayre prepaire stayre declare 1, 4, 13. fayre hayre = *hair* (certainly (heer) even in Chaucer,) ayre prepayre 1, 5, 2. rare faire compaire 1, 6, 15 faire repaire *v. restore* rare 1, 8, 50. 3, 2, 22. fayre dispayre ayre prepayre 2, 3, 7 compayre fayre 2, 5, 29, faire debonaire prepaire aire 2, 6, 28, ayre prepayre 2, 11, 36. 3, 4, 14. fair threesquare spare prepare 3, 1, 4. fayre debonayre compayre repayre 3, 1, 26. 3, 5, 8. faire compare share 4, 3, 39. rare fare prepare faire 4, 10, 6. repayre fayre prepayre ayre 4, 10, 47.

grate *v. bayte* 2, 7, 34. state late debate baite, 4, intr. 1. late gate awaite prate 4, 10, 14. gate waite 5, 5, 4.

dazed raizd = *dazed raised*, 1, 1, 18. amaze gaze praise 6, 11, 13.

(ai) = (oi) ?

streight might fight 5, 10, 31. streight bright quight despight 5, 11, 5. streight right fight 5, 12, 8; [if we adopt the theory that Spenser's *ei* was generally (ee), these examples shew a retention of the old sound as in the modern *height*, *sleight*, although (heet, sleet) may be occasionally heard.]

ought = ought.

raught ought fraught saught = *sought* 2, 8, 40. raught wrought taught wrought 2, 9, 19.

(ee) = (e) = (ii) = (ai)

leach = *physician* teach 1, 5, 44. speech = *speech* teach 6, 4, 37.

proceede = (proceed) breede 1, 5, 22. doth lead, aread, bred, sead = *seed* 1, 10, 51. did lead, aread tread 2, 1, 7. reed = *read* weed steed agreed 4, 4, 39. tread proceed aread dread 4, 8, 13.

wreake weeke, seeke 6, 7, 13.

congealed heald = *held* conceal'd 1, 5, 29. beheld yeeld 4, 3, 14. beheld weld = *wield* 4, 3, 21.

beame teme = *team* 1, 4, 36. esteeme streeme extreme misseeme 3, 8, 26.

deemed seemed esteemed stremed 4, 3, 28. deeme extreme 4, 9, 1.

seene beene cleane keene = (ee, ii, ee, ii) 1, 7, 33. beene seene cleane weene 1, 10, 58. queene unseene cleene 2, 1, 1. meane leen atweene bene = *been* 2, 1, 58. keene seene cleane 3, 8, 37. 3, 12, 20. 5, 9, 49. greene cleene beeseene beene = (ii, ee, ii, ii) 6, 5, 38.

feend = *fiend* attend defend spend 3, 7, 32. freend = *friend* weend end amend 4, 4, 45. defend feend kend = *kenned* send 5, 11, 20.

keepe sheepe deepe chepe = *cheap* 6, 11, 40.

heare *v.* [= (hiir) see § 7] neare inquire weare 1, 1, 31. teare *v. feare* heare 1, 2, 31. feare there require 1, 3, 12. heare teare *s.* = (tiir) feare inquire 1, 3, 25. heare = *hair* beare appeare deare 1, 4, 24. deare appeare were heare *v.* 1, 9, 14. fare whyleare dispayre rare, 1, 9, 28. [see under (ai) = (aa).] were appeare feare seare 1, 11, 13. yeare forbeare neare weare = *were* 2, 1, 53. reare cleare appeare 2, 2, 40. yeares peares = *peers* teares *s.* 2, 10, 62. were dreare teare *v.* beare *v.* 2, 11, 8. deare, meare = *mere* 2, 11, 34. cleare appeare dispeire whyleare 5, 3, 1. beare appeare here fere = *companion* 5, 3, 22. beare cleare cheare = *cheer* despayre 5, 5, 38. neare eare feare reare 5, 12, 6. fere = *companion* pere = *peer*, dere = *dear*, clere = *clear* 6, 7, 29. steare = steer beare teare *v.* neare 6, 18, 12.

were here 1, 8, 49. there neare feare 1, 9, 34. there heare appeare 2, 12, 14. teare *v.* there heare 5, 8, 41.

weary cherry merry 6, 10, 22.

perce ferce reherce = *pierce fierce rehearse* 1, 4, 50. erst pearst = *pierced* 6, 1, 45.

peace preace = *press* release cease 1, 12, 19. surcease encrease preasse = *press* peace 3, 1, 23. release possesse willingness 4, 5, 25. cease, suppress 4, 9, 2.

beast brest = *breast* suppress 1, 3, 19. 1, 8, 15. beasts behests 1, 4, 18. feast beat deteast = *detest* 1, 4, 21. 1, 11, 49. beast, creast = *crest* feast address 1, 8, 6. east creast 1, 12, 2. beasts crests guests 2, 12, 39. east increast gest 3, 2, 24.

heat sweet eat threat = (ee, ii, ee ?) 1, 3, 33. heate sweat eat 1, 4, 22. great heat threat beat 1, 5, 7. seat great excheat 1, 5, 25. 2, 2, 20. 2, 11, 32. great treat intrete [see under

(ee)=(aa)] discrete 1, 7, 40. heat forget sweat 2, 5, 30. threat entreat 3, 4, 15. greater better 4, 1, 7. entreat threat retreat 4, 7, 37. death breath uneath 1, 9, 38. 2, 1, 27. together ether = *either* thether = *thither* 6, 12, 10. conceiv'd perceiv'd berev'd griev'd 3, 6, 27.

(e)=(i).

left bereft gift lift 6, 8, 1. spirit merit 4, 2, 34. address brest wrest = *addressed breast* wrist 2, 3, 1. sitt bitt forgett fitt 1, 3, 14.

(i)=(ii).

clieffe grieffe = *cliff grief* 4, 12, 5. field build kild skild = *killed skilled* 2, 10, 73. wield shield field skild 4, 4, 17.

(i) unaccented = (ii) accented.

tragedie degree hee 2, 4, 27. see jeopardee thee 3, 4, 10. diversly free he 1, 2, 11. foresee memoree 2, 9, 49. bee thee perplexitie 1, 1, 19, knee see maiestee = *majesty* 1, 4, 13. batteree bee chastitee see 1, 6, 5. see libertee jollitee free 1, 9, 12. courtesee modestee degree nicetee 1, 10, 7. bee modestee see 2, 9, 18.

(i)=(oi).

alive revive give rive 2, 6, 45. liv'd depriv'd surviv'd deriv'd 2, 9, 57.

(i) unaccented = (oi) accented.

prerogative reprove = *reprieve* alive 4, 12, 31.

avyse lyes *v.* melodies 2, 12, 17. jeopardy ly spy desery 2, 12, 18. jeopardy cry enemy 3, 1, 22. supply jeopardy aby lie 3, 7, 3. abie remedie 3, 10, 3. fly fantasy privily sly 1, 1, 46. greedily ny 1, 3, 5. diversly jollity hye = *high* daintily 1, 7, 32. envy by continually 1, 7, 43. thereby die eternally 1, 9, 54. incessantly eye industry 2, 7, 61. suddenly hastily cry 2, 8, 3. furiously aby hy fly 2, 8, 33. hy victory readily armory 3, 3, 59. cry forcibly dy 3, 10, 13. fly eye furiously diversely 3, 10, 14.

flies applyes enemies lyes 1, 1, 38. flye dye enemy 2, 6, 39. enemy dy destiny 2, 12, 36.

harmony sky hy = *high* dry 1, 1, 8. company fly venery eye 1, 6, 22. hye ly tyranny by and bye 1, 8, 2. cry fly

espy agony 2, 12, 27. jealousy fly villany thereby 3, 1, 18. eye destiny 3, 3, 24. lyes supplies progenyes 3, 6, 36. eye villany family spie 5, 6, 35. victorie lye armory enimie 1, 1, 27. eyes miseries pyles idolatryes 1, 6, 19. thereby memory dy 1, 11, 47. perjury fly injury 1, 12, 27. despise miseries 2, 1, 36. eye skye chivalrye hye 2, 3, 10. I enemy victory 2, 6, 34. arise flies skies injuries 2, 9, 16. fealty agony dy 1, 3, 1. deitye flye nye = *nigh* 1, 3, 21. cry dishonesty misery chastity 1, 3, 23. eye skye chastitye 1, 6, 4. eye hye majestye tye, 1, 7, 16. enemy tragedy cry libertie 1, 9, 10. mortality by fly victory 1, 10, 1. apply melancholy jollity 1, 12, 38. flye hye = *hie* perplexitye 2, 4, 13. skye envye principality incessantly 2, 7, 8. thereby sty dignity 2, 7, 46. envy sovereignty enmity fly 2, 10, 33. majesty victorie faery dy 2, 10, 75. apply captivity infirmity tyranny 2, 11, 1. eye tranquillity boystrously 3, 10, 58.

[Numerous poeticus proparoxytonis in [i] saepe vltimam productam acuit, vt, (mizerai, konstansai, destinai): vnde etiam in prosâ ferè obtinuit, vt vltimâ vel longâ vel breui aequaliter scribatur, et pronuncietur, non acuantur tamen.—Gill *Logonomia*, p. 130.]

(ii)=(oi).

wilde defilde vilde yilde = *wild defiled vile yield* 1, 6, 3.

(oi)=(oi).

chyld spoild beguyld boyld 5, 5, 53. exyled defyld despoyled boyled 5, 9, 2.

beguiled recoyld 1, 11, 25. while foyle guyle style 4, 2, 29. despoile guile foile 6, 6, 34.

awhile toyle turmoyle 2, 12, 32. spoile turmoile while toile 6, 8, 23.

stryde ryde annoyd guide 4, 8, 37. replide annoyd destroyd 6, 1, 7. side annoyd destroyde pryde 6, 5, 20.

vile spoile erewhile stile 2, 8, 12. pyle guyle spoile toyle 2, 11, 7. wyld despoyled toylid 3, 10, 39. awhile vile exile spoile 3, 11, 39. while toyle spoyle 4, 9, 12. 5, 2, 11. guile despoile 5, 4, 31. awhile mile toile spoile 6, 4, 25.

spyde destroyd applyde 3, 8, 2. awhile soyle 3, 3, 33. toyle awhile soyle 4, 3, 29. 4, 4, 48.

(oo)=(uu)=(u).

rose expose lose 3, 1, 46. disposed
loosd 4, 5, 5. loos'd enclos'd disclos'd
4, 5, 16. whom become 4, 7, 11.
wombe come roam home 4, 12, 4.
groome come somme=*sum* 5, 6, 8.

(oo)=(o)=(u).

rocke broke 2, 12, 7. wroth loth
goth=*goeth* 2, 12, 57. wroth loth
blo'th=*bloweth* 3, 7, 8. alone anone
bemone swone=*bemoan swoon* 6,
6, 30.

lord ador'd scor'd word 1, 1, 2. sworne
retourne mourne 1, 12, 41. sword word
abhor'd 2, 1, 11. abord ford word
lord 2, 6, 4. foure paramoure 2, 9,
34. paramoure succoure floure poure
=*floor pour* 2, 10, 19. attone done
on 5, 6, 17. retourne forlorne 5,
6, 7.

(o)=(u).

long wrong tong 1, int. 2. along tong
strong hong 1, 5, 34. tong hung
stong 2, 1, 3. wrong tong strong 2,
4, 12. prolong wrong dong long 2,
8, 28. strong along sprong emong
2, 12, 10. sprong emong flong 3, 4,
41. hong strong 3, 11, 52.

ou, ow=(ou)? or =(uu)?

downe sowne=*sound swowne=swoon*
towne 1, 1, 41. bowre howrestowre=
bower hour stour 1, 2, 7. 2, 3, 34.
towre powre scowre conqueroure 1,
2, 20. howre lowre powre emperour
1, 2, 22. wound stound found 1, 7,
25. wound sownd 1, 8, 11. found
hound wound 2, 1, 12. bower haviour
2, 2, 15. towre endure sure 2, 9, 21.
wonderous hideous thus piteous 2,
11, 38. hous valorous adventurous
victorious 3, 3, 54. Hesperus joyeous
hous 3, 4, 51. hous ungratious hideous
3, 4, 55. hous glorious 3, 6, 12. thus
hous 3, 11, 49. thus outrageous 4,
1, 47.

ow=(oo)?

none owne unknowne 1, 4, 28. foe flow
show grow 1, 5, 9. so foe overthroe
woe 2, 4, 10. overthrowne knowne
owne none 6, 1, 14.

ir=(ur)?

foorth worth birth 2, 3, 21.

er=(ar)

harts=*hearts* smart parts desarts=
deserts 2, 2, 29. desert part 2, 4, 26.
serve starve 2, 6, 34. serve deserve

swerve 3, 7, 53 [(er) or (ar)?] dart
smart pervart=*pervert* hart=*heart*
3, 11, 30. Britomart part heart de-
sart 4, 1, 33. depart hart art revert
4, 6, 43. hart smart dart convert 5,
5, 28. parts smart arts desarts 6, 5,
33. regard mard prefard=*marred pre-
ferred* 6, 9, 40. [In reference to
this confusion of (er, ar) it may be
noticed that Prof. Blackie of Edin-
burgh, in his public lectures, pro-
nounces accented *er* in many words,
in such a manner that it is difficult
to decide whether the sound he
means to utter is (er, ær, ar), the *r*
being slightly, but certainly, trilled.
A similar indistinctness may have
long prevailed in earlier times, and
would account for these confusions.]
marinere tears 1, 3, 31. [does this
rhyme (er, ær)?]

(uu)=(u)

brood mood good withstood 1, 10, 32.
blood good brood 1, 10, 64. groome
comesomme=*sum* 5, 6, 8. mood stood
woo'd 5, 6, 15. approve move love 2,
4, 24.

u=(u)?=(uu)?

Lud good 2, 10, 46. flood mud blood
good 5, 2, 27. woont hunt 5, 4, 29,
push rush gush 1, 3, 35. rush bush 2,
3, 21. rush push 3, 1, 17.
but put 1, 6, 24.
truthensu'th youth ruth 1, 6, 12. 2, 3, 2.

u=ew.

use accuse abuse spues 1, 4, 32. vewd
rude, 3, 10, 48. newes use 5, 5, 51.

(s)=(z).

blis enemis=*bliss enemies* 4, 9, 16. prise
=*prize* thrise=*thrice* cowardise em-
prise 5, 3, 15.

-e, -ed syllabic.

to the long raynes at her commande-
ment 3, 4, 33.

salvagesse sans finesse, shewing secret
wit 3, 4, 39 [*salvagesse* has its final
e elided, *finesse* preserved, shewing
inconsistency.]

wondered answered conjectured 2, 4, 39.
accomplishid hid 3, 3, 48. led ap-
pareld garnished 3, 3, 59. fed for-
wearied bed dread 5, 5, 50. [but -ed
is constantly =(-d, -t).]
formerly grounded and fast setteled 2,
12, 1. [this is remarkable for both
the last syllables].

gh mute.

spright sight quight=*quite* sight 1, 1, 45. diversely jollity hye=*high* daintily 1, 7, 32. 1, 8, 2. 2, 8, 33. unites dities=*lights* smites lites=*lights* 1, 8, 18. exercise emprise lies thies=*thighs* 2, 3, 35. bite night 3, 5, 22. write, light, knight 3, 9, 1. bite knight might 6, 6, 27. delight [generally without *gh*] sight knight sight 6, 8, 20.

made trade waide=*weighed* 1, 4, 27. [see also (aa)=(ai).]

bayt wayt strayt=*straight* sleight 2, 7, 64. [see also (ai)=(ai).]

heard=(hard)=(herd)?

heard embard=*embarred* 1, 2, 31. regard heard 1, 12, 16. heard far'd prepar'd 2, 2, 19. heard unbard prepar'd=*unbarred prepared* 5, 4, 37. heard reward 5, 7, 24. heard hard debard 5, 9, 36.

heard beard afeard seared 1, 11, 26. heard afeared reard 2, 3, 45. 2, 12, 2. heard beard heard steared=*steered* 3, 8, 30. heard feard reard beard 5, 11, 30.

hair=(hair)=(haar)=(heer).

hayr hayre 1, 12, 21

affayres shayres hayres cares 2, 10, 37. deare heyre 2, 10, 61.

inquire=(*inkweer*)=(*inkwair*).

inquere spere=*spear* 2, 3, 12. nere=*near* were inquire 3, 10, 19. inquire were nere 5, 11, 48.

retire inquire desire 5, 2, 52.

-i-on in two syllables.

submission compassion affliction 1, 3, 6. devotion contemplation meditation 1, 10, 46. Philemon anon potion 2, 4, 30. upon anon confusion 2, 4, 42. conditions abusions illusions 2, 11, 11. fashion don complexion occasion 3, 6, 38. fashion anon gon=*gone* 3, 7, 10. [these examples of *fash-i-on*, are valuable, because the *sh* spelling seemed to imply *fash-ion* in two syllables]. compassion upon affliction stone 3, 8, 1. foundation reparation nation fashion 5, 2, 28. discretion oppression subjection direction 5, 4, 26. Gergon oppression subjection region 5, 10, 9. Coridon contention 6, 10, 33.

inclina-tion fa-shion 6, 9, 42.

[Whether the two last syllables are to be divided or no, it is difficult to say; if they are, the lines have two super-

fluous syllables. The stanza begins thus—

But Calidore, of courteous inclination
Tooke Coridon and set him in his place,
That he should lead the dance as was his
fashion.

On account of the laxity of Spenser's rhymes it is impossible to say whether this was a rhyme or an assonance, that is, whether the *-tion* was pronounced as *-shion*. I am inclined to think not. See the remarks on Shakspeare's rhyme: passion fashion, below § 8.]

like=(*litsh*).

witch pitch unlich=*unlike* twitch 1, 5, 28. bewitch sich=*such* lich=*like* 3, 7, 29.

love.

love hove move 1, 2, 31. approve move love 2, 4, 24. love behove above reprove 6, 2, 1.

one.

one shone gone 1, 1, 15. throne one fone=*foes* 3, 3, 33. gone alone one 3, 8, 46.

shew=(shoo, shoo; sheu)?

show low 1, 2, 21. slow show 1, 3, 26. foe flow show grow 1, 5, 9. slow low show 1, 10, 5. shewn known, own thrown 5, 4, 18. show flow know 5, 9, 13. forgoe, showe 6, 1, 27. shewed bestrowed unsowed sowed 6, 4, 14. moe=*more* showe knowe agoe 6, 11, 11. view vew shew 1, 2, 26. 2, 3, 32. 3, 1, 41. 5, 3, 23. vew knew shew crew 1, 4, 7. newes shewes 1, 7, 21. subdewd shewd 2, 8, 55. shew vew knew hew 2, 9, 3. 2, 11, 13. grew hew shew 3, 3, 50. dew shew 3, 6, 3. hew new trew shew 4, 1, 18. drew threw shew hew 4, 8, 6. trew embrew shew rew. 5, 1, 16. vew pursew shew 6, 5, 22. vew shew askew hew 6, 10, 4.

would, could, should.

mould could would 1, 7, 33. tould would 1, 7, 41. mould should defould 1, 10, 42. gold bold would mould 2, 7, 40. behould should hould 3, 11, 34. behold hold would 4, 10, 16. would hould 5, 5, 55. mould could should 5, 6, 2. could behould 5, 7, 5. Gould could would hould 6, 1, 29. bold would hould 6, 5, 15.

wound, swound.

wound round sound 1, 1, 9. stownd ground wound 2, 8, 32. found swound ground 4, 7, 9.

Sir Philip Sidney's Rhymes.

Gill cites several passages from Sir Philip Sidney (A.D. 1554-86) who was the contemporary of Spenser (A.D. 1552-99). Mr. N. W. Wyer has kindly furnished me with a collection of rhymes from Sir Ph. Sidney's version of the Psalms, which I have arranged as follows. It will be seen that Sidney was a more careful rhymers than Spenser. But he seems to have accepted the mute *gh*, Hart's pronunciation of *ai* as (ee), the inexpediency of distinguishing (oo) and (oo), and the liberty of making final *-y*=(*i*) rhyme with either (ii) or (ei). His other liberties are comparatively small, and his imperfect rhymes very few. In the following list the numbers refer to the numbers of the psalms in which the rhymes occur. The arrangement is not the same as for Spenser's rhymes, but rather alphabetical.

Apparently imperfect Rhymes.

Cradle able 71, is a mere assonance.
Hewne one 80, is difficult to understand, unless *hewn* like *shewn*, had occasionally an (oo) sound.

Abandon randon = *random* 89, the imperfection is here rather apparent than real, as *randon* is the correct old form.

Proceeding reading 19, it is very possible that in *precede*, *succeed*, *proceed*, the *e* was more correctly pronounced (ee), or at least that a double pronunciation prevailed. See Spenser's rhymes, p. 868, col. 1, under (ee) = (ii).

Share bare ware = *wear* 35, this must be considered a real bad rhyme.

A.

Long and short: am game 22, am came 37, forsake wrack 37, inviolate forgate estate 78, tary vary 71, grasse place 37, hast last 9, barre are 82, farr are 88, 103, past haste 88, wast = *waste* plast 31, plac'd hast 5. 8, plast fast 31, cast defast 74, tast caste 18, orecast tast 16, hath wrath 2.

Have rhymes with: grave 5. 16, crave 16, save 28. 33, wave 72.

W does not affect the following *a*, in: wast last 9, was passe 18, flashed washed 66, quarrell apparrell 89, wander wander 143.

A.I.

Uncertain, (ai) or (ee): praies = *preys* staies tay say ay 28, afraid laide 3.

Probably imperfect, ai = (aa): praise phrase 34, repaire are 91.

Nearly certain ai = (ee), since even Gill writes *conceit* with (ee), though he admits (ei, ei) in *they obey*: they saye 3, conceite waite 20, waite deceite 38, conceite seate 40, obey daie 45.

Quite certain ai = (ee), seas laies 33, sea survey 72, sea way 136, praise ease 10, daies ease 37, pleased praised 22, praise please waies raise 69, staine cleane 32, meane vaine 2, chaine meane 28, streames claims 32, waite greate 26, waiteth seateth 1, disdayning meaning 37, bereaves glaives leaves 78, heyre were 90, and hence: aire heire 8, while the rhyme ai = (e) in *plaint lent* 22 strongly confirms the belief that the above were natural rhymes to Sidney's ear, and consequently the co-existence of (ai, ee) for the sound of *ai* in the XVIth century among polite speakers, notwithstanding Gill's denunciation.

AU, AW.

The following few rhymes do not establish anything, but they serve to confirm the orthoepist's dictum of the development of (u) after (a) when (l) or (n) follows: crawl'd appal'd 74, shall appall 6, all shall 2, vaunting wanting 52, chaunces glances 52.

E.

Probably Sidney said (frend) and not (friind) *suprà* p. 779, as in: frend wend 38, frend defend 47.

EA.

The confusion of *ea* and *e* short in spelling, and the rhymes of similar orthographies, confirm the general pronunciation of *ea* as (ee): greater better 71, greate sett 21, greate seate 48, distresse release 74, encrease oppress 25, rest brest neast 4, head spread 3, treads leads 1, leade tread 25, treadeth leadeth 84, seate treat 100. 102, encrease prease 144, pearced rehearsed 22, break weak, 2.

The influence of *r* is felt in the following words, where *ea* or *e* would be naturally pronounced (ee), but was undoubtedly at times (ii), p. 81, and poets may have taken the liberty of using either pronunciation as best suited their convenience: heere teare, 55, here nere 91, deere heare appeare 20, heare appeare 6. 57, eare feare appeare where 55, appeares yeares endeares spheares 89, neere cleere 34, there heare 102, beare there 55, feare bear 34, beare were 22, deere were beare cleare 55, beare weare=*were* 48, eare outbeare appeare weare cheere feare weare 49, sphere encleare 77, heire forbearere mere speare 55.

ER.

The rhymes: heard barr'd 34, guard heard 116, which certainly corresponded to a prevalent, though not generally acknowledged pronunciation, properly belong to the same category as: parts harts=*hearts* 12, avert heart 51, desert part hart 6, avert hart 119, preserved swarved 37, art subvert 100. 102. See *suprà* p. 871, c. 1, under *heard*.

EU, EW, IEW, U.

These all belong together. The orthoepical distinctions (yy, eu) seem to have been disregarded. Whether they were sunk into (iu, ju) cannot be determined, and is perhaps not very likely at so early a period. See however the remarks on Holyband's observation in 1566, *suprà* p. 838: true adieu 119, view pursue 46, ensue grew new view 60, pursue dew new 105, you pursue 115, you true renewe 31, renew ensue you 78, knew true rue 18, new you 96, grew imbrue 78, subdue brew 18, chuse refuse 89.

GH.

We know that the guttural was only faintly pronounced (*suprà* p. 779) although even Hart found it necessary to indicate its presence by writing (h). The poets of the xvth century however generally neglected it in rhyming as: prayeng weighing 130, waigh alway alley stay 55, pay weigh 116, surveying waighing 143, day decay stray waigh 107, laide weighd 103, delighted cited 1, sprite wight 9, sight quight 25, quite sight spight light 69, wight quite 39, bite spight 3, sprite might 13, high thy 43, high awry 119, eye high 131, I high 46, high dy cry 9, though goe 43, wrought thought caught 9, aloft wrought 77.

GN.

After a vowel the *g* appears to have been regularly mute as: Assigned kind find minde 44, assigned enclined 11, remaineth raigneth 3.

I.

There was probably some little uncertainty in the pronunciation of *i* in the following words, as we know that Gill had great doubts concerning *build*: build shield 35, shield fil'd yeeld 28, field reconcil'd 60, theevery delivery 75, give relieve greeve 82.

The uncertainty of the final *-y*, which Gill gives both as (oi) and (ii), is shewn by the following examples which are quite comparable with Spenser's, p. 869, col. 1.

High apply perpetually 9, unceasingly cry 77, eye effectually 115.

Sacrifice ly 4, magnify hie 9, fly slippery 35, misery supply 79, memorie flie I orderlie 50, injuries suffice applies lies 58, memory relye 105;—but: be chivalry 20.

Jollity eye 31, jolities tiranize 94, veritie lie 31, verity hie 57, ly iniquity 10, high vanity lie 4, high try equity 6;—but: infirmity me 41, see vanity 39, equity me thee 4, be vanity 39, thee eternity 21, be iniquity he 36, bee thee see degree me treachery free enemy 54, be constancy 34.

L.

It would seem that the practice of omitting *l* in *folk*, was at least known, if not admitted, by Sidney, as he rhymes: folk cloak 28, folkes invokes 32,

O.

The following rhymes all point to the pronunciation of long and short *o* as (oo, o) and not as (oo, a): crossed engrossed 69, coast hoast 33, ones bones 42, one alone moane 4, mones ones 74, none bone 109, therefore adore 66, borne scorn 2, floore rore 96, abroad God 10, God load 67, upon stone 40, folly holy 43, sory glory 42.

The following imply that *o* was also occasionally pronounced as (uu) or (u), though the three last rhymes were more probably imperfect: approve love 1, love move 12, moved behoved 20, love above grove remove 45, doe unto 119, begunn undunn down 11, become dumb 38, sunn done 79, slumbered encombered 76, punished astonished 76, dost

unjust 77, sprong tongue 8, wrong flong 45, flong song 60, strong dunge 83.

OI.

The rhymes here are insufficient to convey much information, yet perhaps they rather imply (oi) than (ui): an-noïd enjoy'd 81, destroi'd anoi'd 10.

OO.

This is used rather uncertainly, as (uu, u) and even as rhyming to (oo): good blood 9, brood bloud 57, poore more 69, wordes boordes affordes 78, lord worde 50. The rhyme: budds goodes, is strongly indicative of the old pronunciation of *u* as (*u*) without any taint of the xviith century (ə).

OU, OW.

The following are quite regular as (ou): wound undrown'd 68, wound bound found 105, power hower = *hour* 22, thou bowe 99, thou now 100.

In: thou two 129, yours towres 69, the older sound of (uu) seems to have prevailed, and in: mourn turn 69, us glorious 115, such touch much 35, we have the regular short (u), belonging to the same class.

In: could gold 21, would hold 27,

we have the same curious emancipation of *ou* from this category that was observed in Spenser, p. 872, col. 2, and is still occasionally met with, as I have heard it in use myself.

In: soule rowle = *roll* 26, soule extoll 103, we have apparently the regular action of *l* on *o* long to produce (oo), but the following rhymes shew that even if the (u) had not been developed the rhyme would have been permissible: know so 72, unknown one 10, knowers aftergoers 85, alone unknown none forgone 44, floues inclose 105, blows foes 3, showes goes 10, bestoe goe 100, throw show goe 18, woe goe show; woe row show 107, repose growes 62, woe growe 41, own one 16—and the rhyme: owner honor 8. 37, in connection with these, shews how indifferent the long and short sounds of *o* were to the ear of a rhymist.

S.

In: this is 10, is his misse 11, is misse 115, blisse is 4, rased defaced 79, we have a confusion of (s) and (z), but in: presence essence 68, sacrifice cries 50, sacrifices sizes 66, the rhymes may have been pure. In: sent pacient 6, we have an indication of *si*-untransformed into (sh).

§ 6. *Charles Butler's Phonetic Writing, and list of Words Like and Unlike, 1633-4.*

The indistinctness with which Butler has explained, and the laxity with which he apparently denotes his vowels, have occasioned me considerable difficulty in attempting a transcription of his phonetic writing. But inasmuch as he has printed two books of fair dimensions, his *Grammar* and his *Feminine Monarchy*, in his own character, so that he is the most voluminous phonetic writer with whom we have to deal, it was impossible to pass him over, and I have therefore endeavoured to transliterate a short passage from his *Feminine Monarchy or History of Bees*, 1634, which was printed in the ordinary as well as well the phonetic orthography. The vowel system is, so far as I can understand it, more truly of the xvth century than even Dr. Gill's, and therefore this is the proper place for it, although it was published after the first third of the xviith century. At the conclusion are annexed some extracts from his List of Words Like and Unlike, in his own orthography, using italics to represent his variants of old forms. In the following extract probably (*i*) should be read for (*i*), but the whole vowel system is too uncertain to insist upon such minute distinctions.

Extract from Butler's FEMININE MONARCHY, p. 2-4.

And aul dhis under dhe guv'ernment of oon Mon'ark . . . of whuum, abuv' aul thingz, dhei haav a prin'sipal kaar and respekt-luuv'ing rev'rensing and obei'ing Her in aul thingz.—If shii goo fuurth tu soo'laas hir self, (as suum'teim shii wil) man'i of dhem attend' her, gard'ing hir per'son bifo'or and bineind': dhei whitsh kuum fuurth bifo'or her, ev'er nou and dhen return'ing, and luuk'ing bak, and maak'ing withaul' an ekstra,ord'inari nois, as if dhei spaak dhe lang'gwaadzh of dhe Knikht Mar'shalz men; and soo awai' dhei flei turedh'er and anon in leik man'er dhe attend' her bak again' . . . If bei hir vois shii bid dhem goo, dhei swaarm; if bii'ing abroad' shii disleik' dhe wedh'er, or leikh'ting plaas, dhei kwik'li' riturn' hoom again'; wheil shii tshiir'eth dhem tu bat'el, dhei feikht; wheil shii is wel, dhei ar tshiir'ful about' dheir wuurk; if shii drup and dei, dhei wil nev'er af'ter endzhoi' dheir hoom, but eidher lang'gwish dheer til dhei bii ded tuu, or jild'ing tu dhe Rob'berz, flei awai' with dhem. . . . But if dhei haav man'i Prin'ses (as when twuu flei awai' with oon swaarm, or when twuu swaarmz ar heiv'ed turedh'er) dhei wil not bii kwei'et til oon of dhem bii cassiir'ed; whitsh suum'teim dhei bring down dhat iiv'ning tu dhe man'tl, wheer ju mai feind her kuv'erd with a lit'l heep of Biiz, udh'erweiz dhe nekst dai dhei kar'ri her fuurth ei'dher ded or ded'li wound'ed. Konsern'ing whitsh mat'ter, ei wil niir rilaat' oon mem'orabl eksper'iment. "Twuu swaarmz bii'ing put turedh'er, dhe Biiz on booth seidz as dheir man'er is, maad a mur'muring noiz, as bii'ing dis'konten'ted with dhe sud'dain kongres of strain'dzherz: but knoou'ing wel dhat dhe moor dhe merrier, dhe saa'fer, dhe warm'er, jee, and dhe bet'er proveded, dhei kwik'li maad friendz. And haaving agrii'ed whitsh Kwiin shuuld rein, and whitsh shuuld dei, thrii or foour Biiz brooukht oon of dhem down bitwiin' dhem, pul'ling and haal'ing her as if dhei weer leed'ing her tu eksekyy'siun whitsh ei bei tshaans perseeiv'ing, got hoould of her bei dhe wingz, and with mutsh aduu' tuuk her from dhem. After a wheil (tu sii what wuuld kuum of it) ei put her in'tu dhe Heiv again: noo suun'er was shii amung' dhem, but dhe tyy'mult bigan' afresh' greet'er dhan bifo'or; and present'li dhei fel turedh'er bei dhe eerz, feers'li feikht'ing and kil'ling oon an udh'er, for dhe spaas of moor dhan an our turedh'er: and bei noo miinz wuuld sees, until' dhe puur kondem'ned Kwiin was broukht fuurth slain and laid bifo'or dhe duur. Whitsh duun dhe streif present'li end'ed, and dhe Biiz agrii'ed wel turedh'er."

INDEX OF WORDS LIKE AND UNLIKE.

"Soom words of lik' sound hav' different writing: as soon *filius*, sun *sol*: soom of lik' writing hav' different sound: as a mous *mus*, mous *strues* pl. of mou: soom of like sound and writing differ in de accent: as PRECEDENT *præcedens*, PRECEDENT *exemplum quia præcedit*: and soom of lik' sound, writing, and accent, differ yet in signification: wie den must bee discerned by the sens of de words precedent and

subsequent: as EAR *auris*, EAR *spica*, to EAR *aro*: wene^c EARABLE arabilis. Of *wic* sorts you hav^c heereafter oder examples."

The object of the list which is thus introduced by the author seems to be to discriminate words of like sound as much as possible by various spellings, which in Butler's system would represent different but nearly identical sounds. The list therefore is not of much value or assistance, especially as the like and unlike words are not inserted separately. He seems to have trusted to an orthography which is extremely difficult to understand from his description. Hence instead of giving the whole list, 28 pages long, it will be sufficient to extract those parts in which some mention of pronunciation is made, and for these to adopt the author's own orthography, as in the above citation, because of the difficulty of interpreting it. The italic letters represent generally simple varieties of ordinary types, thus, *oo*, are joined together, forming one type, and so for *ee*, and *e*, *d*, &c., have bars through them, *t* is *ȳ*, a turned *t*, and so on. These will occasion no difficulty. The final (') answers to mute *e*. It is the value of the simple vowels and digraphs and the effect of this mute (') as a lengthener, which it is so difficult to determine satisfactorily from Butler's indications. The small capitals indicate the usual orthography and generally replace Butler's black letters.

a COFER, D. KOFFER, F. *coffre*; (yet wee writ^c and sound it wit a singl^c f, to distinguish it from COWGER *wic* is sounded COFFER).

DEVIL, or rader DEEVIL not divel: (as soom, far fetcing it from *diabolus* woold^c hav^c it).

ENOUG *satis*, but importing number it is bot^c written and pronounced witout de aspirat^c: as Ecclus. 35. 1. SACRIFICES ENOU. ENOU for even nou, *modo*: In de pronouncing of *wic* 2 words, de onl^y difference is de accent: *wic* de first hat in de last, and de last in de first. For ENOUGH wee commonly say ENUF: as for LAUG daughter, soom say LAF, DAFTER: for COWG all say COF: and for de Duite AKTER, wee altogether bot^c say and writ^c AFTER.

to ENTER *intrare*, to ENTÉR *in-humare*.

EAR *auris*, to EAR *aro*, ERE before *prius*, ERST first *primò*, (not YER YERST) as in Dute ERE, ERST. Hence ERENOON^c, BREWIL^c, AND ERELY *i*. former: as OF ERELY TINGS I WIL DEETEL: for *wic* is nou written (I know not *wy*) FERLY.

Certain words beginning wit ES ar soomtim^c spoken and written witout E: as ESCAP^c, ESPECIAL, ESPI; scape, special, spi: to ESPOUS, and to ESTRANGE, [verbs:] SPOUS, and STRANGE [nouns:] ESQIR^c, ESSAY, ESTABLIS, ESTAT^c; SQIR^c,

SAY, STABLIS, STAT^c: SO EXAMPLE and EXCUS^c; WITOUT EC, SAMPL^c SCUS^c: and EXCHANGE, WITOUT EX, CANGE.

EW not YEW *ovis femella*; as IW not YIW, (vid. IW *taxus*) dows de Y bee vulgarly sounded in dem bot^c.

ENGLAND . . . is vulgarly written England; but always sounded *England*; as wee now bot^c sound and writ^c many oder words wit *Ee*, *wic* anciently were written wit E: as seem^c, seeDE^c, seek^c, &c.

In steed of our F de Nederlanders hav^c v . . . *wic* dialect is yet found in de Western partes.

HAY *fenum*, of de Sax. HAWEN *secare*, because it is cut grass, a HEY or cunni-net, of de Fr. *hay* (*wic* dey sound *hey*; . . . and wee ar as reddy, bot in sound and writing, to follow deir sound, as deir writing: wer^c dey writ^c *mouton* and say *mooton*, wee writ^c and say *mootton*; dey writ^c *quatre* and say *catre*, wee writ^c and say *cATER*: dey writ^c *bon* and say *boone*, wee writ^c and say *boon^c*; dey writ^c *plaid* and say *plead*, wee writ^c and say *PLEAD*) [a hedg].

IW [tree] not YIW, dows it bee so sounded: de Frenc beeing *If*, and de Duite *if*, IBEN OR EIBEN: as wee say YEW, and yet writ^c EW *ovis femella*.

NIC^c or coy *curiosus*, a NIAS hawk,

[not an *eyas*] F. *niais*, It. *nidaso*, taken out of the *neast*: as a hawk flown is called a brancer.

WIN' vinum, to WIND', *torqueo*, a WIND' or WIND ventus: hence' a WIND-oor, i. e. a door' for de wind' to enter: (as in Greek' *θύρα* of *θύρα*) dowg now de glas, in most' places, doo't sut it out.

WOUND, of to wind', *tortus*, a woond', *vulnus*.

You *vos*, sounded according to de original, yu. [Here Butler refers to a former note on his p. 40: "you, D. u: so your, D. uwe, G. uwer. So dat, as wel by original as sound, des' words, shoold' rader bee written yu, and yur': for ou is a diphtong, which

hat an oder sound: as in *dou* and *our*."]

Troug by, or by means of, *torow*, from on' sid' or end' to de oder: as troug *Krist*', *torow de wildernes*.

SEER' pur' or unmixt *simplex*, as SEER' eorn, SEER' boorn', cleer' water: [here B. adds in a marginal note: of which a town in Dorset. and a village in Hampt. is called *Sheerboorn*;] to SEAR, or rader SEER', as it is pronounced, D. *seeren tondeo*: anciently it was written SER', B for ee, as de maner den was: hence' SAR', a part' or portion; and SIR', a counti or part' of a dominion: *wic*, in de Sout part's, is sounded SEER', *comitatus*.

§ 7. *Pronouncing Vocabulary of the Sixteenth Century, collected from Palsgrave 1530, Salesbury 1547, Cheke 1550, Smith 1568, Hart 1569, Bullokar 1580, Gill, 1621, and Butler 1633.*

For ascertaining and comparing the different accounts of the pronunciation of the xvith century which have come down to us, it is necessary to have an alphabetic list of all or most of the words which have been spelled phonetically by various writers, with a uniform transcription of their various notations. This is attempted in the present section. The following vocabulary contains:

1) all the English words cited by PALSgrave, p. 31, with the pronunciations as inferred from his descriptions.

2) all the English words cited by SALESbury, pp. 32, 34, in his accounts of Welsh and English Pronunciation, with the pronunciation he has actually or inferentially assigned to them, as explained in the passages cited pp. 789-794.

3) numerous words from Sir JOHN CHEKE's *Translation of Matthew*.¹

4) all the words pronounced in Sir THOMAS SMITH's *Treatise* p. 34.

5) all the examples of diphthongs, and a few other words only from HART, pp. 35, 794, whose pronunciation, as has been already frequently mentioned, was in several respects exceptional.

6) All the exemplificative words in BULLOKAR's lists, with many others collected from various parts of his *Book at Large*, pp. 36, 838.

¹ The Gospel according to Saint Matthew and part of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Saint Mark translated from the Greek, with original notes, by Sir John Cheke, knight &c. Prefixed is an introductory account of the nature and object of the translation, by James Goodwin, B.D., London, Pickering, 1843, 8vo. pp. 124. Cheke

was born 16th June, 1514, and died "of shame and regret in consequence of his recantation" of Protestantism, 13th Sept., 1557. This translation, of which the autographic MS. is preserved (not quite perfect) at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is supposed by Mr. Goodwin to have been made about 1550.

7) all, or almost all words in GILL's *Logonomia*, pp. 38, 845; the provincialisms are not quite fully given, but GILL's whole account of them will be found below, Chap. XI, § 4, and they are best consulted in that connection.

8) A few characteristic words from BUTLER, pp. 39, 874.

The modern orthography has been followed in the arrangement of the vocabulary. Palsgrave and Salesbury occasionally give an old orthography different from that now in use, but the variation is not material. The others only give the phonetic spelling. Occasionally short observations from Smith and Gill have been added in the original Latin, and in some cases the Latin translation given by these authors is inserted. Some doubts may arise as to the propriety of retaining so many words about the pronunciation of which little hesitation can be felt by those who have mastered the main principles, such as, *abandon*, *abhor*, *abound*, *absence*, *absent*, &c. *bill*, *bit*, *bless*, *boast*, *boat*, &c., but after much consideration, it has been resolved to retain them, as no rule of exclusion could be framed, which did not seem to assume the very knowledge and familiarity which the vocabulary was meant to supply, and it is only by such accumulated proofs that the certainty of the results can impress itself on the reader's mind. These results are however extremely important in the history of our language, as they present the first sure ground after the time of Orrmin, and the only means by which we are able to rise to the pronunciation of Chaucer. Thus the certainty of the pronunciation of *ou*, *ow* as (uu) by Palsgrave and Bullokar, and the probability of their pronunciation of long *i* as (ii), are great helps towards conceiving the general use of these sounds in the xiv th century.

The various phonetic orthographies of the above writers (except Cheke's) have been translated into palaeotype to the best of my ability, although a few, unimportant, cases of doubt remain, generally pointed out by (?). The position of the accent is always hypothetical, except for the words cited from G. 128-138, in which Gill has generally marked or indicated the accent. It was at first intended to refer to Levins (p. 36,) for the position of the accent in each case, but his usage was found too uncertain to be made available. The use of (w, j) at the beginning of combinations where some writers employ (u, i), and conversely the use of (u, i) at the end of combinations where some writers employ (w, j), has been consistently maintained. The difference between these writers and myself is purely theoretical: we mean to express the same sounds in each case. *Qu* has been interpreted as (kw) throughout, because this is believed to have been the sound intended. Bullokar uses the single letter *q*. The initial *wr* has been left, but (*rw*) has been subjoined with a (?) as this is believed to have been the sound. Except in the words *spangle*, *entangle*, where the sound (qg) is especially indicated, G 10, the introduction of (qg) for *ng* in the following vocabulary is quite hypothetical, for none of the writers cited seem to have thought the distinction between (q) and (qg) worth marking at all times.

There was a great difficulty in determining the length of the

vowels. Palsgrave does not note the length and Salesbury is not consistent in his notation. Smith, Hart, and Gill generally use diacritical signs, and Bullokar does so in many cases. Now when this is the case the diacritical sign is often omitted by either the writer or printer, and it is difficult to know in any given case whether it ought to be added or not (p. 846, l. 3). The difficulty is increased when the diacritic implies a difference in quality as well as quantity, thus *ī*, *î* are (ei, *î*) in Smith but (ii, *î*) in Gill, and *î î* are probably (*îî*, *î*) in Bullokar (p. 113). In these cases I have generally searched for other instances of the word, or been guided by the use of other writers, or by analogy. In Bullokar *ȳ* is not unfrequent, but *iy*, *yî* may be said never to occur, although he gives both as marks of the long sound, and *î* is most frequently used for both (*îî*) and (*î*) although *î* ought to have been used in the former case. By reference to pp. 110, 114, the reader will see the great difficulty which attaches to the value of long *î* in Palsgrave and Bullokar, and the reasons which have induced me, after repeated consideration for several years, to consider that it must have been (*îî*) or some closely cognate sound, acknowledging at the same time that this pronunciation was quite archaic at the time, just as *obleege*, *obleest* (obliidzh-, obliist-) in Scotland and *obleecht* (obliitsht-) in English are still existent archaic forms, for which the greater number of English speakers say (obləidzh-, obləidzhd-). For the reason why Gill's *j* has been rendered (əi) rather than (ei) see p. 115, and the reason why his *d*, *au*, are each rendered by (AA) is given on p. 145, where we may add that Gill in adducing "*HALL* Henriculus, *HALE* trahere, et *HALL* aula," says: "*exilior est a in duabus vocibus prioribus, in tertiâ fere est diphthongus*," (G. 3,) so that he possibly hesitated between (au) and (AA). Hart's (yy) has been considered on p. 167, p. 796 note, col. 1, and p. 838.

Another source of error is the use of an old letter in a new sense. Thus Smith employs *c* for (tsh) and he consequently continually leaves *c* for (k, s) where his old habits misled him. Gill employed *j* for (əi), and the confusion between *î*, *j* in his book is very perplexing. Extremely slight distinctions in the forms of the letters are also confusing. Thus Smith distinguishes (i, e) as *e*, *e*, which have a diæresis mark superposed to imply length. The consequence is that it is sometimes extremely difficult to determine whether he means (ii) or (ee), and, considering that in his time the distinction of the sounds had not yet been thoroughly established by the orthographies *ee*, *ea*, this confusion is perplexing and annoying.

For any errors and shortcomings of this kind, the indulgence of the reader is requested, and also for another inevitable source of error. The nature of the compilation, rendered it impossible to verify every word afterwards by referring to the passage from which it was quoted. I have therefore had to rely on the accuracy of my original transcript, and it is impossible that that should have been always correct.

Sir John Cheke's orthography is rather an attempt to improve the current spelling than strictly phonetic. Hence it has not been

transliterated, but left as he wrote it, and is therefore printed in Italics. The following appear to have been the values of his symbols, which were not always unambiguous: *aa*=(aa), *ai*=(ai, ee?), *ea*=(ee?) unfrequent, *ee*=(ee) and =(ii), *ei*=(ai, ee?) *ij*=(ei, ii, ii?), *o*=(o) and (u), *oa*=(oo?), *oo*=(oo?) and (uu), *oow*=(oou), *ou*=(uu) only? *ow*=(ou), *uu*=(yy). The *i* most commonly did service for (*i*) and (*j*), but *y* was sometimes used as (*j*), although it most frequently stands for (th) and (dh), for which also *tʰ* occasionally occurs. The use of *i* is doubtful, sometimes it seems meant for *ij*=(ei), sometimes as in *dai* it would seem only to indicate the diphthong, but it is used so irregularly that no weight can be attached to its appearance. The terminations *-ty*, *-ble*, occasionally appear in the forms *-tee*, *-bil*. Final *e*, being useless when there is a distinct means of representing long vowels, is generally, but not always omitted. The comparison of Cheke's orthography with the phonetic transcriptions of others seems to bring out these points.

The authority for each pronunciation is subjoined in chronological order, but not the reference to the passage, except in the case of Gill and Cheke. The figures refer to the page of the second edition of Gill's *Logonomia* (suprà p. 38) and the chapters of Sir John Cheke's translation of Matthew. The references to Salesbury will be found in the index, suprà pp. 789-724. Smith and Bullokar's words can generally be easily found in their books, from their systematic lists. The example from Bullokar p. 839, and Hart, p. 798, are also sufficient guarantees of the correctness of the transcription. The authors' names are contracted, and a few abbreviations are used as follows. All words not in palaeotype, with exception of the authors' names, are in Italics.

ABBREVIATIONS.

<i>Aust</i>	<i>Australes</i> ; Southern English Pronunciation.	<i>Occ</i>	<i>Occidentales</i> ; Western English Pronunciation.
<i>Bor</i>	<i>Boreales</i> ; Northern English Pronunciation.	<i>Ori</i>	<i>Orientales</i> ; Eastern English Pronunciation.
B	Butler, 1633.	P	Palsgrave, 1530.
Bull	Bullokar, 1580.	<i>poet</i>	<i>poeticè</i> .
C	Cheke, 1550.	<i>pr</i>	<i>præfatio</i> , the preface to Gill, which is not paged.
<i>cor</i>	<i>corruptè</i> ; a pronunciation considered as corrupt by the author cited.	<i>prov</i>	<i>provincialiter</i> ; any provincial pronunciation.
G	Gill, 1621.	S	Smith, 1568.
H	Hart, 1569.	Sa	Salesbury, 1547 & 1567.
<i>Lin</i>	<i>Lincolnienses</i> , Lincolnshire Pronunciation.	<i>Sc</i>	<i>Scoti</i> ; Scotch Pronunciation.
<i>Mops</i>	Gill's <i>Mopsæ</i> , and Smith's <i>muliereculæ</i> , suprà pp. 90, 91; indicating an effeminate or thinner pronunciation.	<i>Transt</i>	<i>Transtrentani</i> ; English Pronunciation North of the river Trent.
		?	interpretation doubtful, or apparent error, or misprint, in the original.

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

A.

- a* *a* G *pr*
abandon aban·don G 133
abbreviation abrevias·ion Bull
abhor abhor· Bull, *abhorred* abhor·ed G 106
able aa·bl Sa, S, Bull, G 65, ab·l G 32
abide = *abid* C 2
Abington Ab·iq·tun *see* *Trumpington* G 134
abound abound· G 89
about about· Bull, about· G 23
above abuv· Bull, abuv· G 22
abroad abrood· G 60, abroo·ad ? G 133, abrood C 6
absence absens G 66
absent absent· G 84
absolve abzolv· G 85
abstain abstain· G 89
abundance abun·dauns P, abun·dans G 127
abundant abund·ant G 84
abuse abyys· Bull
ace as Bull
acceptable aksept·abl G 84
acceptance aksep·tans G *pr*
according akord·iq G 21
account akount· G 89
accuse akyyz· S, akyyz· G 45
accustomed akus·tomed G 84
ache aatsh Bull, Hart, *see* *headache*, *aches* = *axess axes* C 8
acknowledge akknou·ledzh G 32
acquaint akwaint· S, *acquainted* akwaint·ed G 129
acquaintance akwain·tans S
acquit akwit· aut akwoit G 15, akwit· G 85
acre aa·ker G 70
add ad G 85
addressed adres·ed G 133
adjudge addzhudzh· G 32
admonish admon·ish G 85
adore adoor· G 122
adorn adorn· G 141
adultery adult·erai G 85
advance adva·ans· G 143
adventure aden·tyr G 30
adverb ad·verb Bull
advise advaiz· G 87, 131
adz addice ADDES ad·hes *prov.* Sa
affairs afairz· G 37, afaairs· G 122
affections afek·sions G 123
affect afekt· G 103, *affects* afekts· G 141
affirm afirm· G 112
affliction aflik·sion G 125
afford afuurd· B
affray afrai· G 98
afore afor· G 80
afraid efraid· *per prothesin* *pro* afraid G 135
after after G 79
again again· G 24
against agenst· *frequentius*, against· *docti interdum* G *pr*, against· G 20, 79
age aadzh S, G 70
agree agrii· Bull, G 118
ague aa·gyy G 92
aid aid G 14, 113
air ai·er G 106, aa·i·er G ? *air aier* C 6
airy aer·ai *aereus* G 14. *a·eri fere trisyllabum* G 16
ale aal Sa, G 37
algate al·gat ? G 109
all aul S, a·l Bull, aal G 23, al G 39, AAL G 25
allay alai· G 99
all hail AAL·haail· *omnis salus* G 64
allure alyyr· G 123
alone aloon· G 45, 145
aloud aluud· Bull, aloud· G 109
also a·l·so Bull, AAS *Bor pro* AAL·so G 17
altar = *aulter* C 5
although AALdhokh· G 65
altogether AAL·togedh·er G 21
alum al·um S
am am G 52
amain amaa·in· G 119, amain· G 110
amate amaat· *terreo* G 32
amaze amaa·z· G 88
ambitious ambis·ius G 99
amiss amis· G 113
among amooq· G 21 amooq· ? G 79, amuq· B
an an G 10
andiron a·ndii·r·n Bull
angels aq·gelz ? *see next word*, G 24
angelical andzheel·ikal G 119
anger aq·ger G 91
angry aq·gri G 84
anguish aq·gwish Bull
another anodh·erz G 95
answer an·swer *non aun·suer* G *pr*, answered an·swered G 119, *answeerd* C 4
answerable an·swerable G 84
any an·i Bull, G 45, *prima natura sud brevis* G 133
ape aap, Sa S
apparel apar·el G 38
appear apiir· Bull B, *appeer* C 6, *appeared* apiird G 94, *appered* *appeared* C 1, 2, *appeareth* apiir·eth Bull B, *apier·eth* G 87, *appearing* apiir·iq G 133

appease apeez· G 123
appertain apertain· G 87
apply aplai· G 86
appointed apuuntred G 24
apprentice apren·tis G 98
are aar Bull, G 56, ar G 21
AREADS areeds· G 98
aright aroikht· G 135
ariseth aroiz·eth G 25
armed arm·ed G 82
arms armz G 37
army arm·ei G 106
array arai· S, araai· G 128
arse-smart ars-smart *hydropiper* G 38
Arthur Artur G 107
as az Bull G 13, 95
ash aish Sa, ash S, *ashes* ash·ez G 37, 128
ask aks *et* ask S, ask G 88, *asked* askt G 111
aspen as·pin G 106
aspiration aspiras·ion Bull
aspire aspeir· G 111.
ass as Bull, *asses* as·es G 24
assay asai·, *assay thereof* zadraakh· Occ, G 18
assist asist· G 141
assoil asoil· G 85, 89
assurance asyy·rans G 83, 117
assure asyyr· G 128, *assyryr* G 32
astonied aston·ied G 99, *astoonied* C 19
at at G 79
attempered atem·pred G 119
attend atenz· G 133, *attends* atenz· G 119
attire dhe dierz ati·er? *cervi cornua* G 43
attribute v. atribuyt G 85
auditor AA·ditor G 129
auger AA·ger G 14
augment AAgment· G 119, 142
aunt Aant? G 10
authors AA·torz G 143
avail avail· G 87, *availeth* avail·eth G 117
avengement avendzh·ment G 149
avens av·enz *caryophyllatum* G 37
aver aver· G 32
avoid avoid· G 131
awe au aa Sa, au S, AAU G 14
awful AA·ful G 150
awry awrii· = arwii? P
axe agz Sa, aks S, G 13
aye ei S, eei G pr, 15, eei G 15, ai G 113, aai G 116, ai G 6

B.

Baal Baal Bull
babble s. baab·l *nugæ* G 26, v. bab·l *infantum more balbutire* G 26
babler bab·ler *infanticrepus* G 26
babbling bab·liq *garrulitas* G 26

babe baab Sa, G 26, *babes* = *baabs* C 11
baby baar·bai G 26
back bak S
backward bak·ward G 28
bacon baar·k'n Bull, baak·n G 38
bad bad *malus* S
badge badzh G 12
bag bag S, G 89
bail bail Bull
baily bee·li cor B
bait bait G 14
bake baak Sa, S
balance bal·ans Bull, bal·ans G 21
bauld bauld Sa S, ba'ld Bull
bale baal Bull
ball baul Sa, S, ba'l Bull, baal G 14
balm baul·m = ba'l·m Bull, baalm *potius quam* baam G pr, baalm G 38
bands bands? G 116
bar bar S, Bull
barbarous bar·barus Bull
Barbary Bar·bari G 147
barbs barbs? G 37
bare baar S, Bull
bargain bar·gain G 93
barley bar·lei G 37
barn baar·n Bull
baron bar·on Bull
barren bar·en Bull
base baas G 98
basket bas·ket Bull
bass baaz? G 119
bat bat S
bate baat S
bath bath, S
bathe baadh badh S
battery bat·ri G 123
battles bat·ails G 104 (in Spenser)
bawl baal, *eodem sono proferimus*, baal BALL *pila*, *et tu baal bawle vociferari* G 14
bay bai *radius* Bull
bay-tree bai·trii Bull, *bays* baiz *lauri* G 141
be bi G 23
beak beek B
beams beemz G 23
bean BEANE been P, Bull
bean been G 37
bear beer P, beer Sa, baar *ursus* Bull, *bear* bare bore born, beer baar boor born (*without distinguishing 'borne'*) G 50, borne boor·n Bull
beast beest P, Bull, G 12
beat beet *verberat*, *bet verberavit* S, beet, *bet verberabam dialectus est*, G 48
beauty beu·ti G 22, 98, beau·ti B
because bikaaz· G 91
beck bek B
become bikum· G 21, 67, *became* bikaam· G 86

bed bed S, G 47
bedridden = *bedreed* C 9
bee bii P, Sa
beef biif G 39
been biin G 56 100
beer bier G 37
beet biit S
beets biits *blitum* G 37
beeves biivz G 39
befalleth biifaa'eth G 87
before bifoor S biifoor Bull, bifoor' G 21, 23, 80
begging beg'iq Sa
begin begin' G 133, *beginning* begin'iq G. 123
begone biigoon' ? G 81
behave binaav' G 51
behind beinaid' G 79
behold biihoo'ld Bull, *beheld* biheld' G 100
behoveth bihuuv'eth G 95
being bi'i'iq G 25
believe, *beliiv'*, Sa, G 87, *biliiv'* G 100, 123, *beleev* C 24, *believing* *biliiv'iq* G 133,
bell bel *vola* S
bellows bel'ouuz G 37
belongeth biloq'eth G 21, 86
beloved biluv'ed G 129
Belpheobe Belfee'be G 101
bend bend G 48
beneath biineeth' Bull, *bineth'* G 79
benefit ben'efit G 133
benign beniq'n *beniq'n* G 30
bent bent S
bereave bireev' G 125, *bereev'* G 48
beseem bisiiim' G 67
beside bisoid' G 79
besought bisouokht' G 127
best best G 12, 34
bestow bistooor' G 86
bet bet *pro* beter' G 135
betake bitaak' G 32
bethink bithiik' 32
betid *past tense* bitaid' G 108
betimes biteimz' G 123
betrayed bitraid' G 145
better bet'er G 34
between biitwiin' Bull, *bitwiin'* G 79
beyond biyond' G 79
bid bid S, *bid* G 88, *bidden* bid'n G 20
bide beid S
bier biir P, biir Sa, beer spelled BEARE rhyming with NEARE in the passage of Spenser (6, 2, 48) cited in G 103
bill bil S
billows bil'ouuz G 99
bind bind G 116, *bind* C 18
bird bird S, G 24, *burd* G 88, *birds* burdz G 118
bit bit S, *bite* bits G 37

bitch bitsh, *Sc et Transtr.* bik S
bite beit S, *bait mordeo*, *bit* bit *mordebam*, have *bitten* haav bit'n *momordi* G 48
bitter bit'er G 40
bladder blad'er Sa.
blame blaam G 86, *blamed* blamd' ? G 90
blazed blaaz'ed G 125
bless bles G 21
blind blaind G 119
blithe blaidh G 107
block blok G 99
blood blud S, *blud* Bull, G 4, 38, *bloud* C 27
bloody blud'i G 100
blossoms blos'umz 144
blow bloou Bull, *blown* blooun G 2
blush blush S, *blushed* blusht G 117
blue blyy S
board buurd Sa, B, *boord* G 47, *boards* boordz G 118
boast boost G 23, 89
boat boot S, Bull, *boot* C 4
body bod'i G 72, 133
boil beil *ulcus* S, *buil coquo* G 15
bold boud *prov* Sa, *bould* S, *boould* G 105
bombast bum'bast G 38
bondmen bondmen G 41
bone boon, *Sc* baan bean S
book buuk Sa, Sm, *Sc* byyk S, *buuk-s* G 3, 41, *byyks* *Bor* G 122
boot bunt S, Bull
booth buudh Bull
bore boor P, G 50
born boor'n *natus*, *bor'n allatus the present use* reversed Bull, *born* G 50, 98 *boorn* = *natus* C 2
borrow bor'ou G 88, *borrowed* bor'oued G. 98
bot bot *lumbricus equorum* S, Bull
botch botsh S
both both G 39, 98, *beadh* *Bor* G 16, *booth* C 6
bough bowh buuh Bull, *bou* G 15
bought bouht S, *boouht* Bull, *bokht* G 12, *booukht* G 109
bound bound G 15, 24
bounty boun'ti G 29, 82
bourn bur'n Bull, *buurn* B
bow boo *arcus* Sa 34, 58, *boou arcus* *bou flectere* S, *boou arcus*, *buu flectere* Bull, *boou arcus* G 15, *bowing* bou'iq G 20, *bowed* = *boud* C 18
bowels buu'elz Bull, *bou'elz* G 37, 94
bowers bours G 114
bowl booul *sinum* Sa, S, Bull, G 15, B, *boul sphaera* S, G 15, B, *buul globus* Bull
box boks S, G 107
boy bui P, *boi*, *fortasse* bui, *alii* boe S, *bwee* H, *boi* Bull, *buoi*, *non* bue G

- pr*, *buoi puer* G 92, 136, *boi Bor*
 G 15, *bwoe B*
brad *brod clavus sine capite S*
brag *brag* G 89
brake *brak ruytura*, *braak balista*, *filix*
 &c., *Bull*, *braak* = *rupit* C 15
bramble *bram:bl* G 41
bran *bran* G 38
brandiron *brond:ii'r'n Bull*
branches *bransh'ez* G 24, *brantsh'ez* G
 123
brass *bras* G 37
bravada *bravaa:da* G 28
bravely *braav'li* G 123
breach *bretsh?* *Sc et Transtr.* *brek S*
bread *bred?* *Sa*, *breed S*, G 24, 37,
breed C 4
break *breck Sa*, *breek*, *imp* *braak brook*
olim brast, *occidentaliter briik* G 51
breath *breth Bull*
breathe *breedh Bull*, *breeth?* G 121
bred *bred S*
breech *briitsh Sc Transtr. et Bor briik*
S, *breeches* *britsh'es*, *briiks Bor* G 17
breed *bruid S*, G 124
brenned *bren'ed Bor* G 122
brethren *breth'ren ant* *breth'ern* G 41,
 124
brew *bryy S*, *brewed* *bruu'id?* *S*
bride *bruid* G 112
bridegroom = *brijdgroom* C 25
bridge *bredzh*, *Bor brig S*, *bridzh* G 12
bridle *brid:l?* *S* *bruidl* G 20, 123
brightness *breikht:nes G*
Britain *Brit'ain (in Spenser)* G 104
broad *brood S*, G 70
broil *broil fortasse bruil S*, *broil bruuil*,
indifferent G 15
broken *brook'n* G 51
brood *bruud S*, G 101
brooks *bruuks* G 114
broom *bruum Bull*
brother *brudh'er* G 27, 41, 112, *B*,
broyer C 4
brotherhood *brudh'ernuud* G 27
brought *broukht* G 10
brown *bruun Bull*
bruised = *broosed* C 21
bubble *bub:l B*
buck *buk dama mas Sa*, *S*, G 3, *fago-*
tritium G 37
buckler *buk'ler Bull*
bud *bud* G 133
budge *budzh peregrinae ovis pellis S*
buildeth *byld:eth* *beild:eth* *biild:eth*
bid:eth, *pro suapte ejusque ingenio*
 G 4, *built* = *bijlt* C 7
builder *biild'er* G 105
building *biild'ig* G 111, *buildings* =
bijldings C 21
bull *bul*, *S*, *Bull*, *buu prov Sa*
- bulwark* *bul:wark* G *pr*
bung *buq B*
buoy *bwei H*, *buui Bull*, G 15
burden *bur'd'n Bull*
burn *bur'n Bull*, *burn* G 109, *burneth*
burn:eth G 23
burrr *bur lappa S*
bury *bir'i Sa*, *bur'i C* 8
bush *bush* G 73
busied *biz'ied* G 91
business *biz:nes* G 81
busy *biz'i Sa*
but *but S*, *Bull*, G 20, 133
butcher *butsh'er*, *Mops bitsh'er* G 18
butt *but Bull*
butter *but'er* G 38
button *but'n Bull*
buy *bei S*, G 89
buyer *beier H*
by *bi S*, *bei H*, G 20, 79, 136, *by our*
lady *bei-r laa:di Sa*, *by and bye*, *BY*
AND BY, *bii and bii P*
- C.
- cage* *kaadzh S*
caitiff *kai'tif miser S*, *kai'tiv* G 111,
 146
calends *kal'endz* G 37
calf *ka'lf Bull*, *calves* *ka'lvz Bull*
call *kaul Sa*, *S*, *ka'l Bull*, *kau prov Sa*
callet *kal'et meretricula Bull*
calm *kaulm Sa* 4, *ka'l'm Bull*
cambric *kaam'brik*, *Mops keem'br:k*
 G 17
Cambridge *Kaam'bridzh* G 77
cannot *kanot* G *pr*, *kan'not* G 45
canoe *kanoa?* G 28
candle *kan'dl* G 98
canvas *kan'vas* G 38
cap *kap Sa*, *S*, G 12
cape *kaap hispanica chlamys S*
capers *kap'erz* G 37
capon *kaa'p'n Bull*, *kaa'pn*, *Mops keep'n*
et feré kiip'n G 18
captive *kap'tiv* G 116
can *kan S*
care *kaar Bull*
careful *kaar'ful* G 84
careless *kaar'les* G 123
carpenter *kar'penter* G 129
Carthage *Kar'thadzh* G 66
case *kaas* G 35, 100
casement *kaaz'ment*, G 27
casket *kasket* G 35
cast *kast* G *pr*, 48, *kest kus'n Bor* G 16
cat *kat S*, G 35
cates *kaats* G 37
catch *katsh S*, G 149, *see 'ketch', caught*
kount, *S*
cattle *kat'el Bull*, G 24
caul *kaul* = *ka'l Bull*

- cauldron* kau-dor'n, Bull
cause kauz Bull, KAAZ G 21, 103, 143
causeway kaur'si Bull
cave kaav G 77
cavil kav'il Bull
ceased seest G 112, *ceasest* sees'est G 102
cedars see'darz G 24, 105
sensor sen'sor G 66
centre sent'er G 125
certain sertain G 67
chaff tshaf G 37
chalk tshaak G 38
challenge tshaa'lendzh G 109
chambers tsham'berz G 23
chance tshans S, tshauns B, *chanceh* tshaans'eth G 66, tshans'eth G 86, *chanced* tshaanst G 111, 119
chancellor tshan'sler G pr
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JONSON.

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G 21, mee cor B, mayest maist non
mai'est G 54
maze maaz Sa, S, Bull
me mii P, S, G 10, 44
meal meal Sa
mean miin *intelligere* S (= *mien* = *vul-*
tus ? see p. 112 n) meen *mediocre* S,
Bull, meen G 77, meaneth meen'eth
G 109
meat meet, miit *Mops* G 18, meat Bor
G 16
meditation medita'sion G 25
meek miik G 110
meel miil se *inmiscere*, Sa
meet miit S, G 67
melancholy melankolai *place of accent*
not marked and uncertain G 38
melted melt'ed G 23, melting melt'iq
G 99
men men Sa, S, G 21, 39
merchandise mer'tsha'ndiz Bull
merchantable mar'tshantabl G 129
merchants mar'tshants G 93
merciful mers'iful G 21
Mercury Mer'kursi ? G 84
mercy mers-i G pr 21, 116, 121,
mers'oi G 149
mere miir Bull
meridional merid'ional G 30
meriting mer'itiq G 114
mess mes *ferculum*, S
message mes'adzh G 118, 146
mettle met'l a *metallum* G 30
mew (for a hawk), myy P, S, meu *vox*
catorum S, mieu H

mice meis S, mäis G 41, mäis or mäis
BEN JONSON.

Michael Meikel ? Sa

Michaelmass Meikelmas ? Sa

midde mäds ? *medium* S

might mäkt Sa, mäht Bull, mäkt
G 52, mäkt G 38, 56

mile mäil G 70

milk mäik S, G 38

mill mäil G 86

million mäliön G 71

mind mäind Bull, mäind G 33, 52, 90

mine mäin G pr, 10

minion mäniön G 129

ministers mäni'sterz G 24

mint mänt G 41

minute mäni'yyt G 70

mirrors märi'ors G 101

mirth mäerth G 38, mäerth G 145

mischance mästshans G 116

mischiefe mäst'shiif G 20, 106, 149

misconceived mäskönseev'ed G 112

miscreant mäskreant G 105

mise mäiz *sumptus vel offe cervisiä madi-*
factæ S

miser mäi'zer G 134

miserable mäi'zerabl G 129, 184

misery mäi'zeri G 129, 134, mäi'zeri
poet G 130, *miseries* mäi'zeriz G 125

misgive mäsigiv G 33

misplace mäsplas G 33

miss mäis *careo* S

mistake mästaak G 32

mixture mäks'tyir Bull

moan mäön G 145

moderator mödäraa'tor G 30

moist mäist G 99, 119

moisten mäist'n G 133

molest mölest G 117

Moll Mal *Mariola* G 12

Monday Mündai B

monster mön'ster G 124

monstrous mön'strus *prodigiosum*, mön's-
strus *valde prodigiosum*, mööön'strus
prodigiosum adeo ut hominem stupidet
G 35

money-s möni'-z G 41

month mönth G 144, B

monument möni'ymēt G

mood müud S, Bull

moon müön G 12, 24

more möör S, G 25, möör C 5

morning mörn'iq G 106

morrow möro'ou G 125

mortal mört'aal ? G 97, 116

mortar mört'er cementum G 38

Moses = *Moseses* C 19

moss mös S

most möost G 34

mother müdh'er Bull, G 112, B, möother
moyer C 2, möoyer C 12

mould möuld G 124

mound möund B

mountains möun'tainz G 24

mourn möür'n Bull

mouse möus *mus*, möuz *devorare* S, möus
mus G 41

mouth möuth G 21, B

move möuv G 118 B, *moved* möuv'ed
G 20

mow möu P, möu *meta feni*, möou

metere aut irriderere os distorquendo, S

much mötsh S, *much good do it you*,

mitsh-good-itto, Sa, mötsh G 34, 89

muck mök S, G 38

mud möd S, G 38

mule möyl mula S

mulet möy'let mulus, S

multipliable mü'tiplaiabl G 129

multiply mü'tiplei G 31

multitude mü'titüyd G 22, 30, 129

mum möm tace, S

mumble möm'bl *senum edentulorum*

more mandere, aut inter dentes musci-

tare S, *mumbled* möm'bled G 101

murder mörd'er, mörd'her *dialectus*
variat G pr, mörd'her G 106

murmur mörmur G 119

murr mör rancedo S

murrain mörain B

music möyz Sa, S

music möy'zik G 38, möy'zik ? G 150

must möst G 64

mustard möst'erd G 38

mutton mötn G 39

my mäi G pr N

N

nag näg Sa, S

nail näil, näils näilz Sa

nailed näild G 111

name näam Bull, G 22, näam C 1

narr näar *ringere more canum* S

narrow näru Sa, *narrower* näro'ouer,

Occ narg'er G 18

nations näsiönz Bull, näasiönz G 21

nativity näti'viti G pr

nature näa'tyir Bull, nä'tyir ? G 98

naught nääkt *vitiosum aut malum* G
32

naughty = *noughti* C 21

nay näi S, nee cor B

near näir S, neer H, neer G 34, 104, nier

G 84, näir B, *nearer* näer'er ? G 34

neat neet G 7

neb neb *rostrum* S

necessary nes'esari Bull

necessity nes'es-iti Bull, G 139

neck nek S

nectar nek'tar G 98

need niid G 20, 87, 98

needle = *nedel* C 19

ne'er neer G 112
neese niiz *sternutamentum* S
neither neidh'er G 75, *neidh'er* G 45,
nother C 6
Neptune Nep'ttyn G 121
nesh nesh *tener* S
nest nest S, *nests* nests G 24
net net Sa, G 7, 77
new ny ny S, Bull, *nyy* G 22, *news*
nyyz G 27
next nekst G 34
nibble nɪb'l Sn
niffles nɪf'ls *nihil* S
nigh nɪkh Sa, *naikh* G 79
night nɪkht S, *naikht* G 92
will nɪl *nolo* G 32, 65
nim nim nem *cape*, *Oce* G 18
nimble nɪm'bl G 149
nine nain G 71
nineteen nain'tiɪn G 71
ninety nain'ti G 71
ninth nainth G 71
no no S, G 20
noble noo'bl Bull, G 148, *no'bl* ? G 83
none noon G 9, 75
nones noonz G 37
noon nuun G 12
north north Bull
nose nooz, S
not not S, G 20
note noot S, G 123, 134, *noted* noo'ted
G 113
nothing noth'iq Bull, G 32, 38
nought nouht naught S, *noukht* G 32
n'ould nould ? *nolebam* G 65
nourish nur'ish B, *nourisheth* nur'isheth
G 73
novice nov'is G 113
noyous noɪ'us G 104
now nou Sa, G 100
number num'ber Bull, *numbers* num'berz
G 141
numerous num'erus ? G 141
nymphs nɪnfs G 114

O

oak ook Bull
oaken oo'k'n Bull
oath ooth Bull, *ooth* C 26
oaten otn ? G 146
obey obeei P, *obei* Bull, *obai* G 87
occasion oka'zion Bull, *okaa'zion* *tris-*
syllabus, *usitatissimus* G 131, 136
occupy ok'yypii ? Bull, *occupier* ok'yypaier
G 129
o'clock a klok G 93
odds odz G 41
of of S, Bull, *ov* *frequentius*, *of docti*
interdum G pr, 20
off of Bull, G 79, 103
offal of'al G 39

offence ofens' G 82
offer of'er Bull, G 88
offering of'riq G 22
offspring of'spring G 76
oft oft G 20
oftentimes of'tentaimz G 142
oil oil G 24
ointment oint'ment Bull
old o'ld Bull, *ould* G 70, *et errata*
omnipotent *omnipotent* G 135
on on G 79
once oons G 21, 93, 116
one oon Bull, G 70, *oon* C 5
only oon'li G 20, *oon'lai* G 21, *oonli*
C 19
ooze uuz G 7, *ooz* ? G 37
open oop'n G 20, *openest* oop'nest G 25,
opened oop'ned G 47
opinion op'ian'ion G 30, 129
opposed opooz'ed G 133
oppressed, *opres'ed* G 43
oppression opres'ion G 21
oranges or'eindzhiz Sa
order or'der G 30
ornament or'namant G 107
orthography ortog'rafi Bull
other odh'er *aut* *udh'er alii* S, *udh'er*
Bull, *udh'er frequentius*, *odh'er docti*
interdum G pr, 45, *udh'er* B
ought owht Bull, *oukht* G 68, 80,
oukht *Bor* B
our uur Bull, *our* G pr, 22, *ou'er* B
Ouse Ouz *Isis* G 40
out uut Bull, *out* G 23, 66
outlet out'let G 33
outpeaking out'peek'iq G 136
outrage out'raadzh G 128
outrun out'run G 128
over over Bull, G 24
overcome overkum' G 117, *overcame*
overkaam G 107
overseer oversi'er G 36
overtake overtaak' G 33
overthrow ov'erthroou Bull
overthwart ov'erthwart Bull
overture ov'ertyyr G 30
owest = *ouest* C 18
own ooun G 22
ox oks Sa 60, *oxen* oks'n G, *oks'n non*
oks'en G 20, 42, 146
Oxford Oks'ford G 70
oyez, *jii etiam à præconibus pluralius*
effertur, *oo jiiiz*, *ô vos omnes et singuli*
G 46

P

pace paas *passus* S, *paas* G 70
packing pak'iq G 100
page padzh *vermula* S
pain pain P, S, G 20, 119, *pained*
paind G 97

- paint* paint point S, paint G 52
pair pair Bull
pale paal Sa, G 91
pap pap Sa, S
paper paa'pär Sa
paradise par'adeis G 38
pardon par'don G 88
parentage par'entadh G 110
parents paa'rents G 68, 102
partaker partaa'ker G 100
pass pas S, G 24, 110
passing pas'ion G 110, in the following
 quotation from Sydney's *Arcadia*,
 3, 1, being the conclusion of an ac-
 centual hexameter, and the whole of
 an accentual pentameter, in each of
 which it forms a dactyl,—reez'n tu
 mi pas'ion iild'ed—Pas'ion untu mi
 raadzh, raadzh tu a hast'i revendzh'.
pat pat ictus S
patient pas'ient Bull
patience paa'siens G 109
patronise pat'ronaiz G 141
Paul's Pooulz in the French manner B
pawn paa'n G 14, 93
pay pai, rustici paai, *Mops* pee, *Sc et*
Transtr paa S, pai G 88, *Lin* paa
abjecto i; *Aust* post diphthongum
dialysin a odiose producunt, paai G
 17, paai G 86, pee cor B, *pays* paaiz
 G 117
paynim pain'm G 111
peace pees G 73, *peas* C 20
pear peer P Sa
pease peez pisa S, peez G 41, *Occ* peez'n
 G 19
peck pek S
peel piil S, päl of an ap'l, Bull
peer piir P, Sa
peerless piir'les G 110
pen pen Sa, S
pence pens G 42
penny pen'i G 42
pennyroyal pen'iroi'al G 38
pent pent S
Pentecost Pen'tekost G 134
people piip'l Bull, G 4, 41, B, *peopil* C 9
pepper pep'er G 38
perceive persev' ? G 29
perch peertsh G 70
perfect per'fet Bull, per'fekt G 123,
flight C 5
perform perfoo'r'm Bull
personal personal G pr
personality personal'iti G pr
persons pers'onz non pers'nz G pr, 72
perspicuity perspi'ky'iti G 29
perspicuous perspi'kyus G 30
*pertain*ertain Bull
perversely pervers'li G 141
pettitoes pet'itooz G 37
pewter peu'ter G 69, B
Pharisees = *Pharisais* C 23
pheasant fezaunt ? Sa
Philip Fil'ip Bull
philosophers filos'ofers G 74
phlegm fleem G 38
phoenix fee'niks B
physician = *phisition* C 9
pick pik S
pickrel pik'rel *lupulus* G 35
picture pik'tyur Bull
piece piis Bull
pies peiz S
pig pig S
pike peik *lucius* S, peik G 35
Pilate = *Pilaat* C 27
pile peil Bull, pail G 28
pill pil Bull
pillory pil'ori Bull
pin pin Bull
pine poin *emaciare* S, Bull, poin G 105
piss pis S Bull,
pit pit S
pitch pitsh G 38
pith pith S
pity piti G pr, 83, 87, 129
place plaas Bull, G 24, 98, 100, 125
plague plaag Sa
plaiice plais *passer piscis* Bull
plain plain G 85
plaint plaint G 130
planted plant'ed G 24
plate plaat *vasa argentea* G 38
Plato Plat'o G 74
play plai S, G 18, *Mops* plee G 18,
 plee cor B, *plays* plaiz Bull
pleasant pleez'ant G 142
please pleez S, *pleaseth* pleez'eth G,
pleasing plees'iq ? G 118
pleasure pleez'zyr G 144
pledge pledzh G 88, 101
plentiful plen'tiful G 84
pock pok *scabies grandis* S
poesy poesi G 141
point point, *fortasse* point, *mucro*, *indice*
monstrare, et *ligula* S, puunt G 88
poke pook S
pole pool *pertica* G 7
poll pol *capitulum lepidissimum* G 7
pool puul S
poor puur Sa, S, G 141
pop pop, *bulla*, aut *popismus*, et *irri-*
dendi nota, S
pope poop *papa*, S
poplar pop'lar G 105
porch poortsh G 123
pore poor *proprius intueri ut lusciosi*
faciunt S
Portugal Poor'tiqgal cor Sa
pot pot S
potager pot'andzher Sa

potent poo'tent G 134
potage pot'adz G 37
poundage pound'adz G 27
pour puur pour *funde*; pour out *effunde*
 S, pour H, pour G 21, pour'er B
power pou'er S, H, pour G 21, 79, 125,
 B
praise praiz G 21
praiseworthy praiz'wurdh'eī G 32
pray prai non pre G pr, prai, *Mops* pree
 G 18
prayers prai'erz G 110
preach preetsh G 13
precious pres'ius Bull
prepare = *prepaar* C 2
presence prez'ens G 23
present preez'ent G 69, 84
preserveth prezerv'eth G 33
president prez'idēt G 110
press = *prease* *presse* C 21
presumed prezyymd' G 99
prevent preevent' ? G 87, *prevented* pre-
 vent'ed G 133
prey prai G 24
price v. priis Bull, prais G 89
prick prik S, Bull
pricket prik'et G 100
pride preid G 43, 99
priest priist Bull
prime preim G 112
prince prins G 107, *princes* prins'es G
 103
prism priz'm S
prisoner priz'ner G 105
private priv'at ? Bull
privily priv'ili G 79
privities priv'itais G 39
proceeded prosiid'ed Bull
prodigal prood'igaal ? G 148
profane profaan' G 134
profanely profaan'lai G 134
profit prof'it G pr 31, *profited* prof'ited
 G 43
profitable prof'itabl G 31, 84
prohibition, proob'is'ium Sa
prolong proloq' G 133
promise prom'is G 83
proper prop'er G 84
prophets = *p'pheets* C 11
propone propoon' G 31
propose propooz' G 86
prosperous pros'perus B
prostrate pros'traat G 149
proud proud B, G 74, 105
prove pruuv B
provide provid' Bull, provaid' G 86
proweess prou'es G 116
prudent prud'ent ? G 30
puissance pyyis'ans G 111
pull pul S
pulley pul'i Bull

punish punish G 89 *punished* = *po-
 nished* C 10
pure pyyr S, pyy'er H
pureness pyyr'nes Sa
purge purdzh B
purity pyy'ritai G 39
purple pur'pl G 106
purpose pur'pooz G 104
purslain pur'slain *portulaca* G 38
pursue pursyy' G 90
push push G 88
put put *pono* G 48

Q

quail kwail G pr
quake kwaak G pr, 103
qualities kwal'itiz G 136
quarrel kwar'el S
quassy (P) kwas'i insalubris S
quarter kwar'ter Sa, S, H
quash kwash G pr
quean kween, *scortum* S, Bull
queen kwiin Sa, S, G pr, 110, kwin ?
 G 72
quench kwentsh Bull, G 24, 124
quern, kwaar'n *mola trusatilīs* Bull
quest, kwest *consilium* S
question kwest'ion G 88
quick kwik S
quickly kwik'li G 34
quicken kwik'n Bull
quiet kweit *quietus* S, kwi'et ? G 38
quill kwil S, *quills* kwilz G pr
quilt kwilt *tapetis suffulti lana genus*
 S
quince kwins S, G 12
quit, kwit, *quietum aut liberatum*, S,
 kwit G pr
quite v. kweit *liberare aut acceptum*
ferre S, kwait G 121, adv. kwait G
 116
quoit koit, *fortasse kuit, jacere discum*, S
qwoth koth *vel kwoth* G 64

R

race raas *soboles* G 39
rag rag S
rageth raa'dzeth G 99
rail rail Sa, *rails*, railz Sa
rain rain P, G 66, *rain* C 5
raising raa'ziq ? G 99
Ralph Raaf Bull
ram ram S, *rams* ramz G 99
rancorous raq'kerus G 106
range raindzh B
rank a. ragk, *Aust* roqk G 17
rare raar Bull, G 101
rat rat S
rate v. raat G 89
ratlines rat'liqz G 37
rather raadh'er G 103

- raving* raav'iq G 148
raw rau S
reach reetsh Bull
read reed *lego* Bull, G 48, *red lectum* S, G 48, 134, *reading* reed'iq non riid'iq, G pr, 95
ready red'i G 84
realm reelm G 122
reap reep S
rear reer S, G 105, *reared* ree'red G 114
reason reez'n Bull, *reasons* reez'nz G 110
rebuke rebyyk' G 24, *rebuuk* C 11
receive reseiv Bull, *reseev* G 89
reck riik ? *curare* S
reckoning rek'niq G 100
recount rekount' G 86
red red S
Redcliff Rat'lif G pr
redeem rediim' G 102
redoubt redyyit ? *munimentum pro tempore aut occasione factum* G 29
redound redound' G 86
redress redres' G 149
reduce redyy's G 31
reeds riidz G 146
reek riik B
rest reft G 100
refuge ref'yydzh G 21
refuse v. ref'yyz' G 101, 132
register redzh'ister G 129
regreter regraa'ter G 129
reign rein Bull, *reigneth* reein'eth G 22, *reigns* rainz G 99
rejoice redzhois' G 22
release relees' G 89
relief reliif' G 38, 99
religious relidzh'ius G 81
remaineth remain'eth G 87
remember remem'ber G 40
remembrance remem'brans G 23
removed remuuv'ed G 24
rend rend G 48
render rend'er G 21
renewest renyy'est G 25
renowned renoun'ed G 100
rent rent Sa
repine repiin' ? *invideo* G 88
reported report'ed G 67
reproach reprootsh' G 118
requite rekwaît' G 87
resist resist' G 87
resort rezort' G 142
resound rezound' G 142
respondence respon'dens G 119
restore restoor' G 122
restrain restrain' G 89
retain retain' G 103
retire retair' G 99
retrieve retriiiv' *reindagari* S
return return' G 33
revenge revendzh' G 110
revive revaiiv' G 141
rew reu B
reward reward' G 89, 122
rhyme raim G 141
rib rib S
rich ritsh, *Bor* raitsh G 17
riches ritsh'ez G 21
rick rik B
rid rid G 89
ride reid H, Bull, *ridden* rid'n S
ridge redzh S
rife roif G 99
right rikht Sa
righteous raikh'teus G 27
righteously raikh'teusloi G 21
righteousness raikh'teusnes G 27, *righteousnes* C 5
ring riq G 93, *ringing* riq'iq Sa
rip rip *dissuere* S
ripe reip S
rice rois G 37
rise v. = *rijs* C 12
river river Bull
roach rootsh S
roam rooum Bull
roar roor G 22
rob rob S, G 85
robe roob S, G 106
robbery rob'erai G 21
rock rok *colus vel rupes* S, rok *rupes* G 20, 99
rod rod S
roe roo Sa
rolling rooul'iq G 121
Rome Ruu'm Bull
rook ruuk S
room ruum Bull
root ruut B
rope roop S
ropp rop *intestinum* S
rose rooz ? Sa, *roose* C 2, *roses* roo'zez G 99
rosecheeked rooz'tshiikt G 150
rosy-fingered roo'zifi'q'ged G 106
rote root Bull
roused rouzd G 107
rove roov S
row roou *remigare* Bull
royal roi'al G 104
rub rub S
rubies ryy'biz G 99
ruck ruk *acervus, rucks* ruks S
rue ryy P, ryy ruta S, ryy se *pœnitere* G 145
rueful ryy'ful G 100
ruff ruf *piscis perca similis* S
ruin ryyain' ? *in an accentual pentameter from Sydney's Arcadia* 3, 1, O ju, alas ! so ai faund, kAAZ of hîr on'li ryyain' G 146

rule ryyl Bull, G 68
 rump rump, *Lin* strunt runt *cauda* G 17
 rumbling rum·bliq G 114
 run run, ran ran G 13, 49
 runners run·erz G 114
 rural ryy·ral G 146
 rush rush *juncus* S
 rust rust G 118
 rusty rust·i G 106
 ruth ryyth G 39
 rye roi G 37

S

sable saab·l Sa
 sackcloth sak·kloth G 128
 sacred saa·kred G 98
 saddle Sa, sad·l Bull, sad·l G 133
 safeguard saaf·gard G 73
 safely = *safty* C 27
 saffron saf·ern G 106
 said zed *rusticè*, said non sed G *pr*, 67,
 sed *Bor pro* said G 17
 sailed saild G 146, sailing sail·iq G 105
 saints saints G 23
 sake = *saak* C 5
 salable saa·labl G 32
 sale saal Sa
 Sallust Sal·ust G 84
 salmon sam·on G 77
 salt salt S, saalt G 27, 81
 saltish saal·tish G
 salutation salutaas·sion ? G 30
 salvation salvaas·sion G 20
 same saam Bull, G 45, saam C 5
 sanctuary saqk·tuarøi G 22
 sanders san·derz *santalum* G 37
 sanicle san·ikl G 30
 sap sap G 24
 sat sat S
 satisfaction satisfak·sion à *Latino in io*,
 proprium tamen accentum retinet in
 antepenultima G 129, shewing that
 -sion was regarded as two syllables.
 satisfy sat·isfoi G 87, satisfied sat·isfoied
 G 24
 Saturn Saa·turn G 100
 Saul Saul S
 save saav S, saving saav·iq G 21
 saw sau S, saa G 14
 saz saks *aratrum Occ*, G
 say sai non se G *pr*, saai G 22, saa *Bor*
 abjecto i G 17, zai *Or* G 17, see *cor*
 B, sai C 5
 scale skaal G 99
 'scaped skaapt G 105
 scathe skath G 106
 sceptre sept·r Bull
 science siens Bull
 scissars siz·erz G 37
 scholar skolar *potius quam skoler* G *pr*,
 scholars skol·ars Mops skal·ers G 18

school skuul Sa
 schoolmaster skuul·mas·ter G 86
 scolding skould·iq G 95
 score skoor G 71
 scorn skorn G 98, 141, scorned = *scoorned*
 C 27
 scour skour B
 scourge skurdzh B
 scowl skoul B
 screech owl skreik·nul Bull
 scribble skrib·l *scribillare*
 scripture scrip·tur ? see *literature* G 30
 scull skul S
 scurrility skuril·iti G 112
 sea see Sa, G 22, see C 4, seas seez G 13
 seal seel S
 seam seem *adepts* G 38
 search sertsh G 90
 season seez·in Sa, seasons seez·nz G 24
 seats = *seets* C 23
 second sek·ond G 35, 71
 secure sekyyr· G 147
 sedge sedzh, S
 see, sii Sa, S, G 23, seen siin G 7
 seeds siids Bull
 seek S, siik G 20
 seldom siil·dum Bull
 self self Bull, self sel·n *Bor* G 17, *selves*
 selvz Bull
 sell sel S, G 89
 semblance sem·blans G 107
 Sempringham Sem·priq·am *media syllaba*
 producitur [see Trumpington] G 134
 send send G 48, sendeth send·eth G 24,
 sent sent G 43
 senseless sens·les G 99
 set set G 48
 sergeant ser·dzhant G 82
 servant serv·ant G 46
 serve serv G 23
 service serv·is G 24
 set set *plantavit* S
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 throoun Bull, G 15, *throwen* C 5
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rum quibus vinum ab uno vase ex-
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C 2
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throw troo Sa, troou G 27
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true try P, Sa, S, Bull, G 27, B ?
trueseeming try'siim'q G 32
true-turn = *trutorn* [i.e., *true* rendering
or translation] C 10
truly tryy'li G 20
Trumpington Trum'piq'tun adeo *clarus*
est accentus in primo trissyllabo, licet
positione non eleuetur. Hic tamen
cautelè opus, nam si ad positionem
l. n. vel q. concurrat, media syllaba
producitur G 134, [compare *Abington*
Sempringham, Wymondham, wilful-
ness]
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trii, Bull
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tion from *Spenser*, answering to the
orthography '*unweeting*']
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value val'yy G 89, *valew* C 6
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Bull, *voout camera* S, *vaut* B.
vaunt vaant G 89
veal veel G 39
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vein vain Sa, vein Bull
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vent vent S
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very veri' S, G 23
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vicar vik'ar S, G 17, *Aust* fik'ar G 17
vice vois G 113, *vices* voisɛs ? G pr
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vile veil S, vail G 105
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vine vein Sa
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Wat Wat, lepus S, H, (*for Walter,
 name of the hare, as chanticleer,
 Reynard are names of the cock and
 fox.*)
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 way wai, rustici waai, Mops wee, *Se et
 Transtr* waa, S, wai non ue G *pr*
 15, waai G 21
 we wii P, Sa, we ourselves wii uurselyz·
 Bull, wii non uii G *pr*, 44
 weak week S, G
 wealth welth Bull, G 39
 wean ween ablactare S
 wear weer G 50, 98, ware = waar C 3,
 worn worn G 50
 wearling weer'ling not war'ling B
 weary weer'i G 84, 100, B, wiir'i cor B
 weasel, wiis'l B
 weather = weyer C 16
 wed wed S
 weed wiid S, Bull
 week wiik S
 weel wiil nassa G 11
 ween wiin opinari S, G *pr*
 weepot wiit-pot *farcimen Occ*, G 18
 weesway wiiz'wai *frænum Occ*, G 18
 weighs waiz G 93
 weight waikht G 9, 131, weights =
 waites [*the sign Libra*] C 20
 weir weer Sa
 welcome wel'kum G 33
 well wel bene S, H, G *pr*, 10
 we'll wiil *Bor pro* wii wil G 17
 wen wen S
 wend wend G 65
 wench wentsh Bull
 went went G 65, Jed, Jood *Lin*, G 16
 were [see 'was']
 weren = were weern G 124
 wet wet S, G 13
 wevil wii'vil B
 whale huaal uhaal (=whaal ?) S
 what huat uhat S, what G *pr*, 11, 44
 wheel hueel uheel (=wheel ?) *pustula* S
 wheat wheet *triticism* S, hueet (=
 wheet) H, wheet G 37
 wheaten wheet'n Bull
 wheel huil, unil (=whiil) S, whiil
 G 11
 where hueer (=wheer) H, B, wheer
 G 24, B, wher C 2
 wherry wher'i B
 whet whet G 13, S

whether whedh'er G 11, 45
which whitsh Bull G 14, 44
while hueil uheil (=wheil) S, wheil
 G 112, *whiles* huils (hueilz ?) or
 wheils S, hueilz H
whilere whaileer G 105
whilom wheilum G 113
whirl wher'l, Bull
whirlpool wher'l-puul, Bull
whirlwind whirlwind G 149
whistled whist'ld G 146
white whit Bull, whoit G 74
whither whedher, Bull, B
whittle whit'l with a kniif Bull
who whuu Bull, G 44, *whom* huom
 (huoom ?), uhom (=whoom ?) S,
 whom G 105, whuum G 44, *whoom*
 C 3, *whose* whuuz G 44, wuuz ? G
 141
whoever whuuver G 135
whole whool Bull, G 23, *hoole* C 4
wholesome hoolsum G
whoop whuup Bull
whore huur, Sc hyr S
whoredom = *whooredome* C 19
whosoever whuu-soever G 33
why hui (huei ?), uhi (=whei ?) S
 whai G 99 *whi* C 26
wick = *week* C 12
wicked wick'ed G 23
wide weid Sa, woid G 70
wield wiild G 110
widow widoou ? G pr
wife wiif, *wives* wiivz, Bull
wight waikht G 105
wild wiild G 24
wile weil G
wilfulness wil-ful-ness, see *Trumpington*
 G 134
will wil S, H, wil G pr, *Lin* -l ut
 ei-l, dhou-l, hii-l, wii-l, jou-l' dhei-l,
 G 17, *wilt* wilt G 54
William Wil'iam G 77
Wimbledon Wimb'ldun G 134
win win Sa, S, Bull, G 7
winch wintsh Bull
wind wiind *ventus* Bull, wiind *ventus*
 G 10, 23, *winds* = *wijnds* C 7
winder wiinder Bull
windlas wiind-las Bull
window wiind-oor Bull, wind'ou G 81
windy wiind-i Bull
wine wein Sa, S, Bull, wein G pr, 7, 38
winge weindzh, see *suprà* p. 763, n. 2, Sa
wings wiqz G 23
winking wiqk-iq Sa
wipe wiip Bull, waiip G 124
wise weis S, weiz H, wiiz Bull, waiiz
 G 105, *wijs* C 6
wisdom wiiz'dum Bull, wiz'dum G 25
wisdom C 11

wish wish Sa 10, S, wish Sa, G 48
wished wiisht ? G 48
wist wist sciebam G 64
wit wit S, Bull, wit G pr, 91 110, v.
 wit scio G 64
witsh witsh Bull, G 14
wite v. wait *vitupero*, *ferè* *evanuit* G 64
 [the pronunciation assigned was there-
 fore probably conjectural]
with with Sa, Bull, *with* frequentius,
 with *docti interdum*, G pr, with G
 20 et passim
withdraw withdraa' G 128, *withdrew*
 withdryy' G 91
Witham Widh'am G 70
withhold withhoould' G 33, 104
within with'in G 79, B
without without' G 33, 79
withstand withstand' G 128
withy with'i *salix* Bull
witness wit'nes G 42
wizard = *wisard* *wiseards* C 2, 3
woad wod ? *glastum* S
woe woo S, G 81, 142
woeful woo'ful G 102
wolf wulf S, B
womb womb S, wuum B
woman wum'an G 41, wuum'an B,
women win'en G 41, wiim'en G 77
won wun S
wonder un'der (=wun'der) Sa, wun'der
 G 88, B, *wonders*, wun'derz G 22
wondrous wun'drus G 122
wont wunt G 111, 142, B
woo uu (=wuu ?) Sa, *wooded* uoed (=
 woo'ed ?) à *procis ambita* S
wood wud S, G 10, 22, *woods* wudz G
 142
woof wuuf B
wool u-ul (=wul ?) *lana* S, wul G
 39
Worcestershire Wus'tershiiir G 70, 8
word wurd Bull, G 10, word G 114,
 wuurd wurd B
wore v. woor G 50
work wurk Bull, G 21, *works* wurks
 G 24
workman wurk-man G 28, *workmen* =
woorkmen C 20
world worl'd Bull, world G 10, 23, 110
 B
worm wuur'm Bull, wurm G pr, B
worse wurs G 34
worship wur'ship Sa, G 22
worst wurst G 34
worth wurth Bull, G 110
worthy wurdh'i G 83
wost wust scis B
wot v. wot Sa, G 64
would wuuld S, Bull, B
would' st wuuldst G 54

wound wound *vulnus* S, wuund, *Bor*
 WAAND [perhaps here to be read
 (waund)] G 16, wounds wuund-es in
Spenser G 137
 woꝝ woks G 123
 woxen woks'en *crevisse* S
 wrangler wraq'lor (*rwaq'lor*) Bull
 wrath wrath (*rwath*) G 99
 wrathful wrath-ful (*rwath-ful*) G 103
 wreak wreck (*rweek*) Sa
 wrest wrest (*rwest*) Sa
 wrestle wrest'l (*rwest'l*) Bull
 wretch wretsh (*rwetsh*) Bull, G 146,
 wretched wretsh-ed (*rwetsh-ed*) G 117
 wrinkle wriqk'l (*rwikq'l*) Sa
 write wrait (*rwait*), writ (*rwit*) *scribe-*
bam, wroot (*rwoot*) *imperfectum com-*
mune, wraat (*rwaat*) *Bor*, oi haav
 writ'n (*rwit'n*) *scripsi* G 49, written
 writ'n (*rwit'n*) Bull *supra* p. 114,
 writin C 2
 wrong wroq (*rwog*) G 95, wronged wraqd
 (*rwaqd*) *Bor* G 122
 wroth wroth (*rwoth*) Bull, wrooth
 (*rwooth*) G 123
 wrought wroouht, (*rwouht* ?) wrowht
 (*rwowht*) Bull, wroouht wrowht
 (*rwouht wrowht*) Bull, wrooukht
 (*rwoukht*) G 48
 Wymondham Wim-und'am *media syl-*
laba producitur [see *Trumpington*]
 G 134

Y.

yard jard Sa, jard *virga aut area*, S,
 jeerd G 70
 yark behind yark behind- *posterioribus*
pedibus incutere, et propriè equorum S
 yarn jaar'n Bull, jarn G 10
 yarrow jar'ou *millifolium* S
 yate jaat quod nunc 'gate' gaat *dicimus*
et scribimus S

yawn jaun ? Sa
 Yaxley Jaks'lei *nomen proprium* S
 ye jii Bull, G 20, 44, ji G 141
 yea see Sa 35
 year jiiir Sa, Bull, B, jeer G 70
 yeast jiiit (*meant for jeeet* ?) *cervisia*
spuma quod alii barm vocant S
 yeld jeld ? Sa
 yell jel Sa
 yellow jel'ou Sa, S
 yeoman jem'an ? S, ju'man Bull
 yes jis alii *sonant* jes S, jis G 10
 yesterday jes'terdai S, jisterdai G 77
 yet jii, alii *sonant* jet S G 102
 yew yy *taxus arbor* S
 yield jiild ? Sa, jiild S, Bull, G 22, 86,
 jeld *concessit* S, yielded jiild-ed G 110,
 jiild-ed G 117, ielded C 13
 yode jod G 106, see *Went*
 yoke jook G 10, 43, iook C 11
 yolk jook jugum S, jek *vitellum* G 10
 yonder jon'der jen'der S, jon'der H
 York Jork Sa
 you jou vos S, juu H, Bull, jou juu
observa jou sic *scribi solere, et ab*
aliquibus pronunciari at à plerisque
juu, tamen quia hoc nondum ubique
obtinuit paulisper in medio relinquetur
 G 46, juu non iu G, pr, juu G 45,
 jou G 44, jou *Mops* ja G 18, yow C
 6, iou you C 10
 young juq, Sa, S, Bull, B, G 24, 112
 your juur, Bull, juur G 21, 95, yours
 juurz G 45, yours C 6
 yunker juq'ker *adolescens generosior* S
 youth juuth ? Sa, juth Bull, jyyth G
 13, 46, juuth B, youths jyyths G 40
 zeal zeel G 13, 105
 zed zed *litera z*, S
 zodiak zo'diak ? G 29
 Zouch Zoutsh G 42

EXTRACTS FROM RICHARD MULCASTER'S ELEMENTARIE, 1582.

Gill says in the preface to his *Logonomia*, "Occurrere quidem huic vitio [cacographiæ] viri boni et literati, sed irritò conatu; ex equestri ordine *Thomas Smithius*; cui volumen bene magnum opposuit *Rich. Mulcasterus*: qui post magnam temporis et bonæ chartæ perditionem, omnia Consuetudini tanquam tyranno permittenda censet." Mulcaster's object in short was to teach, not the spelling of sounds, but what he considered the neatest style of spelling as derived from custom, in order to avoid the great confusion which then prevailed. He succeeded to the extent of largely influencing subsequent authorities. In Ben Jonson's *Grammar*, the Chapters on orthography are little more than abridgements of Mulcaster's. Sometimes the same examples are used, and the very faults of description are followed. It would have been difficult to make

anything out of Mulcaster without the help of contemporary orthoepists, and it appeared useless to quote him as an authority in Chap. III. But an account of the xvth century pronunciation would be incomplete without some notice of his book, and the value of his remarks has been insisted on by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce (*infra* p. 917, note). A few extracts are therefore given, with bracketted remarks. Chronologically, Mulcaster's book should have been noticed before Gill's, p. 845. But as he was a pure orthographer who only incidentally and obscurely noticed orthoepy, these extracts rightly form a postscript to the preceding vocabulary. The title of the book, which will be found in the Grenville collection at the British Museum, is:—

The first part of the elementarie which entreateth chefelie of the right writing of our English tung, set furth by RICHARD MULCASTER. Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier dwelling in the blak-friers by Lud-gate, 1582.

In Herbert's Ames, 2, 1073, it is said that no other part was ever published. In the following account, all is Mulcaster's except the passages inclosed in brackets, and the headings. The numbers at the end of each quotation refer to the page of Mulcaster's book.

The Vowells Generally.

The vowells generallie sound either long as, *compāring*, *reuēnged*, *enditing*, *enclosure*, *presūming*: or short as, *ransāking*, *reuēlling*, *penitent*, *omnipōtent*, *fortūnat*: [here the example *revenged*, which had certainly a short vowel, shews that by length and brevity, Mulcaster meant *presence and absence of stress*, which applies to every case;] either sharp, as *māte*, *mēte*, *ripe*, *hōpe*, *dūke*. or flat as: *māt*, *mèt*, *rip*, *hōp*, *dūk*. [Here he only means long or short, and does not necessarily, or indeed always, imply a difference of quality, as will appear under E. Occasionally, however, he certainly does denote a difference of quality by these accents, as will be seen under O. In his "general table" of spelling, these accents seem frequently used to differentiate words, which only differed in their consonants, and it is impossible from his use of them to determine the sounds he perhaps meant to express. Thus in his chapter on *Distinction*, he says: "That the sharp and flat accents ar onlie to be set vpon the last syllab, where the sharp hath manie causes to present it self: the flat onlie vpon som rare difference, as *refuse*, *refuse*, *presēt*, *présent*, *recòrd*, *recórd*, *diffèr*, *différ*,

seuèr, *seuère*." 151.—Where the grave accent seems to mark absence of stress, the quality of the vowel changing or not.] Which diuersitie in sound, where occasion doth require it, is noted with the distinctions of time [meaning *stress* in reality, which he indicates by *˘*, because in English versification imitating the classical, quantity was replaced by stress], and tune [meaning length, which he indicates by *ˊ* accent marks, and hence confuses with tune], tho generallie it nede not, considering our daelie custom, which is both our best, and our commonest gide in such cases, is our ordinarie leader [and hence unfortunately he says as little as possible about it].—110.

Proportion.

I call that *proportion*, when a number of words of like sound ar written with like letters, or if the like sound haue not the like letters, the cause why is shewed, as in *hear*, *fear*, *dear*, *gear*, *wear* [where the last word, which was certainly (*weer*), should determine the value of *ea* in the others to have been (*ee*) in Mulcaster's pronunciation, though, as others said (*hiir*, *fiir*, *diir*) even in his day, this may be too hasty a conclusion].—124.

A.

A Besides this generall note for the time and tune, hath no particular thing worth the obseruation in this place, as a letter, but it hath afterward in proportion, as a syllab. All the other vowels haue manie pretie notes. [This might mean that *a* always preserved its sound, and the other vowels did not. It is possible that the "pretie notes" only refer to his observations on them, and not to diversity of sound.]—111.

Ache, brache, with the qualifying *e*, for without the *e*, *t*, goeth before *ch*. as *patch, snatch, catch, smatch, watch*. The strong *ch*. is mere foren, and therefor endeth no word with *vs*, but is turned into *k*, as *stomak, monark*. [This context makes *a* long and *ch* = (tsh) in *ache* = (aatsh). Yet in his general table p. 170, he spells both *ache* and *ake*. See the illustrations of *ache* in Shakspeare, infra § 8.]—127.

AI, EI.

Ai, is the mans diphthong, and soundeth full: ei, the womans, and soundeth finish [=rather fine] in the same both sense, and *vs*; *a woman is deintie, and feinteth soon, the man fainteth not* bycause he is nothing daintie. [Whether any really phonetic difference was meant, and if so of what kind, is problematical. Smith had said the same thing, supra p. 120, but with Smith the word diphthong had a phonetic meaning, with Mulcaster it was simply a digraph, and he may have at most alluded to such differences as (ææ, ee) or (ee, ee). Compare the following paragraph.]—119.

No English word endeth in *a*, but in *aie*, as *decaie, assaie*, which writing and sound our *vs* hath won. [Does this confuse or distinguish the sounds of *a*, *ai*? It might do both. It ought to distinguish, because the writing of *ai* being different from the writing of *a*, the mention of its sound should imply that that sound was also different. But we cannot tell. See what follows.]—125.

Gaie, graie, traie. And *maid, said, quaiſ*, English for *coif, quail, sail, rail, mail*, onelesse it were better to write these with the qualifying, *e*, *quale, fale, rale, male*. [If any phonetic consistency were predicable of an orthographical reformer,—which, however, we are not justified in assuming,—this ought to in-

dicate a similarity of pronounciation between *ai* and *a*. To the same conclusion tend:] Howbeit both the terminations be in *vs* to diuerse ends. *Gain, pain*, if not, *Pane, gane, remane*, and such as these terminations, be also vsed to diuerse ends, [these "diuerse ends" being of course not to indicate diversity of sound, but diversity of sense; it would be quite enough for Mulcaster to feel that the vowel was long, and that a final *e*, and not an inserted *i*, was the "proper" way of marking length.] . . . *Fair, pair, air*, if not *Fare, pare, are*, both terminations also be vsed to diuerse ends. *Wait, strait*, if not *Wate, strate*. *Straight or streight*, bycause *ai* and *ei*, do interchange vses. *Aim*, or *ame, maim*. *Paint, restraint, faint*, or *feint, quaint*, or *queint* . . . *Ete, eight, sleight, height, weight, feild, yeild, sheild*, the kinred between *ei*, and *ai*, maketh *ei*, not *anie* where so ordinarie, as in these terminations. [If we were inconsiderate enough to suppose that Mulcaster had any thought of representing the different sounds, as distinguished from the length, of vowels, all these cases, would be explicable by assuming *ai* = *ei* = (ee), and *a* long = (ææ). But this would be somewhat opposed to other parts of Mulcaster, and to the writings of contemporaries, and is founded upon the groundless assumption just mentioned. As to the similarity of *ai*, *a*, see supra p. 867, col. 2, and Mr. White's account of Elizabethan pronounciation, infra.]—136-7.

E.

Whensoeuer *E*, is the last letter, and soundeth, it soundeth sharp, as *mé, sé, vé, agré*. sauing in *the*, the article, *ye* the pronoun, and in Latin words, or of a Latin form, when theie be vsed English like, as *certiorare, quandare*, where *e*, soundeth full and brode after the originall Latin. [Here, as we know that the sounds were (mii, sii, wii, agrii, dhe), though (je) is not so certain from other sources, we might suppose é = (ii), è = (e). Ben Jonson, however, in abstracting and adapting this passage, distinctly makes the sound (ii), saying (Gram. chap. iii.), "When it is the last letter, and soundeth, the sound is sharp, as in the French *i*. Example in *mé. sé. agré. ye. shé*. in all, saying the article *thè*." Observe that *yé* is now (yii) and not (je). Observe

also that *quandary* is referred to a Latin origin, *quam dare*, as if they were the first words of a writ.] Whosoever e, is the last, and soundeth not, it either qualifyeth som letter going before, or it is mere silent, and yet in neither kinde encreaseth it the number of syllabs. I call that E, qualifying, whose absence or presence, sometime altereth the vowell, sometime the consonant going next before it. It altereth the sound [length] of all the vowells, euen quite thorough one or mo consonants, as *mâde*, *stème*, *êche*, kinde, *stripe*, *ôre*, *cûre*, *tôte* sound sharp with the qualifying E in their end: whereas, *mâd*, *stêm*, *êch*, *frind*, *strip*, or *cur*, *tost*, contract of tossed, sound flat without the same E. [Now as we know that *steam*, *each*, were (*steem*, *eech*), it follows that *é* represented either (ii) or (ee), that is, that the acute accent only represented length, independently of alteration in quality of tone; there was such an alteration in *cûre*, *cûr*, certainly, and in *stripe*, *strip*, according to the current pronunciation; but there was or was not in *sé*, *stème*, compared with *stêm*, and hence we have no reason to infer that there was any in *mâde*, *mâd*, *ôre*, *ôr*. Ben Jonson alters the passage thus: "Where it [E] endeth, and soundeth obscure, and faintly, it serves as an accent, to produce the Vowell preceding: as in *mâde*. *stème*. *stripe*. *ôre*. *cûre*. which else would sound, *mâd*. *stêm*. *strip*. *ôr*. *cûr*." It is tolerably clear that by using "produce" in place of Mulcaster's "alter the sound," he intended to avoid the difficulty of considering *stème* = *steam* as (*stiim*), unless, indeed, he meant it to be a contraction for *esteem*. He omits the example *each* for a similar reason.]—111.

Pert, *desert*, the most of these sorts be bisyllabs or aboue: besides that, a, dealeth verie much before the r, [meaning probably that *er* was often sounded (ar)]. By *deserue*, *preserue*, *conserue*, it should appear that either we strain the Latin s to our sound, or that theie had som sound of the z, expressed by s, as well as we, [did he say (konzerv)?]—132.

I.

I, in the same proportion [suprà p. 911] soundeth now sharp, as *giue*, *thriue*, *aliue*, *viue*, *title*, *bible*, now quik, as *giue*, *liue*, *siue*, *title*, *bible*,

which sounds ar to be distinguished by accent, if acquaintance will not seme in much reading. [As Ben Jonson uses the same words and notation, and we know that he must have distinguished his *i*, *î*, as (*oi*, *î*) there is no reason for supposing that Mulcaster's *i* was anything but (*ei*) or (*oi*). But at the same time there is nothing to militate against the contemporary Bullokar's (*ii*). And Mulcaster's pronunciation of *ou* as (*uu*), infrà p. 914, which is about the only certain result that can be elicited from his book, renders the (*ii*) probable.]—115.

I, besides the time and tune thereof noted before, hath a form sometime vowellish, sometime consonantish. In the vowellish sound either it endeth a former syllab or the verie last. When it endeth the last, and is it self the last letter, if it sound gentlie, it is qualified by the e, as *manie*, *merie*, *tarie*, *carie*, where the verie pen, will rather end in e, than in the naked i. If it sound sharp and loud, it is to be written y, having no, e, after it, as neding no qualification, *deny*, *cry*, *defy*. [This at any rate goes against Gill's use of final (*ei*), suprà p. 281, which, however, he only attributes to "numerus poeticus," *Log*. p. 130, in his Chap. 25, quoted at length, infrà § 8.]—113.

If it [I] end the last syllab, with one or mo consonants after it, it is shrill [long] when the qualifying e, followeth, and if it be shrill [long] the qualifying e, must follow, as, *repine*, *enwise*, *minde*, *kinde*, *fiste* [foist?]. If it be flat and quik, the qualifying e, must not follow, as, *examin*, *behind*, *mist*, *fist*. [Observe (behind) with a short vowel, and hence certainly not (beheind).]—114.

The quik i, and the gentle passant e, ar so near of kin, as theie enterchange places with pardon, as in *descryed*, or *descryid*, *findeth*, or *findith*, *hir*, or *her*, the error is no heresie.—115.

If it [I] light somewhat quiklie vpon the s, then the s is single, as *promis tretis*, *amis*, *aduertis*, *enfranchis*, etc. [This seems to establish (adver'tis, enfran'chis) as the common pronunciation.]—133.

O.

O is a letter of as great vncertaintie in our tung, as e, is of direction both alone in vowell, and combined in diphthong. The cause is, for that in vowell

it soundeth as much vpon the u, which is his cosin, as upon the ó, which is his naturall, as in *còsen, dòsen, mòther*, which o, is still naturallie short, and, *hòsen, fròsen, mòther*, which o, is naturallie long. In the diphthong it soundeth more vpon the, u, then vpon the, o, as in *found, wound, cow, sow, bow, how, now*, and *bów, sów, wróught, óught, mów, tróugh*. Notwithstanding this varietie, yet our custom is so acquainted with the vse thereof, as it will be more difficulte to alter a known confusion, then profitable to bring in an vnknown reformation, in such an argument, where acquaintance makes iustice, and vse doth no man wrong. And yet where difference by note shall seem to be necessarie the titles of *proportion* and *distinction* will not omit the help. In the mean time thus much is to be noted of o: besides his time long and short, besides his tune with or without the qualifying e, sharp or flat, that when it is the last letter in the word, it soundeth sharp and loud, as *agó, tó, só, nó*. saue in *tò* the preposition, *tò* the numerall, *dò* the verb: his compounds as. *vndò*, his deriuatiues as *dòing*. In the middle syllabs, for tune, it is sharp, as here, or flat if a consonant end the syllab after o. For time the polysyllab will bewraie it self in our daile pronouncing: considering the children and learners be ignorant, yet he is a verie simple teacher, that knoweth not the tuning of our ordinarie words, yea tho theie be enfranchised, as *ignorant, impudent, impotent*. O varieth the sound in the same proportion, naie oftimes in the same letters, as *lòue, glòue, dòue, shòue, remòue, and lòue, gròue, shròue, nóue*. This duple sound of o, in the vowell is Latinish, where o, and u, be great cosens, as in *voltus, voltis, colo*. And *vultus, vultis, oculo*: in the diphthong it is Grekish, for theie sound their *ou*, still vpon the u, tho it be contract of oo, or oe [there is some misprint in these oo, oe which is imitated here], wherein as their president [precedent] is our warrant against obiection in these, so must acquaintance be the mean to discern the duple force of this letter, where we finde it, and he that will learn our tung, must learn the writing of it to, being no more strange then other tungs be euen in the writing. [It would seem by the general tenor of these remarks, that the two sounds of o were (oo, u), and even that

the diphthong *ou*, in those words where it is said to "sound more upon, the, u then vpon the, o," had, as with Bullokar and Palsgrave, the sound of (uu). It is in fact difficult to conceive that Mulcaster pronounced otherwise. And this sounding of *ou* as (uu), leads, as before mentioned, p. 913, to the suspicion of sounding *i* long as (*ii*).]—115.

O, in the end is said to sound lowd, as *go, shro* [shrew?], *fro*, sauing *tò, dò, twò*, etc. . . . O before, l, sounding like a diphthong causeth the ll, be dubbled, as *troll*. And if a consonant follow, l, o, commonlie hath the same force, tho the l, be but single, *told, cold, bold, colt, dolt, colf, rolf, holt, holm, scold, dissolue*. [The last example is peculiar.] O, before m, in the beginning, or middle of a word, leading the syllabs soundeth flat vpon the o, as *omnipotent, commend*, but in the end it soundeth still vpon, the u, as *som, com, dom*, [hence the first is (o), the second (u)] and therfor in their deriuatiues, and compounds as *welcom, troublesom, newcom, cumbersom, kingdom*. With e, after the m, as *home, mome, rome* [roam?], and yet *whom, from*, haue no, e, by *prerogative* of vse, tho theie haue it in sound and seming [that is are called (hoom froom), which is strange, especially as regards *from*.] . . . Or is a termination of som truble, when a consonant followeth, bycause it soundeth so much vpon the u, as *worm, form*, [(furm)?] *sword, word*, and yet the qualifying e, after wil bewraie an o, as the absence thereof will bewraie an u, *storme, o, worm, u, lorde o, hord, u*.—134.

Good, stood, yood. Hoof, roof. Look, took, book, hook. School, tool. Groom, bloom. Hoop, coop. If custom had not won this, why not *ou*? Bycause of the sound which these diphthongs haue somtimes vpon the o, sometimes vpon the, u. I will note the o, sounding vpon himself, with the streight accent, bycause that o, leadeth the lesse number. *Bów, knów, sów*, and *Bów, sów, ców, mòw*. [That is (buu, suu, kuu, muu), but there seem to be some misprints in what follows, compare the *wróught, óught, mów, tróugh*, given above.] *Outch, croutch, sloutch. Lowde, lowdle. Houf, alouf. Gouge, bouge. Cough, óught, owght, of ów, with, w, from the primitiue. Fought, nought, cought, wróught, sought.* again, *Bought, mought, dough. Plough, rough, slough,*

enough. *Houl, coul, skoul.* Why not as well as with oo? *Roum, broum, loun.* Noun, crown, clown, down. *Own, grówn,* vpon the deriuatiue. *Stoup, loup, droup, coup.* Sound, ground, found. Our commonlie abreuatiounlike as *our*, the termination for enfranchisements, as *autour, procuratour,* as, *er* is for our *our*, as *suter, writer: Bour, lour, flour, four,* alone vpon the, *ó.* *Mourn, adiourn.* *Howse, lowse, mouse,* the verbes and deriuatiues vpon the, *z,* as *House, louse, mouse,* the nouns vpon the, *s,* *Ous,* our English cadence for Latin words in *osus*, as *notorious, famous, populous, riotous, gorgeous,* being as it were the vning of the chefe letters in the two syllabs, *o,* and *u,* *osus.* *Clout, lout, dout.* [These instances are strongly confirmatiue of the close *ou* having been (*uu*) to Mulcaster, and his only knowing the open *ou* or (*oou*).]—136.

O.

Thirdlie, *oi*, the diphthong sounding vpon the *o*, for difference sake, from the other, which soundeth vpon the *u*, wold be written with a *y*, as *ioy, anoy, toy, boy,* whereas *ainoint, appoint, foil,* and such seme to haue an *u*. And yet when, *i*, goeth before the diphthong, tho it sound vpon the *u*, it were better oy then *oi*, as *ioynt, ioyn,* which theie shall soon perceiue, when theie mark the speede of their pen: likewise if *oi* with *i*, sound vpon the *o*, it maie be noted for difference from the other sound, with the streight accent, as *boie, enioie.*—117-8.

U.

V besides the notes of his form, besides his time and tune, is to be noted also not to end anie English word, which if it did it should sound sharp, as *nú, trú, vertú.* But to auoid the

nakednesse of the small *u*, in the end we vse to write those terminations with *ew* the diphthong, as *new, trew, vertew.* [Whether this implies that *u* was called (*iu*), or that *ew* was called (*yy*) occasionally, as in Smith and Palsgrave, it is hard to say.]—116.

-URE.

I call that a bisyllab, wherein there be two seuerall sounding vowels, as *Asür, rasür, masür,* and why not *lasur*? [Are these words *azure, rasure, measure, leisure*? If so the orthography, or the confusion of *a, ea, ei,* into one sound, is very remarkable. Further on he writes:] *Natur, statur, Measur, treasur.* [Probably this settles the question of *measure*; but the spelling would indicate that the final *-ture, -sure,* were (*-tur, -sur,*) which would haue immediately generated the xvii th century (*-tär, -sär,* and not Gill's (*-tyyr, -syrr*). Probably both were in use at that time.]—137. This shortnesse or length of time in the deriuatiues is a great leader, where to write or not to write the qualifying, *e*, in the end of simple words. For who will write, *natur, perfit, measur, treasur,* with an, *e*, in the end knowing their deriuatiues to be short, *naturall, perfitlie, measured, treasurer*? . . . And again, fortun profit, comfort, must haue no, *e*, bycause *fortunate, profiting, comforter,* haue the last saue one short. [It will be seen in Chapter IX. § 2, in Hodges's list of like and unlike words, after the vocabulary, that the pronunciation (*-ter*) or (*-tär*) prevailed at least as early as 1643. See also the remarks in Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation, infra. The examples *fortün, fortunäte,* point to the early origin of the modern vulgarism (*faät'n, faät'nit.*)]—150.

REMARKS FROM AN ANONYMOUS BLACK-LETTER BOOK, PROBABLY OF THE XVII TH CENTURY.

As these pages were passing through the press, I met with an 8vo. black-letter book, without date or place, the date of which is supposed to be 1602 in the British Museum Catalogue, press-mark 828, f. 7, entitled:

“Certaine grammar questions for the exercise of young Schollers in the learning of the Accidence.”

In the enumeration of the diphthongs, occur the following remarks which clearly point out *ea* as (*ee*), and distinguish *i* short and *i* long as hauing characteristically different sounds, probably (*i ei*) or (*ei*):—

“*ea* for *e* full great
ee or *ie* for *i* smal greefe
ui for *i* broade guyde.”

The following curious passage shews that *si-* was by error occasionally pronounced (sh) in reading Latin words, and hence had most probably the same unrecognized English sound at the close of the xvi th century. It is unfortunate that the book is of unknown date, and that there is nothing which suggests the date with certainty. The type and spelling have the appearance of the xvi th century, and there is a written note “happening byforhond,” appended to *Accidents* on the last page of sig. B, which is apparently of that date, but there are other words on the next page in a much later hand. The information then must be taken for what it is worth, but it seems to be of Shakspeare’s time, and is important as the oldest notice of such a usage.

“Q. Nowe what thinges doe yee obserue in reading :

R. These two thinges. 1. { *Cleane sounding.*
 2. { *Dewe pawsing.*

Q. Wherein standeth *cleane sounding* :

R. In giuing to euery letter his iust and full sounde. In breaking or diuiding euery worde duely into his seuerall syllables, so that euery syllable may bee hearde by himselfe and none drown'd, nor slubbered by ill fauouredly. In the right pronouncing of *ti*, whiche of vs is commonly sounded *ci* when any vowel doeth follow next after him or els not. And finally in avoyding all such vices as are of many foolishly vsed by euill custome.

Q. What vices be those :

R. *Iotacismus.* sounding *i* too broade.

2. *Labdacismus.* sounding *l* too full.

3. *Ischnotes.* mincing of a letter as feather for father.

4. *Traulismus.* stammering or stutting.

5. *Plateasmus.* too much mouthing of letters.

6. *Cheilostomia.* maffling or fumbling wordes in the mouth.

7. *Abusing of letters.* as *v* for *f.* *vat* for *fat.* *z* for *s* as *muza* for *musa.* *sh* for *ci.* as *fasho* for *facio* *dosham* for *doceam* *felishum* for *felicium* and such like.

Q. Wherein standeth due pawsing ?

R. In right obseruation of the markes and prickes before mencioned.”

Here the *Iotacismus* may be considered to reprobate the pronunciation of Latin *i* as (ei). The *Labdacismus* alludes to the introduction of (u) before (l). For both errors, see *suprà* p. 744, note 1. The *ischnotes* (*suprà* p. 90, n. 1) of *feather* for *father*, either means the actual use of the sound (feedh'er) for (faadh'er), in which case this would be the earliest notice of the pronunciation of *a* long as (ee), but still as a reprobated vulgarism, antedating its recognition by nearly a century,—or else it means merely thinning *a* from (aa) to (ææ), which was no doubt sporadically existent at this early period. The enigmatical *fedder* of Salesbury may, as we have seen, also refer to *father* (*suprà* p. 750, n. 8), and both may indicate an

anomalous pronunciation confined to that single word. The *abusing* of letters reminds one of Hart, *suprà* p. 794, note 1. It is observable that the use of (z) for (s), in *musa*, is reprobated, although probably universal, as at present, and is placed in the same category with (v) for (f), a mere provincialism, and (sh) for *ci*-, which we here meet with for the first time, and notably in terms of reprobation, and after the distinct mention of the "right pronouncing of *ti*" as "of vs commonly sounded *ci*," meaning (*si*) "when any vowel doth follow next after him or els not." As late as 1673, E. Coote writes in his *English Schoolmaster*, p. 31: "*Rob.* How many ways can you express this sound *si*? *Joh.* Only three; *si*, *ci*, and *sci* or *xi*, which is *osi*. *Rob.* Now have you erred as well as I; for *ti* before a vowel doth commonly sound *si*." So that (sh) was not even then acknowledged. It is curious that there is no reference to the use of (th) for *t* and *d* final, see *suprà*, p. 844, under D and T.

§ 8. *On the Pronunciation of Shakspeare.*

Our sources of information respecting the pronunciation of Shakspeare are twofold, external and internal. The external comprises those writers which have been examined in Chap. III., and illustrated in the preceding sections of the present chapter.¹ Of these,

¹ The first published attempt to gather the pronunciation of Shakspeare from the writings of preceding orthoepists is, so far as I know, an article in the "North American Review" for April, 1864, pp. 342-369, jointly written by Messrs. John B. Noyes and Charles S. Peirce. Unfortunately these gentlemen were not acquainted with Salesbury, whose works are the key to all the others. Had they known this orthoepist, the researches in my third and eighth chapters might have been unnecessary. Salesbury's *Welsh Dictionary* first fell under my notice on 14 Feb. 1859; his account of Welsh pronunciation was apparently not then in the British Museum, and seems not to have been acquired till some years afterwards, during which time I vainly sought a copy, as it was necessary to establish the value of his Welsh transcriptions. I had finished my first examination of Salesbury, Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, Butler, Wallis, Wilkins, Price, Miege, Jones, Buchanan, and Franklin, and sent the results for publication in the Appendix to the 3rd edition of my *Plea* (*suprà* p. 631, note) in 1860, but the printing of that work having been interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War in America, they have not yet appeared. My attention was directed

to Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's article in March, 1865, and I noted all the works they quoted, some of which I have unfortunately not been able to see; and others, especially R. Mulcaster's *Elementarie*, 1582 (*suprà* p. 910), and Edward Coote's *Schoole-Master*, 1624 (*suprà* p. 47, l. 19), which Mr. Noyes considers as only inferior to Gill and Wallis, I have scarcely found of any value. When I re-commenced my investigations at the close of 1866, since which time I have been engaged upon them with scarcely any intermission, I determined to conduct them independently of Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's labours, with the intention to compare our results. It will be found that we do not much differ, and the points of difference seem to be chiefly due to the larger field here covered (those gentlemen almost confined themselves to Elizabethan times), and perhaps to my long previous phonetic training. The following are the old writers cited by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce:—Palsgrave, *Giles du Guez*, Sir T. Smith, Bullokar, "*Æsops Fables in true Ortography*, with Grammar Notz, 8vo., 1585" (which I have not seen), P. Bales, 1590 (not seen), Gill, Butler, B. Jonson, Wallis, Baret, Gataker, Coote, Percival's *Spanish Grammar*,

however, Palsgrave, Salesbury, Smith, and Hart, wrote before Shakspeare's birth or when he was a baby (see table p. 50), and although Bullokar published his book when Shakspeare was sixteen, it represents a much more archaic form of language than Hart's, of which the first draft (*suprà* p. 794, note) was written six years before Shakspeare's birth. Gill, who was born the same year as Shakspeare, should naturally be the best authority for the pronunciation of the time. He was head master of St. Paul's School during the last eight years of Shakspeare's life, and he published the first edition of his book only three years after Shakspeare's death. But Gill was a favourer of old habits. We have on record his contempt of the modern thinness of utterance then affected by the ladies (pp. 90, 91) and his objections to Hart's propensities in that direction (p. 122). Gill was a Lincolnshire man, of East Midland habits. Shakspeare was a Staffordshire man, more inclined to West Midland. Hence, although Gill no doubt represented a recognized pronunciation, which would have been allowed on the stage, it is possible that Shakspeare's individual habits may have tended in the direction which Gill reprobated. The pronunciation of the stage itself in the time of the Kembles used to be archaic, and our tragedians (or such of them as remain) still seem to affect similar habits. But it is possible that in Shakspeare's time a different custom prevailed, and that dramatic authors and actors rather affected the newest habits of the court. Hence the necessity for proving the indications of Gill and other writers by an examination of Shakspeare's own usage, so far as it can be determined from the very unsatisfactory condition in which his text has come down to us.

The internal sources of information are three in number, puns, metre, and rhyme.¹ The first is peculiar and seems to offer many advantages in determining identity of sound, accompanied by diversity of spelling, but is not really of so much use as might have been expected. The metre, properly examined, determines the number of syllables in a word and the place of the accent, and, so far as it goes, is the most trustworthy source of information which we possess. The rhyme, after our experience of Spenser's habits, must be of very doubtful assistance. At most we can compare general habits of rhyming with the general rules laid down by contemporary orthoepists. A few inferences may be drawn from peculiarities of

1623 (not seen), Cotgrave, Nat Strong (not seen), Wilkins, Mulcaster, Festeau, 1673 (not seen), Berault, 1698 (not seen), De la Touche, 1710 (not seen), Taudon, 1745 (not seen), Sharp on English Pronunciation, 1767, and the following, which I have not examined, Nares, 1784, Hexham 1660, Pomey, 1690, Saxon 1737. Messrs. Noyes and Peirce's conclusions will be inserted as footnotes to the subsection headed "Conjectured Pronunciation of Shakspeare," immediately before the speci-

men at the end of this chapter.

¹ An elaborate attempt to determine the pronunciation of some vowels and consonants by means of rhymes, puns, and misspellings, was made by Mr. Richard Grant White in his edition of Shakspeare, vol. 12, ed. 1861. This did not come under my notice till these pages were passing through the press. An abstract of his researches, with remarks, will be found below, immediately after the present examination of Shakspeare's rhymes.

spelling, but when we recollect that Shakspeare did not revise the text, and, if he had done so, might not have been very careful in correcting literals, or have had any peculiar notions of orthography to enforce, we cannot lay much store by this. Nevertheless I have thought it right to read through the whole of Shakspeare with a view to his puns and rhymes, and, during the latter part of this task, I also noted many metrical and accentual peculiarities. The results obtained will have more or less interest to Shakspearean students, independently of their phonetic bearing.

The following system of reference has been adopted in which I have had in view the owners of *any* modern edition, and have more especially consulted the convenience of those who possess Macmillan's *Globe* edition, of which the text is the same as that of the Cambridge Shakspeare, edited by Messrs. W. G. Clark and W. Aldis Wright.

Contracted Names of the Plays and Poems, with the pages on which they commence in the Globe edition.

AC, Antony and Cleopatra. p. 911.	MN, Midsummer Night's Dream. p. 161.
AW, All's Well that Ends Well. p. 254	MV, Merchant of Venice. p. 181.
AY, As You Like it. p. 205.	MW, Merry Wives of Windsor. p. 42.
C, Coriolanus. p. 654.	Oth, Othello. p. 879.
CE, Comedy of Errors. p. 93.	P, Pericles. p. 977.
Cy, Cymbeline. p. 944.	PP, Passionate Pilgrim. p. 1053.
H, Hamlet. p. 811	PT, Phoenix and Turtle. p. 1057.
H ¹ , Henry IV., part I. p. 382.	R ² , Richard II. p. 356.
2H ⁴ , Henry IV., part II. p. 409.	R ³ , Richard III. p. 556.
H ⁵ , Henry V. p. 439.	RJ, Romeo and Juliet. p. 721.
H ⁶ , Henry VI., part I. p. 469.	RL, Rape of Lucrece. p. 1014.
2H ⁶ , Henry VI., part II. p. 496.	S, Sonnets. p. 1031.
3H ⁶ , Henry VI., part III. p. 526.	T, Tempest. p. 1.
H ⁸ , Henry VIII. p. 592.	Tim, Timon of Athens. p. 741.
JC, Julius Cæsar. p. 764.	TA, Titus Andronicus. p. 688.
KJ, King John. p. 332.	TC, Troilus and Cressida. p. 622.
KL, King Lear. p. 847.	TG, Two Gentlemen of Verona. p. 21.
LC, Lover's Complaint. p. 1050.	TN, Twelfth Night. p. 281.
LL, Love's Labour Lost. p. 135.	TS, Taming of the Shrew. p. 229.
M, Macbeth. p. 788.	VA, Venus and Adonis. p. 1003.
MA, Much Ado about Nothing. p. 111.	WT, Winter's Tale. p. 304.
MM, Measure for Measure. * p. 67.	

In case of the *plays* the first figure following the title represents the *act*, the second the *scene*, and the third the number of the *speech*. The speeches are generally not numbered. The speeches in each scene were, I believe, first numbered by me in phonetic editions of T and M in 1849, and Mr. Craik, in his edition of JC, numbered the speeches from beginning to end of the play, thinking that he was the first person who had done so. There may be some doubt in some plays, as AC, regarding the number of the scenes, and in a few scenes as to the number of speeches, but those who have been in the habit of using Mrs. Cowden Clarke's Concordance to Shakspeare, where the reference is to act and scene only, will readily acknowledge the great convenience of having only to count the

speeches to find the passage with tolerable certainty, instead of having to read through a whole long scene. It would be a great boon if subsequent publishers of Shakspeare would adopt this plan of numbering the speeches, which would give a means of reference independent of the size of the page, and serving for the prose portions as well as for the verses. In the specimens at the close of this section the speeches are numbered in the way proposed, the current number being prefixed to the name of the speaker. Finding, however, that this reference is not always minute or convenient enough, I have inserted two other numbers in a parenthesis, the first referring to the page (number unaccented denoting the first, and number accented the second column) in the Globe edition, and the second pointing out the line of the previously indicated scene in *that edition*. When the scene consists wholly of verse, this number coincides with that of the line in the Cambridge edition, but when any prose has preceded, as the number of words in a line in the Globe edition is less than that in the Cambridge edition, the number of the line in the former is somewhat greater than that in the latter. Thus

gilt guilt 2 H⁴ 4, 5, 31 (432', 129).

shews that the pun, *gilt guilt*, is found in the second part of Henry IV, act 4, scene 5, speech 31; Globe edition, page 432, column 2, verse 129 of this fifth scene. The reference is always to the first line and first speech in which the several words which form the pun and rhyme occur. Consequently the reader will have to refer to some following lines, and even speeches, occasionally, to find the full pun or rhyme. The order of the words in the rhyme as cited is generally, but not always, that in which they occur in the original, and hence the reference must be considered as belonging to *either* word.

The *Sonnets* are referred to by the number of the sonnet and verse, with the page or column in the Globe edition, so that

prove love S 117, 13 (1045')

shews that the rhyme *prove love*, occurs in sonnet 117, verse 13; Globe edition, page 1045, column 2.

For the other poems, VA, RL, LC, and PT, the annexed numbers give the verses and column in the Globe edition. PP gives the number of the poem and verse of the poem as in the Cambridge edition, and the column and verse in the Globe edition.

SHAKSPERE'S PUNS.

The word *pun* is modern and is not used in Shakspeare. The following terms have been noted :

Quips TG 4, 2, 1 (35', 12),	Crotchets, MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 58).
3, 27 (45, 45). AY 5, 4, 28 (227',	Jests MA 2, 3, 68 (119', 206). LL 5,
79). H ⁴ 1, 2, 11 (383', 51).	2, 178 (155, 373), 2, 1, 85 (141,
Snatches MM 4, 2, 3 (83, 6).	206), H ⁴ 5, 3, 22 (406', 56).
Double meaning MA 2, 3, 81 (120,	Conceits LL 5, 2, 130 (154, 260). H ⁶
267).	4, 1, 27 (485', 102).
Equivocation H 5, 1, 51' (841, 149).	Quillets Oth. 3, 1, 15 (892, 26).

These jests are not merely puns.¹ They include catchings up, misunderstandings, intentional or ignorant, false pronunciations, humorous allusions, involuntary associations of sound, even in pathetic speeches, coarse *doubles entendres*, and jokes upon words of every imaginable kind. Many of these defy notation, and are also useless for our present purpose. By far the greater number of real puns involve no difference of spelling, and were therefore not worth citing. But so inveterate was Shakspeare's habit of playing upon words, that I have marked specimens in every play except AC, where most probably I have overlooked some covert instance.

The following, although they present a slight difference of spelling, convey little if any information.

tide tied TG 2, 3, 3 (26', 42).
foul fowl MW 5, 5, 1 (64', 12).
dam damn CE 4, 3, 16 (104, 54). MV
3, 1, 10 (191', 23). AY 3, 2, 9
(216', 9). In the last instance *dam-
ned* = *dammèd* or *wedged*. The more
solemn instance in MV, discounte-
nances the *dam-ned* usually preferred
by actresses in M 5, 1, 15 (806', 39).
Gill's (kondemn-) is probably an
oversight.
sink cinque MA 2, 1, 22 (115, 82).
This also is in favour of the pro-
nunciation of French *in*, *suprà* p. 827.
holiday holyday KJ 3, 1, 10 (340', 82).
This reminds us of Salesbury's con-

fusion of *holy*, *holly*, *suprà* p. 99,
n. 3.

gilt guilt 2 H⁴ 4, 5, 31 (432', 129).
H⁵ 2, prol. (443, 26). This agrees
with the preceding vocabulary p. 892,
and shews the *u* was not pronounced
in *guilt*.

Lacies laces 2 H⁶ 4, 2, 25 (516', 47).
This makes the pronunciation of final
-es, as (-is) or (-iz), probable, but not
certain. Dick, the butcher, speaks it.

presents presence 2 H⁶ 4, 7, 11 (519',
32). This cannot be relied on for
indicating the habitual omission of
t in the first word; the joke is one of
Jack Cade's.

The following shew the indistinctness with which unaccented final -al -el, -il, or -ar, -er, -our were already pronounced.

sallet salad 2 H⁶ 4, 10, 1 (521', 11).
council counsel MW 1, 1, 51 (43, 120).
capital capitol H 3, 2, 23 (828, 108).
medlar meddler AY 3, 2, 31 (216, 125).
Tim 4, 3, 91 (758, 307).

dollar dolour T 2, 1, 9 (7, 18), MM 1,
2, 24 (68', 50) KL 2, 4, 19 (859, 54).

This favourite pun also indicates the
shortness of the first *o* in *dolour*.

choler collar RJ 1, 1, 2 (712, 3), H⁴ 2,
4, 123 (393, 356). This makes *o*
short in *choler*.

manner manor LL 1, 1, 56 (137, 208).

This makes *a* short in *manor*. Form
(a seat), form (manner) *ibid*. shews
that Walker's distinction, which
makes the first (*foorm*) and the
second (*faam*), was a recent develop-
ment.

consort concert RJ 3, 1, 15 (725', 48).

This discountenances the modern en-
deavour to make the -ort of *consort*
distinct (*kon'sort*). But compare
consòrt, TG 4, 1, 34 (35, 64), KL 2,
1, 30 (856', 99).

¹ "Pun play upon words: the ex-
pression has not yet been satisfactorily
explained: Serenius would explain it
by the Icelandic *funalegr* frivolous,
Todd by fun, Nares by the obsolete
pun, now pound, so that it would
properly mean 'to beat and hammer
upon the same word;' Mahn refers
also to Anglo-saxon *pumian* to bruise,
and to the English point, French
pointe." Ed. Mueller, Etymolo-

gisches Woerterbuch der Englischen
Sprache. Wedgwood adopts Nares's
explanation. What is the age of the
word? That it was not used in Shak-
spere, where he had so much need of it,
seems evidence against any ancient
derivation, and to reduce it to the
chance associations of comparatively
modern slang. There is little use in
looking for old roots unless the word
itself is known to be old.

The very vague allusions in the following jokes shew how careful we must be not to lay too much stress on the identity of the sounds in each word.

English.

laced lost TG 1, 1, 39 (22, 101).
lover lubber TG 2, 5, 26 (29, 48).
Cæsar, Keisar, Pheezar MW 1, 3, 9 (45, 9).

band bond CE 4, 3, 8 (103', 30).
noting nothing MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 60).

See Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, *infra*, under TH.

beside, by the side MA 5, 1, 46 (130, 128).

tittle title LL 3, 1, 25 (144, 86). This is a mere alliteration, like the preceding *rags robes*.

insinuate insanie LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 28).

cloves cloven LL 5, 2, 318 (158, 654).

Stoicks stocks TS 1, 1, 2 (232, 31).

court her, cart her TS 1, 1, 5 (232, 54).

mates, maid, mated TS 1, 1, 8 (232, 59).

It is impossible to suppose that *mates*, *maid* (suprà p. 867, col. 2), had the same vowel, and yet the play upon the phonetic resemblance is evident.
rhetoric ropetrick TS 1, 2, 26 (235, 112).

night knight H⁴ 1, 2, 7 (383', 27).

"Let not us that are squires of the *night's* body be called thieves of the day's beauty." The pun is complete in modern English. We have no reason to suppose that *k* in *knight* was disused till long afterwards (suprà p. 208). There is also a vague similarity of sound in *body*, *beauty* (bod-i beu-ti), but no real pun as Mr. Grant White supposes, see his Elizabethan Pronunciation, *infra*, under EAU.

purse person 2 H⁴ 2, 1, 34 (415', 127).

See next.

care, cure, cõrosive H⁶ 3, 3, 1 (483, 3).

The manifest difference of the vowels here, shews that we have no reason to assume identity in the last case.

To this same category belong the following plays on Latin and French words, intended to imply ignorance.

Latin.

hanc hoc, hang hog MW 4, 1, 26 (59, 50).

caret carrot MW 4, 1, 30 (59, 55).

Shewing probably that *caret* was pronounced with a short, and not with the modern Etonian fashion with a long (keerret).

horum whore MW 4, 1, 37 (59, 63).

Countenancing the sound (hoor)

addle egg, idle head TC 1, 2, 74 (624', 146).

baes = *baas* bear C 2, 1, 8 (662, 12).

loggerhead loghead RJ 4, 4, 10 (734', 17).

feast-won, fast-lost Tim 2, 1, 83 (748', 180). Read (feest, faast) or (fast).

surcease success M 1, 7, 1 (792, 4).

Read (sursees' sukses') and the play on the sound will be evident, it is quite lost in the modern (sasiis' sakses').

suitor shooter LL 4, 1, 37 (144', 109),

on this uncertain allusion see *suprà* pp. 215–218 and footnotes. In addition to the citations there made, Mr. Edward Viles has kindly furnished me with the following:—"There was a Lady in *Spaine*, who after the decease of hir Father hadde three sutors, (and yet neuer a good Archer)," Lyly's *Euphues* and his England, p. 293, Arber's reprint. This is from the book on which LL is, so to speak, founded, and hence establishes the existence of the joke in Shakspeare's time. We shall, however, have occasion to see that the resolution of (si) into (sh) was not the received, or polite custom of that period, although it was known and reprobated (*suprà* p. 915): In the same way a modern joke might be made from *picked her picture*, which Cooper, 1685, gives as absolutely identical in sound, although (pik-ti) is now a pure vulgarism.

goats Goths AY 3, 3, 3 (218', 9). See

Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, *infra*, under TH.

wittol wit-old LL 5, 1, 26 (150', 66).

green wit, green wit LL 1, 2, 51 (138', 91). See Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation under TH.

rather than (huur) as in Smith, and commonly in our tragedians' Oth.

genitive case, Jenny's case MW 4, 1, 37 (59, 64). This does not settle (Dzhen-i) in preference to (Dzhin-i) as now, for *genitive* might have been heard or spoken with (i). See rhymes of (æ, i) below.

ad dunghill, ad unguem LL 5, 1, 31 (150', 81). As we cannot suppose

unguem to have had any vowel but (u, u), this confirms the (u) sound in *dung*.

Jupiter gibbet maker TA 4, 3, 13 (705, 80), a clown's mistake.

French.

*luc*es *lous*es MW 1, 1, 8 (42, 17). This would seem to indicate the old pronunciation (luus) for this uncommon word, to which the French was assimilated, but the confusion is credited to a Welshman, and hence is of no authority in English speech.

enfranchise, one Frances LL 3, 1, 54 (142', 12).

moi moy H⁵ 4, 4, 7 (459', 14).

bras brass H⁵ 4, 4, 9 (459', 18).

Probably indicating the continued pronunciation of final *s*.

pardonnez moi a ton of moys H⁵ 4, 4, 11 (459', 23). That is, Pistol echoes

The following instances are which they mainly illustrate.

A.

bate beat TS 4, 1, 67 (245, 209). There is no doubt of the pronunciation of *ea*=(*ee*), and this passage would be unintelligible unless the sound of long *a* were quite distinct, the play being simply on the consonants. The words are: "as we watch these kites That *bate* and *beat* and will not be obedient." We may therefore feel sure that long *a* was *not*=(*ee*). Such allusions are like the heraldic motto *dum spiro spero*.

gravity gravi 2 H⁴ 1, 2, 55 (413, 183).

"*Chief Justice*. There is not a white hair on your head, but should have his effect of gravity.—*Falstaff*. His effect of gravity, gravity, gravity." The mocking joke is entirely lost in the modern (*grav·iti*, *græ·vi*). The old pronunciation must have had the same vowel in each case, (*grav·iti*, *græ·vi*). This instance and the last therefore determine that Shakspeare's long *a* could not have been (*ee*), and must have been the same as his short *a* lengthened=(*aa*) or (*aah*).

ace ass MN 5, 1, 87 (179, 312).

"*Pyramus*. Now die, die, die, die, die. *Dem*. No die, but an *ace*, for him; for he is but *one*." A double pun on *ace*=*ass*, and *ace*=*one*. "*Lys*. Less than an *ace*, man: for he is dead: he is nothing," since 0 is less than 1. "*The*. With the help of a surgeon he might yet recover and

pardonnez moi as (a tun o moi), compare Hart's (*pardunant*) for *pardonne*, *suprà* p. 802, l. 6 from bottom of text.

fer fir^k ferret H⁵ 4, 4, 15 (459', 29).

pucelle puzzle H⁶ 1, 4, 17 (474', 107).

This is not meant to be an identity, but merely an allusion, as in the following *dolphin* and *dogfish*: "*Puzel* or *Pussel*, Dolphin or Dog-fish, Your hearts Ile stampe out with my Horses heeles." Hence it does not countenance the supposition that the sound of French *u* was impossible to an Englishman. *Pucelle* is spelled *Puzel* throughout in the fo. 1623.

foot, gown, H⁵ 3, 4, 32 (451, 54).

Katherine's unfortunate mistakes as to these words at least shew the French *ou* was = English *oo* (*uu*), and French *-on* = English *-own* (*oun*), *suprà* pp. 825, 827.

ranged under the orthographies

prove an *ass*." This is to the same effect as the last, and is confirmed by Judas Jude-ass LL 5, 2, 299 (157', 629).

bass base TG 1, 2, 61 (23', 96). TS 3, 1, 17 (240', 46). R² 3, 3, 23 (372, 180). Both must have been (*baas*) as both are now (*bees*).

Marry! marry R³ 1, 3, 33 (561, 98).

RJ 1, 3, 16 (716, 62). The first was the exclamation, *Mary!* addressed to the Virgin, which therefore could not have been called (*Meerrr*) as now, *marrying* *marring* MW 1, 1, 12 (42, 25). AY 1, 1, 6 (205, 34). AW 2, 3, 109 (264, 315). This favourite pun, in which the modern *marring* (*maariq*) retains its ancient sound, with at most the vowel lengthened, confirms the last remark.

all awl JC 1, 1, 12 (764, 25). This might have been either (*a'l*, *awl*) with Bullokar, or (*Aal*, *Aal*) with Gill, and hence confirms nothing.

A, AI.

bairns barns MA 3, 4, 21 (124, 49).

"Then, if your husband have stables enough, you'll see he shall lack no *barns*." *Bairns* is only a modern orthography. In AW 1, 3, 10 (257, 28) the first folio reads *barnes*, the second *bearns*, probably only a transposition of the *e*, and the two last *barns*. This therefore gives no information respecting *ai*.

tale tail TG 2, 3, 9 (26', 54). Oth 3, 1, 6 (892, 8). In the first case the joke is so obscure when no difference is made between the sounds of *tail*, *tale*, that Hammer illustrates it with a kick. In the second the first folio reads *tale* in both places, and *tail* is meant probably in both cases. Under no circumstances can we suppose *tale*, *tail* to have had the same sound till the XVIIIth century. See however the quotation from Holyband, *suprà* p. 227, note, col. 2, which seems to indicate an occasional confusion of *ai*, *a*, and also Spenser's rhymes, *suprà* p. 867.

waste waist MW 1, 3, 27 (45, 46). 2 H⁴ 1, 2, 44 (413, 160). Waist is a modern spelling, see *suprà* p. 73, n. 1.

with maid withmade MM 1, 2, 48 (68', 94). "Is there a maid with child by him? No, but there's a woman with *maid* by him." Where there is an allusion to *withmaid* = unmade, ruined. But it belongs to the class of vague allusions on p. 922.

AI, EA, E.

beats baits WT 1, 2, 32 (312', 91).

Leontes speaking of *Paulina* calls her, "A callat Of boundless tongue, who late hath *beat* her husband And now *bait*s me!" Here it is absolutely essential to the cutting sarcasm that *beat*, *bait* should have been differently pronounced. It would make nonsense to say (*beet*, *beets*). The modern (*biit*, *beets*) preserves the full force of the original. See remarks on *bate beat* p. 923, c. 1.

fair fear VA 1083 (1013). "Having no *fair* to lose, you need not *fear*." This

These are the only puns which I have discovered, though I looked carefully for them, in which *ai* could have the sound of (ee). The three words thus determined are *main*, *heir*, *raisins*. We have no contemporary orthoepical account of these words; but Gill uses (main) in composition, and Cheke spells *heiers*. Considering how widely the (ee) pronunciation had spread so early as Hart's time, and that Gill acknowledged though scouted its existence, the number of instances is remarkably small, while the first of the preceding examples, *beat*, *bait*, seems to establish an accepted difference of sound, between *ai*, *ea*, the last of which was undoubtedly (ee).

E, EA, IE.

cónceal'd cáncell'd RJ 3, 3, 29 (729, 98). Rather an allusion than a real play upon words.

play on words does not require an identity of sound, and is quite well enough preserved in the modern (*feea*, *fiir*).

prey pray H⁴ 2, 1, 26 (388, 89). Here there was an identity of sound, but there is nothing to determine what it was. Gill marks *prey* as (prai) and expressly says that *pray* is not (pree). main Maine 2 H⁶ 1, 1, 32 (498, 209).

"Unto the *main*! O father, *Maine* is lost—

That *Maine* which by *main* force Warwick did win,
And would have kept so long as breath did last!

Main chance, father, you meant; but I meant *Maine*,
Which I will win from France, or else be slain."

The pronunciation was probably (meen) in each case. But it is possible that the English pronunciation of the state of Maine was still (Main). Gill pronounces the rhyming word *slain* (slain).

hair heir CE 3, 2, 41 (101, 127). The joke is rather covert, but still it seems as if this was one of the words in which *ei* = (ee), and this is confirmed by the next example.

here apparent, heir apparent H⁴ 1, 2, 17 (383', 65). We shall find many rhymes of *here* with (eer) although it is one of the words recognized as having (iir), see p. 892. The preceding instance shewing that *heir* was also (heer), the pun is justified, see *suprà* p. 80, note.

reason raisin H⁴ 2, 4, 94 (392', 264). It is probable that *raisin* as a modern French word was pronounced (reez'in), and hence the pun. See *suprà* p. 81, note, col. 1.

best beast MN 5, 1, 59 (178, 232).

The difference between the long and short vowels (best, beast) is necessary to make the joke apparent,

which is lost in the modern (best biist). Long (ee) and short (e) frequently rhyme.

veal, wel *Dutch* LL 5, 2, 121 (154, 247). "Veal, quoth the Dutchman. Is not *veal* a calf?" The identity of both words, as heard by the writer, is evident. They were probably really (veel, bhel).

ne'er near R² 5, 1, 14 (377, 88). The first is still generally (near), though some change both into (niir).

pierce-one person LL 4, 2, 27 (145', 85). See *suprà* p. 105, n. 1.

dear deer MW 5, 5, 29 (65', 123). LL 4, 1, 43 (144', 116). See *suprà* p. 81, l. 15.

heart hart AY 3, 2, 73 (217, 260). JC 3, 1, 68 (776, 207).

art heart TS 4, 2, 6 (245, 9).

heard hard TS 1, 2, 49 (238, 184).

Rhymes will be found to indicate the same pronunciation of *heard*, see also p. 82, l. 17 and p. 86, l. 11.

EE, IE, I

sheep ship LL 2, 1, 89 (141, 219).

See *suprà* p. 450, n. 1.

lief live v JC 1, 1, 36 (766, 95).

clept elipt LL 5, 2, 274 (157', 602).

civil Seville MA 2, 1, 110 (117, 304).

I have heard of (*siv-il*) oranges from a lady who would have been more than 100 were she still alive, so in this case the pun may have been complete. In the xviith century the confusion between (e, i) was frequent, as also in the rhymes of the xivth, (*suprà* p. 271), and we shall find many similar rhymes in Shakspeare. In *spirit*, *syrop*, *stirrup* we have still the common change of (i) into (e), but we cannot suppose that either of these changes was acknowledged.

OA, O, OO.

post pos'd CE 1, 2, 13 (95, 63). "I from my mistress come to you in *post*: If I return, I shall be *post* indeed, For she will score your faults upon my pate." Dyce (9, 330) explains this to be "an allusion to keeping the score by chalk or notches on a post; a custom not yet wholly obsolete." May not the latter word be *posed*, having a *pose* or pain or cold in the head?

soare soar RJ 1, 4, 7 (716', 20).

Moor more MV 3, 5, 12 (196', 44).

Moor may have been indifferently

(moor, muur), as at present indifferent (*moor*, *muur*).

Pole pool 2 H⁶ 4, 1, 25 (515', 70).

The name Pole is still generally called (Puul). The name GEFTRYE POOLE, 1562, with *oo*, may still be read on the walls of the Beauchamp Tower in the Tower of London.

wode wood MN 2, 1, 24 (165', 192).

Wode meaning mad, is not now distinguished from *wood* in Yorkshire, both being called (*wød*).

Rome roam H⁶ 3, 1, 11 (480, 51).

"*Bishop of Winchester*. Rome shall remedy this. *Warwick*. Roam thither, then." This pronunciation, says Dyce (9, 367), "may perhaps be considered as one of the proofs that Shakespeare was not the author of that play." But the existence of the pun shews that the old Chaucerian (oo) of (Roome) was still known, though the final (e) was dropped. See next entry.

Rome room KJ 3, 1, 27 (341', 180). JC

1, 2, 38 (766, 156). Both these allusions are in passionately stately verse. They are generally assumed to determine the sound of *Rome* as (Ruum). See *suprà* p. 98, last line, p. 101, line 1, p. 102, line 23. Dyce (ib.) quotes the same pun from Hawkins 1626, and from the tragedy of Nero 1607, and the rhyme *tomb*, *Rome* from Sylvester 1641. To these we may add Shakspeare's own rhymes: Rome doom RL 715 (1021). Rome groom RL 1644 (1029). Bullokar also writes (Ruu'm). It is however certain that both pronunciations have been in use since the middle of the xviith century. (Ruum) may still be heard, but it is antiquated; in Shakspeare's time it was a fineness and an innovation, and it is therefore surprising that Bullokar adopted it.

sole soul TG 2, 3, 1 (26', 19). MV 4,

1, 29 (198, 123). RJ 1, 4, 5 (716', 15). JC 1, 1, 6 (764, 16). Possibly both were called (sooul), see *suprà* p. 755, and note 3. In his list of errata Gill corrects his *öl*=(ool) to *öul*=(ooul) in the word *gold* "idique quoties occurrit, cum similibus föuld, höuld, &c." It will be seen, however, that (oo) often rhymes with (oou) in Shakspeare.

so sew TG 3, 1, 88 (33, 307). "*Speed*.

Item: She can sew.—*Launce*. That's as much as to say, can she so?"

This is a similar confusion of (oo, oou). When we consider that at present (oo, oou) are seldom distinguished, we cannot be surprised.

U, O, OO,

sum some MV 3, 2, 15 (194, 160).

2 H⁴ 2, 1, 27 (415', 78).

sun son KJ 2, 1, 100 (339, 499).

3 H⁶ 2, 1, 5 (532', 40). R³ 1, 3, 82 (563, 266).

done dun RJ 1, 4, 12 (717, 39).

cosen cousin MW 4, 5, 35 (63, 79).

H⁴ 1, 3, 39 (387, 254). R³ 4, 4, 61 (583, 222).

full fool LL 5, 2, 180 (155, 380). TC 5, 1, 6 (647, 10).

moody muddy RJ 3, 1, 4 (725, 14).

"*Mercutio*. Come, come, thou art as hot a Jack in thy mood as any in Italy, and as soon moved to be moody, and as soon moody to be moved."

The first moody appears to be muddy.

If so, this play on words corroborates the external testimony that Shakspeare's pronunciation of short *u* was (*u*). Compare: muddled in Fortune's mood, AW 5, 2, 1 (276, 4), and: muddy rascal 2 H⁴ 2, 4, 13 (419, 43), and see Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, *infra*, under U.

too two R³ 4, 4, 109 (584', 363).

too to MA 1, 1, 21 (111', 53).

I, U.

I aye T 4, 1, 54 (17, 219). "And *I*, thy Caliban, For *aye* thy foot-licker." The pun is not certain.

I ay eye TN 2, 5, 66 (291, 145).

"*Malvolio*. And then *I* comes behind. *Fab*. *Ay*, an you had any eye behind you, you might, &c."—RJ 3, 2, 7 (727', 45). See *suprà* p. 112, 1. 16-28.

nod-ay noddly TG 1, 1, 47 (22, 119).

"*Proteus*. But what said she?—

Speed (*first nodding*). *Ay*.—*Proteus*.

Nod-Ay—why that's noddly." This

shews that the final -y was often

(æi), as Gill makes it, and as it will

be seen to rhyme most frequently

(not always) in Shakspeare. The

passage is quoted above in the text

adopted in the Cambridge Shakspeare,

where the stage direction is inserted.

The first fo. reads: "*Proteus*. But

what said she?—*Speed*. *I*.—*Proteus*. Nod-I, why that's noddly." *I* and *ay*, are generally both written *I* in that edition.

Marry! mar-I. AY 1, 1, 6 (205, 34).

"*Oliver*. What mar you then?—

Orlando. Marry, sir, I am helping

you to mar that which, &c." Here

the double sense is given, first the

exclamation *Marry, sir!* and secondly

by the answering question: *Mar I,*

sir? See the pun on *marry!* *marry*

suprà p. 923, c. 2.

hie high RJ 2, 5, 19 (724', 80). This is also a case of an omitted guttural, common in Shakspeare's rhymes.

I you=i u LL 5, 1, 22 (150', 57).

"*Armado*. Monsieur, are you not

lettered?—*Moth*. Yes, yes; he

teaches boys the horn-book. What

is a, b, spelt backward, with the horn

on his head?—*Holofernes*. Ba,

pueritia, with a horn added.—*Moth*.

Ba, most silly sheep with a horn.

You hear his learning.—*Hol*. Quis,

quis, thou consonant?—*Moth*. The

third of the five vowels, if you repeat

them; or the fifth, if *i*.—*Hol*. I will

repeat them,—a, e, i.—*Moth*. The

sheep: the other two concludes it,

—o, u." Here the name of the vowel

i is identified with the pronoun *I*,

which presents no difficulty, and the

name of the vowel *u* with the pro-

noun *you*, and perhaps the sheep *ewe*,

the first of which is opposed to the

pronunciation (*yy*), which all writers

down to Wallis give to the French

vowel, except Holyband, *suprà* p.

228, note, col. 2, l. 14. The pun is

quite reconcilable with our modern

pronunciation of *u*, *you*, *ewe*, but

see the last two words in the vocabulary

pp. 889, 910. It would perhaps

be unwise to push this boy's joke too

far. *Moth's* wit, which did not

scruple about adding on a consonant

to convert *wittol* into *wit-old* in his

next speech, might have been abundantly

satisfied with calling the vowel

(*yy*). See, however, the rhymes on

long *u*, *ue*, *ew*, *iew*, and *you*; and the

observations on Shakspeare's pronun-

ciation of long *u*, in the introduction

to the specimen at the end of this

section.

This examination of puns has not resulted in any real addition to our knowledge. It has confirmed the value of long *a*=(aa) or almost (aah) and quite distinct from (ee). It has rendered rather

doubtful the exact pronunciation of *ai*, making it probably the same as (ee) in three words, generally different from (ee), and occasionally approximating to (aa). It confirms the use of *ea*, *oa*, and of *ōl* as (ooul). In the case of *mud*, it implies the general pronunciation of short *u* as (u). It confirms the identity of sound in *I*, *eye*, *aye*. It shews that long *i* and the pronoun *I* were identical, and that long *u* and the pronoun *you* were either identical or closely related. It is evident that without the external help we should have been little advanced.

SHAKSPERE'S METRICAL PECULIARITIES.

My collections have not been made with sufficient care to give a full account of Shakspeare's metres, which would have also required more space than could be given to it in a work already overgrown. My attention has been chiefly directed to three points, and that only from the beginning of the Histories. These are, the number of measures in a line, the number of syllables in a measure, and the position of the accent in words. These are necessary to determine the existence of a dissyllabic pronunciation where a monosyllabic now prevails, (or, as it may be called by an inversion of the real process, of resolution,) and to understand the rhymes. All my shortcomings in this respect, however, will be abundantly made up by the third edition of the Rev. E. A. Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*,¹ which was passing through the press at the same time as these sheets. I shall have to make frequent reference to the chapter on Prosody, but as the work is indispensable to all my readers, I shall merely give Mr. Abbott's results, and leave the proofs to be gathered from his own accessible pages. On much relating to rhythm and scansion of lines there is some divergence of opinion between Mr. Abbott and myself, owing to the very different points from which our observations and theories take their rise, but the instances which he has collected and classified, and the explanations which he has given, must be fully considered by any future writer on the subject.

I regret that I did not note the lines containing a defective first measure, as these had been made a special study in Chaucer's prologue. In the preface to the Cambridge Shakspeare, vol. i, p. xvii, the following are quoted:—

No, I will not, for it boots thee not. What? TG 1, 1, 9 (21, 28).

Fire, that's closest kept, burns most of all. TG 1, 2, 22 (22', 30).

Is't near dinner time? I would it were. TG 1, 2, 37 (23, 67).

Twelve year since, Miranda, twelve year since. T 1, 2, 14 (2', 53).

which, however, are none of them entirely satisfactory. In the

¹ A *Shakespearian Grammar*. An attempt to illustrate some of the differences between Elizabethan and Modern English. For the use of Schools. By E. A. Abbott, M.A., head master of the City of London School, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London (Macmillan), 8vo.

first edition, 1869, pp. 136. Revised and enlarged edition, 1870, pp. xxiv, 511. The Prosody, which only occupied 10 pages in the first edition, is expanded to 102 pages in the third. In the above text this 1870 edition will be cited as *Abb.*, with a number annexed referring to the section.

first case the editors have accidentally omitted to notice the final *what?* which renders the line entirely defective. If we read, *What not? or what boots not?* the line would have only a third place trissyllabic measure. Thus, italicising the even measures,

No, I *will not*, for it boots *thee not*. What boots not?

The numerous instances cited below of the dissyllabic use of *fire* and generally the syllabic value of *r*, renders the second and fourth instances incomplete. The objection raised by the editors "that one word should bear two pronunciations in one line is far more improbable than that the unaccented syllable before *twelve* is purposely omitted by the poet," is not tenable. The word *year* might be dissyllabic in both places, a trissyllabic fifth measure being not uncommon, and the use of the same termination sometimes as two distinct metrical syllables, and sometimes as part of a trissyllabic measure, is extremely common. We have it in two consecutive lines in

It is religion that doth make vows kept;

But thou hast sworn against religion. KJ 3, 1, 53 (342', 279).

Be patient, gentle queen, and I will stay.

Who can be patient in such extremes? 3 H⁶ 1, 1, 109 (528', 214).

In the third example, the simple resolution of *is't* into *is it*, by the editors in their text, saves the metre. In the second we might also read *that is*. And in the last example an initial '*Tis* may have dropped, as Pope suggests. These considerations serve to shew how cautious we must be, and how large a comparison of instances has to be made, before we can decide on such a point. It is from this feeling that I have thought it advisable to accumulate instances, and classify them as well as possible. Resolutions, trissyllabic measures in every place, real Alexandrines,¹ and lines with two superfluous syllables, are well established, by the following collections. Defective first measures have still to be traced.² The

¹ The line: Ay, and we are betrothed; nay more our marriage hour, TG 2, 4, 93 (28', 179), cited by the editors of the Cambridge Shakspeare as an instance of the "irregularity" of "a single strong syllable commencing a line complete without it," is a perfect Alexandrine, with the complete pause at the end of the third measure, and is so printed in their text. In the preface they put the *Ay* into a single line, and reduce the rest to five measures by reading *we're*. This instance is, however, complicated by the previous imperfect line: *But she loves you*, on to which the first words of this speech; *Ay, and we are betrothed*, might be joined, completing the verse. So that we really have one of those cases where "when a verse consists of two parts uttered by two speakers, the latter part is frequently the former part of

the following verse, being as it were, *amphibious*," Abb. 513; where numerous instances are cited. These sections belonging to two lines might be conveniently termed *amphistichs*. In this case, to consider "Ay, and we are betrothed," as an amphistich, would be to confirm the Alexandrine nature of the second part. The following instances, cited by Abb. ib., are then precisely similar; the amphistich is italicized. HOR. Of mine own eyes. MAR. *Is it not like the king?* HOR. As thou art to thyself. H 1, 1, 42 (812, 58). HAM. No, it is struck. HOR. *Indeed? I heard it not*: then it draws near the season. H 1, 4, 5 (816', 4).

² Then the whining schoolboy with his satchel AY 2, 7, 31 (214', 145), seems a clear instance, but in the Globe edition the editors of the Cambridge

whole subject of English metres requires reinvestigation on the basis of accent. The old names of measures borrowed from Latin prosodists are entirely misleading, and the routine scansion with the accent on alternate syllables is known only to grammarians, having never been practised by poets.¹

Miscellaneous Notes.

Noteworthy Usages.

a' = he *in serious verse* KJ 1, 1, 22 (333, 68) *Abb.* 402.

alderliest 2 H⁶ 1, 1, 3, (496' 28).

atonement = *reconciliation* R³ 1, 3, 20 (560', 36).

chirrah = *sirrah* LL 5, 1, 10 (150', 35)

See *infra*, Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation under CH.

Tisick the deputy 2 H⁴ 2, 4, 28 (419, 92). Put in the mouth of the Hostess this indicates a mere vulgarity, but Jones recognizes this pronunciation of *deputy* in 1700, and also *Cubid*. *Tisick* (tiz'ik) for *phthisick* is still the rule.

fet = *fetched* H⁵ 3, 1, 1 (448', 18).

handkercher AY 4, 2, 22 (224, 98) in serious verse, recognized by Jones 1700.

it = *its* "go to it grandam, child" KJ 2, 1, 36 (336, 160), "it's had it head bit off by it young," KL 1, 4, 76 *song* (853', 237), *Abb.* 228.

Mytile-ne P 5, 3, 1 (998', 10). Generally -*lene* makes one syllable.

peat = *pet* TS 1, 1, 16 (232', 78).

Powles. We might as well push against *Powle's*, as stir'em H⁸ 5, 4, 4 (620, 16). See *suprà* p. 707, note on v. 509, the pronunciation is recognized by Butler 1630, Hodges 1643, English Schole 1687, Miede 1688, Jones 1700.

raught = *reached* H⁶ 4, 6, 4 (460', 21).

renying PP [18], 7 (1055', 251), compare *reneges* AC 1, 1, 1 (911, 8),

evidently a misprint for *reneyes*, see *suprà* p. 282, l. 2.

Thee as predicate. I am not thee, Tim 4, 3, 72 (758, 277). The oldest example of this construction that I have noted. *Abb.* 213.

These sort. These set kind of fools TN 1, 5, 37 (284', 95), these kind of knaves I know KL 2, 2, 44 (857', 107). These are the oldest examples of this construction I have noted. *Abb.* does not note them.

Troilus. TC 1, 1, 1 (622', 5). In two syllables throughout the play, but always in three in Chaucer.

thou whoreson *zed*! thou unnecessary letter, KL 2, 2, 32 (857, 69). Here Johnson conjectures *C* for *zed*. The name *zed* and not *izzard* is noteworthy.

BT = T.

better debtor AY 2, 3, 10 (211', 75).

det = *debt* LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 24).

debt Boyet LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 333).

dout = *doubt* LL 4, 1, 5, (150, 23).

doubt lout KJ 3, 1, 46 (342, 219).

Corruptions.

canaries = *quandaries* MW 2, 2, 25 (49', 61). Does this determine the position of the accent on the second syllable? See *suprà* p. 913, col. 1, l. 1.

rushling = *rustling* MW 2, 2, 25 (49', 68), shewing that same tendency to

Shakspere have adopted Rowe's amendment, and read: And then the, &c. Mr. Abbot has shewn that Shakspere uses monosyllabic measures freely. The reader should study the passages cited in *Abb.* 479a-486. Although a dissyllabic pronunciation is probable in many cases, as in *fear*, *dear*, and other words in *r* (*Abb.* 480), some other explanation of these monosyllables seems necessary in most instances.

¹ *Abb.* 452, assumes the ordinary theory, and in 453a, declares that the

accented syllable is by no means necessarily emphatic. Respecting my statement, *suprà* p. 334, l. 5, he says: "From an analysis of several tragic lines of Shakespeare, taken from different plays, I should say that rather less than one of three have the full number of five emphatic accents. About two out of three have four, and one out of fifteen has three." Another reader of the same lines might materially alter these ratios, so much depends upon the particular reader's own rhythmical feelings.

convert (s) into (sh) before a mute even when not initial that we find in vulgar German, (isht) for (ist), and Neapolitan (ashpet) for (aspetta).

Wheeson week = *Whitsun week*, 2 H⁴ 2, 1, 32 (415', 96), *Wheeson* quartos, *Whitson* folios. See below, Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation under I.

sculls = *schools* i.e. shoals, a presumption that u = (u) TC 5, 5, 4 (651', 22).

Syllabic French -e.

Speak it in French, king; say "*par-don-ne moi*" R² 5, 3, 39 (379', 119).

Have I not heard these islanders shout out "*Vi-ve le roi!*" as I have bank'd their towns KJ 5, 2, 5 (352', 104).

Rust, sword! cool, blushes! and *Paroll-es* live AW 4, 3, 121 (274', 373). See several other instances *Abb.* 489.

Syllabic Genitive -es.

to shew his teeth as white as *whal-e's* bone LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 332).

Folios, except first, read *whale-his*.

Of *Mars-s*'s fiery steed. To other

re-gions. AW 2, 3, 105 (264, 300) *Marses* in Fo. 1623.

See cases of the omission of this syllable after -s, -se, -ss, -ce, -ge in *Abb.* 471.

Ache (suprà pp. 208, 912).

Dissyllabic Plural.

Fill all thy bones with *aches* make thee roar T 1, 2, 96 (5', 369).

Aches contract and starve your supple joints Tim 1, 1, 135 (743' 257).

Their fears of hostile strokes, their *aches*, losses Tim 5, 1, 68 (762, 202).

As we have *mistakes* a trissyllable, R² 3, 3, 4 (370', 9), these examples could not prove *ache* to have been (aatsh) without external authority; and both pronunciations (aatsh, aak) apparently prevailed.

Monosyllabic Plural.

That the sense *aches* at thee, would thou hadst ne'er been born. Oth 4, 2, 31, (902', 69).

Rhymes with -ake.

sake *ache* CE 3, 1, 33 (99, 56).

ache brake VA 875 (1011).

Unusual Position of Accents.

archbishop H⁸ 4, 1, 11 (612', 24).

advértis'd 3H⁶ 4, 5, 1 (547, 9), 5, 3, 4 (552, 18), TC 2, 2, 101 (632, 211).

See suprà p. 913, end of I.

aspect H³ 3, 1, 1 (448', 9), R³ 1, 2, 64 (559', 155).

charácters R³ 3, 1, 26 (571, 81), charáctér v. H 1, 3, 8 (815', 59), charáctér'd 2H⁶ 3, 1, 54 (510, 300), charáctery JC 2, 1, 72 (772, 308).

commérce TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 105), 3, 3, 35 (639', 205).

compáre s. TC 3, 2, 49 (637', 182).

cóplete R³ 4, 4, 46 (583, 189), TC 3, 3, 31 (639', 181).

confessor RJ 2, 6, 4 (725, 21), Edward Conféssor H⁸ 4, 1, 34 (613, 88).

conjúr'd = *modern* cónjured RJ 2, 1, 7 (719', 26), cónjure = *modern* conjure M 4, 1, 15 (801', 50).

cónsigned TC 4, 4, 14 (642, 47).

contráry verb RJ 1, 5, 24 (718', 87) contráct s. AW 2, 3, 65 (263, 185), H⁸ 3, 1, 41 (481, 143).

cornér 3H⁸ 4, 5, 4 (547', 6).

démonstrate Tim 1, 1, 38 (742, 91), Oth 1, 1, 8 (879, 61).

détestable KJ 3, 4, 8 (344, 29), RJ 4, 5, 19 (735', 56), Tim 4, 1, 1 (754', 33).

distinct TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 47).

dividable TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 105).

émpirics AW 2, 1, 47 (260, 125).

exploits H⁵ 1, 2, 11 (441', 121).

fórlorn TA 2, 3, 30 (695', 153).

hórizon 3H⁶ 4, 7, 31 (549', 81).

implóraters H 1, 3, 24 (816', 129).

índulgence TC 2, 2, 99 (632, 178).

instínct R³ 2, 3, 20 (569', 42), C 5, 3, 3 (683', 35).

madám TA 1, 1, 13 (689', 121).

máankind Tim 4, 1, 1 (754', 40).

merváilous H⁶ 2, 1, 17 (443', 50).

óbscure TA 2, 3, 9 (695', 77).

Péntapólis P 5, 3, 1 (998, 4).

persévér CE 2, 2, 77 (98', 217), MN 3, 2, 47 (171', 237), AW 3, 7, 8 (270, 37), KJ 2, 1, 91 (338', 421), H 1, 2, 16 (813', 92), P 4, 6, 47 (994', 113), persévérance TC 3, 3, 31 (639, 150). These agree with the modern *séver*, *sévéance*, which doubtless influenced the older pronunciation, although not etymologically related; the modern *persevére*, *persevéance*, must have been introduced by some Latinist, such as those who now prefer *ini-quitous*, *inimi-cal*, and were guilty of *cú-cumber*; but when?

perspective AW 5, 3, 14 (277, 48).
 precepts H^s 3, 3, 1 (450, 26).
 prescience TC 1, 3, 10 (627, 199).
 protést s. TC 3, 2, 49 (637, 182).
 réceptacle TA 1, 1, 9 (689, 92), RJ 4,
 3, 5 (734, 39).
 récorde R³ 3, 7, 6 (576, 30).
 rélapse H^s 4, 3, 20 (459, 107).
 revénue MN 1, 1, 32 (162, 158), TC
 2, 2, 100 (632, 206), H 3, 2, 14
 (827, 63), revénue R³ 3, 7, 29 (577,
 157).
 royál R³ 1, 2, 88 (560, 245).
 séquester'd TA 2, 3, 9 (695, 75).
 sinister H^s 2, 4, 10 (447, 85).
 successors H³ 1, 1, 14 (593, 60).
 Thá-i-sa P 5, 1, 73 (997, 212), P 5, 3,
 1 (998, 4) compare the accent in
 Gower, *suprà* p. 265.
 toward *prep.* JC 1, 1, 35 (765, 85)
 toward froward TS 1, 1, 12 (232,
 68), *adj.* TS 5, 1, 89 (253, 182).
 triumph H⁴ 5, 3, 6 (406, 15), 5, 4, 6
 (407, 14), triúmphing R³ 3, 4, 31
 (575, 91), triúmph TA 1, 1, 22
 (690, 170), triúmph TA 1, 1, 24
 (670, 176 and 178), RJ 2, 6, 3
 (725, 10).

The following differences of accent are noted in *Abb.* 490-492. The query indicates doubt, or dissent from Mr. Abbott's conclusion respecting the position of accent, and some remarks are bracketted.

Accent nearer the end than with us:
 abject, access, aspect, characters, commendable, commerce, confiscate, consórt, contráry a., contráct s., compáct s., différent [CE 5, 1, 19 (106, 6), probably corrupt, the second and third folios read, "And much much different from the man he was"], edict, effigies, envý v., exile, instinct, infó, miséry [MV 4, 1, 76 (199, 272), undoubtedly corrupt, the three later folios read, "Of such a misery doth she cut me off," but this correction is not satisfactory; the sense requires words like "from all such misery, etc." or "and all such, etc."; the "of" comes in strangely, and seems to have arisen from the final "oft"], nothing? obdúrate, oppórtune, outráge, perémptory [as Mr. Ab-

bott suggests, this accent is not needed for the scansion], portéants, précepts, prescience, recórd [still so called in law courts], sepúlchre, sinister, sojóurn'd, something?, sweetheárt, triúmphing, untó, welcóme, wherefore. Words in -ised: advértised, chástised, canonized, authórizéd, solémnised and solémnized, [rather than make an exception, which is improbable, introduce a second trissyllabic measure, and read: Straight shall our nupti-al rites be solémnized, MV 2, 9, 2 (190, 6).]

Accent nearer the beginning than with us: archbishop, cément s., compell'd, complete, cónceal'd, cónduct, cónfessor, cóngeal'd, cónjure = entreat, cónsign'd, córrosive, délectable, détestable, distinct, fórlorn, húmane, máintain, máture?, méthinks?, mútiners, myself?, Nórthampton, óbseure, óbserver, perséver, perspéctive, pioners, plébeians [the word is not frequent, it is certainly plebéians in H^s 5, ch. (463, 27), and TA 1, 1, 36 (690, 231), unless we read "Patrici-ans and pléb-eians we create," the italics shewing a trissyllabic measure; in C 1, 9, 1 (661, 7) I would rather read "That with the fusty plebéians hate thine honours," than "That with the fusty pléb-eians hate thine honours," the italics again shewing the trissyllabic measure; in C 3, 1, 53 (669, 101), I read "Let them have cushions by you. You're plebéians," and Mr. Abbott's scansion seems forced; again, "the senators and plebéians love him too," C 4, 7, 7 (681, 30), but AC 4, 12, 4 (936, 34) "And hoist thee up to the shouting plébeians," (unless we read *unto* with Keightley and make a trissyllabic measure: And hoist thee up unto the shouting plebéians,) and C 5, 4, 12 (685, 39) "The plébeians have got your fellow tribune," (which could be easily amended by adding *fast*, or *now*, or *there*, at the end of the line, in which case there would be a trissyllabic first measure,) seem real cases; but they are the only ones in Shakspeare and, as we have seen, the reading may be faulty!], pársuit, púrveyor, quintessence, récorde, rélapse?, rhéumatic, sécure, séquester'd, succéssor, succéssive, tówards, útensils?, without.

In this connection the following extracts from Gill's *Logonomia*, pp. 128-138, are valuable, though they are much injured by his confused notions of the difference between accent and quantity.

GILL ON ACCENT AND METRE.

Cap. xxv. *De Accentu.*

Vocum prosodia vsu potiùs quàm regulis percipitur: ea tota in accentu est. Accentus est duplex, Grammaticus, *et* Rhetoricus. Grammaticus est qua vocalis vna, aut diphthongus, in omni dictione affecta est. Rhetoricus, qui ad sensum animo altiùs infigendum, emfasin in vnâ voce habet potiùs quàm aliâ. Monosyllaba omnia per se accepta accentum acutum habere intelliguntur: at composita, nunc in priori tonum habent; vt, (hòrs'man, shìp'huuk), nunc in posteriori; vt (wìthstand', wìthdraa', hìmsèlf'). Quædam ita facilia sunt, vt accentum vtrobius recipiant, vt (tshurtsh'yard', out'run', out'raadzh').¹

Dissyllaba quæ oxytona sunt, (biliiv', asyyr', aswaadzh', enfoors', konstrain'): quæ paroxytona, vt (pìt'i, kul'er, fol'ooou).

Trissyllaba quædam paroxytona sunt: vt, (regraat'er, biluv'ed, ak'waint'ed); quædam proparoxytona; vt (mìz'erì, des'tenì): quædam indifferentia; vt, (foar'goo'ing, foar'staal'er).²

Animaduertendum autem nos tanto impetu in nounullis vocibus accentum retrahere, vt nulla syllabarum longitudo, naturâ aut positione facta contraheniat: idque non in nostris tantum (forester, kar'penter): sed etiam in illis quæ doctuli à Latinis ascuerunt: vt, (aa'ditor, kompet'itor, kon'stansi, redzh'ister, tem'perans, in'stryment, mul'tityd). Hic autem duplici cautelâ opus: primâ, vt illa excipias quæ ad nos integra transierunt; quibus eâ humanitate vtimur qua peregrinis, qui suo iure *et* more viuunt, vt (Am'in'tas, Erin'nis, Barika'do). Secundò excipias illa à Latinis in io, quæ quanquam in nostrum ius concesserunt, proprium tamen accentum retinent in antepenultimâ; vt (opin'ion, satisfak'sion) et alia sic exeuntia (mîn'ion, fran'ion), etc.³

Plurisyllaba etiam (quod in alijs quas scio linguis non fit) accentum sæpius in quartâ recipiunt; vt (ok'yypaier, vîdzh'ilansi, lîteraty'r): *et* omnia fere illa quæ in (mugger)⁴ exeunt aut(abl): vt (kos'terdmugger, æi'ernmugger, mar'tshantabl, mar'îdzhabl, mîz'erabl, on'orabl). mirum dixeris si tonum in quinta reperiis, tamen sic lege (mul'ti'plabl, vîtrîfiabl, Kon'stantînopl), *et* alia fortasse plura.

Duo sunt quæ tonum variant: Differentia, *et* Numerus poeticus.

1. Differentia est, qua vox voci quodammodo opponitur: hæc accentum transfert in syllabam vulgariter accentuatâ præcedentem, vt (du

¹ Gill does not mark the position of the accent in these three words. In those subsequently cited he marks it by an acute on the vowel of the accented syllable, and neglects to distinguish long and short vowels in consequence, as he says in his errata: "Capite 25 et deinceps; accentuum notatio longarum vocalium quantitati veniam inueniet." I have, therefore, in my transcription restored the quantity, and replaced *i* by

j (=æi) and *u* by *v* (=yy), when it appeared necessary.

² Gill writes no accent marks in these two words.

³ The term *antepenultime* here determines the dissyllabic character of the termination *-tion* = (*-sion*) in Gill's mind.

⁴ Gill does not distinguish (mugger) from (muqer); my transliteration is, therefore, also an interpretation.

yuu taak mii reikht, or mîs'taak mii ?) sic (wîth'hoould, un'thaqkful, dis'onestai, dis'onorabl, dis'onorablai) etiam, et (un'meezyrablai); huc refer (dezert') meritum, et (dez'ert) desertum aut solitudo, etc. Numerus poeticus proparoxytonis in [i] sæpe vltimam productam acuit, vt, (mîzerôi', konstansôi', destînôi');¹ vnde etiam in prosâ ferè obtinuit, vt vltimâ vel longâ vel breui æqualiter scribantur, et pronuncientur, non acuantur tamen.

De Rhetorico accentu difficilior est iudicium; quia suum cuique est, et varium. Exemplo res melius intelligetur.

(Moi song, if an'i ask whuuz grii'vus plaint iz sutsh,
Dai, eer dhou let niz naam' bii knooun, niz fol'i shoouz tuu mutsh,
But, best weer dhii tu hoid', and nev'er kum tu laikht :
For oon dhe erth' kan noon but oi', dhoin ak'sents sound araikht'.)

Diximus monosyllaba omnia acui, hoc est accentu Grammatico: at in orationis contextu illis tantum vocibus est accentus oratorius, siue quædam toni ἐνέργεια, quibus sensus vis et ἐνάργεια inest: reliquæ omnes præ his quodammodo barytonæ habeantur. Ego igitur sic ista lego, vt versus primus vno tenore, et æqualis fluat. In secundo tribus oculis accinitur (dai, naam', fol'i): quia, ex sensu apparenti moriendum potius est carmini, quam nomen auctoris indicandum; cui tanta stultitia malum est omen. At ex implicitâ Antanaclesi, sine diastola Τῶν (dai'), et (er, let dhou niz naam bi knooun Dai'er); etiam cum priori tepidius erit, et sine accentu oratorio efferendum. Duos sequentes versus licet ego sic legam, vt (hoid), et (nev'er) in priori accentuem: (erth', ei), et (dhoin),² in posteriori: alius tamen fortasse aliter: idque cum bonâ vtrunque ratione. Atque hæc de accentu acuto Grammatico, et Oratorio, præcepta sunt. Grauis ubique intelligitur, vbi alius non est accentus. Circumflexus [^] in alijs dialectis frequentius auditur quàm in communi; vbi tamen ea est aliquando vocis alicuius prosodia, vt sensum mutet. Exemplo (oi am afraid' of him) i. metuo ab illo: (oi am afraid'·³ ov him). i. quid de illo futurum sit timea.

Accentui inseruiunt interpunctiones: quia illæ vt sensum aperiunt, ita quantum possunt accentui viam sternunt. Eædem sunt nobis quæ Latinis, et vsus idem: sunt autem Κόμμα siue incisum [,], 'Προδιαστολή aut subdistinctio [;], Κῶλον siue membrum [:], Περίοδος siue sententiæ et sensus integra complexio [.]. His adijunge interrogationis notam [?], et exclamationis [!]. Παρενθέσει (scientibus loquor) nihil includi debet quod cum ῥητά

¹ The accent is not written here, but is inferred from the context. Observe that we had (des'teni) a little above.

² Erroneously printed (doin).

³ Gill writes *afraid*, *afraid*, He had long previously explained á to mean (AA), and hence I have thus interpreted the sign, but the interpretation is probably incorrect. He has nowhere given a physiological description of the

effects which he means to indicate by the old Latin terms, acute, grave, and circumflex, which were perhaps in Latin the rising, the falling, and the rising and falling inflections, (. . .) supra p. 12, but there is no reason to suppose that he had in view anything but *stress* for acute, its absence for grave, and a broadening *i.e.* opening or rounding or else excessive lengthening of the vowels for the circumflex.

voce in reliquâ orationis serie syntaxin habet: at 'Τποπαρενθέσει [ι ~]¹ illud quod abesse quidem potest, sed cum aliâ aliqua sententiæ voce construitur.

Exemplum.

(Dhe best (said hii)² dhat ei kan yuu adveiz·
Iz tu avoid· dh- okaa·zion of dhe il,
Dhe kAAZ remuuv·ed whens dh- iivl duth aræiz·
{ As suun it mai } dh- efekt· sursees·th stîl.)

Huc accedit *Απόστροφος* in (dh- efekt·),³ *et* in vocibus compositis *Τφῆ* siue maceaf [-] vt (hart-eeting griif). Et vltimò (si tu concedas (lector) in *Διαίρέσει, Διαστολῇ* [··] in *συναίρέσει, Ἀρπη* [·~] vt in (okaa·zion) trissyllabâ;⁴ sed his *et* 'Τποπαρενθέσει in vsu frequenti, locus rarò conceditur.

Cap. xxvi. *De Metro.*

Metrum apud nos largè acceptum, aliquando significat ipsa in carmine omoioteleuta: nonnunquam ponitur pro omni oratione adstricta numeris; sic enim metrum, *et* prosam opponimus. Sed hîc pro omni mensurâ syllabæ, pedis, metri propriè dicti, *et* carminis vsurpo.

De Syllaba.

Syllabarum quantitas septem modis agnoscitur. 1. Vocali. 2. Diphthongo. 3. Accentu. 4. Positione. 5. Derivatione. 6. Præpositione. 7. Metaplasmo.

1. Vocalis *et* 2. Diphthongus.

Satis aparuit in grammaticâ, quæ syllaba longa aut brevis censeri debet, ex vocalibus, quas longas aut breves esse diximus: 1. Poetæ tamen illa in (æi) desinentia licenter corripunt; quia in fluxu orationis accentus in propinquâ syllabâ eius longitudinem absorbet. At si syllaba accentu vlllo grammatico, vel rhetorico afficiatur, non corripitur; vt, (mæi moni) - ~ ~.

2. (Yy) in fine anceps est; vt (nyy, tryy):⁵ at consonâ in eâdem voce monosyllabâ sequente, longa est; vt, (syrr,⁶ pyrr). sic in dissyllabis, si accentum habeat: vt, (manyrr·, refyyz·) verbum: at accentus in priori, ultimam ancipitem relinquit; vt, in (ref·yyz, ref·yz)⁷ subst. 3. Vocalis, aut diphthongus, ante vocalem non cor-

¹ This is a sign not otherwise noticed, probably of Dr. Gill's own coinage, for the printer had clearly to "make" the mark, the first time from (and ;, the second time, in the example, from ; and ;.

² The original has " (Dhe (best said hii) dhat), etc., where the parenthesis is clearly incorrectly put.

³ Gill prints ὄ'efekt.

⁴ Gill seems to intend to say that (okaa·zion), which is really of four syllables, here reckons as three, from

the rapidity with which (i) is pronounced. See *infra*, p. 937, n. 1.

⁵ This vowel being represented by v in Gill never has the mark of prolongation placed over it; hence it has been uniformly transliterated (yy). A pure (y) in closed syllables does not seem to have occurred in English of so late a date.

⁶ Observe, an (s) not an (sh), and see *suitor*, *suprà*, pp. 215, 922.

⁷ The word is only written once *réf·yz* in Gill, but is repeated here to exhibit the "doubtful" quantity.

ripitur necessariò ut apud Latinos. Sed contrà, vocalis longa, aut diphthongus, ante vocalem semper producitur, si in se accentum habeat, vt (denœi'ng, displai'ed).¹ 4. Vocalis, aut Diphthongus per synalœpham licentiâ poeticâ nonnunquam intercipitur: sed frequentissimè intercidit (u), in (tu) datiu et infinitiu signo; et (e), in articulo (dhe), tamen non semper. in (Dhou) ante (art) diphthongus sæpe deficit.²

3. Accentus.

Omnis syllaba, accentum acutum habens aut circumflexum, longa est: idque maxime si syllaba dictionis prima non sit. Nam prima naturâ suâ brevis, accentum sæpe admittit, vt (go'ing, du'ing, an'i, spir'it, bod'i'), quæ etiamsi ex vocali breues esse intelligantur, accentu tamen subinde communes fiunt vt in illo Choriamb (Laa'di, ladii').³

2. In trissyllabis etiam, acutus in breui ante liquidam, syllabam aliquando ancipitem facit, vt in (mal'adoi, sim'oni, dzhen'eral, ben'efit).⁴

3. Vocalis brevis in vltimâ, ante duplicem, aut etiam ante solam liquidam, accentu anceps fit. Vt (beg'in, distil', defer', proloq'). Idipsum etiam in monosyllabis accentu acutissimis fiet; vt, (aks', dzhudzh', fel', sîn', soq', war', dzhar'.) Quam formam quædam etiam ante mutam sequuntur; vt, (bud') gemma, (but') meta.

4. Omnis syllaba ante accentuatam brevis est: vt, (dezœir', abroo'ad (?), aban'don, deœi'ded, divœin'loi, bîliiv'ing, preven'ted): nisi obstet natura; vt, in (foorgo'ing, foorspee'king); aut positio, vt, (forgot'n forgiv'iq). Sed hic tantum valet accentus, vt in multis duplicatis alteram elidat, vt, (atend', apii'riq, opoo'zed, adres'ed); pro (attend; appii'riq, oppoo'zed, adres'ed): Sed vt consonam elidat vel non, poetæ in medio relinquitur.

5. Syllabæ quæ solis constant consonantibus, quia accentum nunquam recipiunt, breues iudicantur; vt, (sad'l, trub'l, moist'n).

6. Accentus Rhetoricus longas præcedentes sæpenumero corripit: vt, (If yi bi ʌʌl thiivz, what hoop hav œi?) vbi vocales naturâ longæ in (yii, bii, haav) ratione accentuum in⁵ (ʌʌl) et (œi) correptæ sunt.

4. Positio.

In diuersis dictionibus positio sæpe valet vt apud Latinos, in eâdem dictione, accentus positioni præualet; ita vt in trissyllabis,

¹ As Gill could not have used the word diphthong in the sense of digraph, more especially because he represents the (œi) in the first word by a simple sign *j*, we have here a confirmation of the theory that he pronounced his *ai* as a diphthong (ai), and not as a simple vowel (ee).

² This implies the pronunciation of *thou'rt* as (dhart) and not (dhourt).

³ No accent marked in Gill. The assumption of the choriamb - - - - ,

shews that the accents were intended as I have placed them. This passage should have been referred to *suprà* p. 281, l. 34.

⁴ The exact meaning of this passage is doubtful, owing to the constant confusion of accent and quantity in Dr. Gill's mind, while he attempts to separate them.

⁵ Misprinted *in*, as if it were one of the English words, being put into a different type.

accentus in primâ sonorâ naturâ aut positione longâ, abbreviet vtrâque sequentes; vt, in (Tshes·tertun, Wîm·bldun). Nec quisquam, qui Anglicè nouit, negare audebit (Ten·terden stii·pl) esse carmen Adonicum. nam hîc adeo violentus est accentus, vt etiam in diuersis dictionibus positionem auferat. Idipsum affirmabis, si Sussexios audias in (WAA·terdoun for·rest).¹ Adeo clarus est accentus in primo trissyllabo, licet positione non eleuetur. Hîc tamen cautelâ opus, nam si ad positionem (l, n) vel (q) concurrat, media syllaba producitur: vt (Sem·priqam, Trum·piqtun, Ab·iqton, Wîm·undam, Wîl·fulnes) etc.² Quod dixi apparebit exemplo.

(What if a daai, or a munt, or a Jeer) hemistichium est, duobus constans dactylis, et choriambis, nemo dubitat. (Soo it befel· on a Pen·tekost dai). Nec quisquam hîc magnopere hæret, nisi quod particula (it) tardiùs sequi videtur ob positionem: at Metaplasmo occidentali (ivel·) pro (bifel·) nihil occurrit rotundius; nam positio illa in (kost), nullo modo tempus retardat propter accentum in (Pen). Positio aliàs valet ad Longitudinem; vt, (Gîlz·land, Lon·don, har·vest).

5. Deriuatio.

Deriuatiua eandem cum primitiuis quantitatem plerumque sortiuntur; vt, (dai, dai·iq; dezair, dezair·ed; profaan, profaan·lai). Excipiuntur illa, quæ à longis enata, vocalem naturâ longam corripiunt; vt, a (mai·zer, miz·erabl, miz·eri): Et anomala coniugationis primæ, quæ figuratiuam comutant: vt, à (reed, red); à (sweet, swet); à (wreit, writ; straik, strîk), etc. His adde vnum tertiæ (duu, did). Secundo excipiuntur illa à peregrinis deducta, quibus syllabarum quantitas naturâ, positione, aut accentu mutatur; vt à noto as, (tu noot·ei),³ à magnifico (tu mag·nifai), à potens, (poo·tent) etc. At (im·potent, omni·potent), suam naturam sequuntur: quod etiam in alijs fortè pluribus obseruabis.

6. Præpositio.

Præpositiones inseparabiles (a, bi, re), etiam (un, dis, mis) si positio sinat, corripiuntur. Reliquarum omnium quantitas ex suis vocalibus satis intelligitur.

7. Metaplasmus.

Est, quum necessitatis, aut iucunditatis gratia, syllaba, aut dictio à formâ propriâ in aliam mutatur. Huc refer omnes antedictas dialectos præter communem. Et licet omnis Metaplasmus ad syllabarum quantitatem agnoscendam non sit utilis: tamen quia plurimæ eius species hîc multum possunt, eas omnes simul explicabimus.

¹ Written *Wâterdoun*, the first vowel probably stands for *æ* = (AA) in Gill's notation.

² In the vocabulary I have introduced a second accent mark thus (Sem·priq·

am), to represent this presumed lengthening.

³ There seems to be some misprint here; the original is followed literally, with the exception of the accents, which were not marked.

Prothesis apponit caput id quod Aphæresis aufert :

vt, (arəikh̄t̄, emmuuv̄) : pro (rəikh̄t̄, muuv̄) : et eleganti imitatione Latinæ compositionis, (efraid̄), pro (fraid. ven'dzher), pro (aven'dzher).

Syncope de medio tollit, quod Epenthesis infert.

vt, (hum·bles, whuu·ev·er), pro (hum·bl̄nes), et (whuu·soev·er); (er·rand) pro (ee·rand).

Aufert Apocope finem, quem dat Paragoge.

vt, (What əi dhe bet ford̄həi) Spens. pro (bet·er, tel·en) et (displee·zen), Chaus̄er pro (tel, displee·z)

Consonam vt Ecthlipsis, vocalem aufert Synalæpha.

Exempla.

(Faam with abun·d̄ans maak·eth a man threis blessed an nap·p̄i)
pro (and nap·p̄i).

(First, let Sîmmer·ian dark·nes bi m̄i oon·l- habita·s̄ion)¹
pro (oon·lei).

Systola longa rapit, breuiata Diastola longat.

vt, Sidn. (un·tu Kyyp̄id dhat buoi shal a pedan·te bi found :) ubi prima in (pedan·te) à παιδός corripitur.

Diastola Τασίς, Εκτασίς siue extensio dicitur. Exemplum reperies apud eundem Sidneium.

(Dhat bæi a bod·i it̄ gooz, s̄ins bæi a bod·i it̄ iz.)

vbi ex (bod·i) perichio, trocheum facit contra quàm eius natura pati potest, Rectius ille in speculo Tuscanismi.

(:Aal gal·lant v̄ir·tyyz, Aal kwal·l̄it̄iz of bod·i and sooul.)²

Plus satis huiusmodi exemplorum inuenies apud Stanihurstum, et alios.

(S̄ins moi nooz out·peek·īq (gud S̄ir) yuur l̄ip·labor h̄in·dreth).

Neque enim verum est quod scribit quidam, Syllabarum regnum illis concessum, qui primi suo exemplo illarum quantitatem definirent : Syllabæ enim naturâ suâ ; id est, cuiuscunque linguæ idiomate, aut longæ sunt, aut breues, aut indifferentes, vtcunque mali poetæ illarum quantitate abutuntur.

Syllaba de binis confecta, Synæresis extat.

Vsitatissimus est h̄ic metaplasmus in verbalibus passiuus in (ed) ; vt, (luv·d) pro (luv·ed) et vbiq̄ue alias ; vt (ev·roi) pro (ev·erai) ; whatsoev·er, okaa·z̄ion), trissyllabis.³ Neque in vñâ tantum dictione synæresis est, sed etiam in diuersis ; vt (Is-t not inukh·) ?

¹ These are accentual hexameters, the author not named. Hence the final (-sion) of (habita·sion) reckons as a single syllable. Compare suprâ p. 934, note 4.

² This requires much forcing of the stress to make an accentual hexameter, thus : (Aal gal·ant̄ v̄ir·tyyz, Aal kwal·it̄iz of bod̄i and sooul). Gill doubles the (l) in (kwal·l̄it̄iz) to make "position."

³ Probably (whatsev·er, okaa·z̄ion), but the actual "synæresis" is not written. There can be no thought of (okaa·zhon), which was probably never used, the (aa) having changed to (ee) before (zr) was reduced to (zh). The pronunciation (whatsever) is quite conjectural, as there is no authority for it. The hyphens represent Gill's apostrophes.

pro (iz it not), *et* in communi loquendi formulâ pro (much gud du-t yuu) pro (du it).¹ Sic (was-t, for-t, whuuz deer²) pro (waz it, for it, whuu iz deer²).

Διαίρεσις siue *Διάλυσις*.

Dicitur in binas separare Diæresis vnam.

Vt Sp. (wuund·es, klound·es, hand·es); pro (wuundz, kloundz, handz.) Huic cognata est.

Τμήσις, Διακοπή, siue Intercisio.

Dat Tmesin partes in binas dictio secta.

vt (Tu us ward) pro (toward· us.)

Μετάθεσις.

Fît Meta ritè thesis, si transponas elementa.

Vt (vouched saaf), pro (vouch·saaf·ed). Spen. (Loom whœil) pro (whœiloom·)

Αντίθεσις, melius *Αντίστοιχον*.

Est Antistæchon tibi litera si varietur.

Spens. (foon, ein, hond, lond) pro (fooz, eiz, hand, land.) hunc referre potes illa tertiæ personæ Indicatiui præsentis in (s, z, ez) pro (eth): vt (hii speeks, luvz, teech·ez); pro (speek·eth, luv·eth, teech·eth). In quibus non tantum est Antistæchon sed *et* synæresis

Ista Metaplasmm communi nomine dicas.

Quæ dixi de quantitate syllabarum, ita abhorreere videbuntur ab auribus illorum qui ad Latinam prosodiam assueuerunt, vt mihi nunquam satis cauisse, illos satis admonuisse possim. Sed si syllaba brevis vnus temporis concedatur, longa duorum; ego veritatem appello indicem, auresque musicorum testes: his causam omnem permitto. Ipsos autem, qui me iudicio postulauerint, adhortor, vt meminerint quàm multa Latini à Græcis discesserunt Atque, vt mittam significationem, genus, syntaxin alicubi; in prosodiâ toto cælo aberrarunt, omega vix productam in ambo; *et* ego, *et* Noster Apollo veta. Sed quia de his paulò fusiùs dicendum est postea,³ in presens missa facio.

¹ See suprâ p. 165, l. 24, and p. 744, note 2. "The tendency to contractions [in the Lancashire dialect] is very great, rendering some sentences unintelligible to a 'foreigner.' *Luthee preo* (look thee, pray you): *mitsh goodeetoo* (much good may it do you)." *Folk-Song and Folk-Speech of Lancashire*, by W. E. A. Axon, F.R.S.L., page 69. In a private letter Mr. Axon informs me that these phrases are pronounced, (ludh·i prii·u; mitsh gud·iitu) the last (ii) being long but unaccented. In the north (dii) is very common for (duu), so that the analysis of the words is (mitsh gud·dee·it·u). (Ludh·i) is also heard in Yorkshire.

² Probably a misprint for (dheer) in both cases.

³ This refers to "Cap. xxvii., Carmen Rhythmicum," which would have been interesting, had not Dr. Gill's utter confusion of accent and quantity rendered it entirely worthless. Thus speaking of heroic and Alexandrine verses he says: "Scenicum, *et* Epicum, vno ferè carminis genere contenta sunt: illud est vt plurimum pentametrum. Spenceri tamen Epicum, siue Heroicum, nonum quemque versum habet hexametrum: ad grauitatem, *et* quandam stationis firmitudinem. In scenico, poetæ malè negligunt *δροιοτέλευτα*, quæ in Epico continuasunt." &c., p. 142. In Cap. xxviii, Dr. Gill treats "De Carminibus ad numeros Latinorum poetarum compositis."

Pedes, quibus Anglica poesis vtitur, sunt dissyllabi tres; spondeus - -, trocheus - -, iambus, - -. Trissyllabi quinque; tribrachius - -, molossus - -, dactylus - -, anapæstus - -, amphimacrus - -. Tetra syllabos tantum duos animaduerti: quorum vnus est pæon quartus - -, alter choriambus - - - -.

CONTRACTED WORDS.

The following list is taken from *Abb.* 460–473. All omitted syllables are here inserted in parentheses. A star * prefixed, shews that this contraction is acknowledged either in the same or a similar word, by Jones 1701, and will be found in the Vocabulary of the xviith century to be given in Chapter IX. When † is prefixed, the instance is not from Shakspeare himself. A subjoined (?) indicates that the passage cited in proof does not appear decisive.

Prefixes dropped. — *(em)boldened, *(a)bove, *(a)bout, (up)braid, †(re)-call, (be)came, (be)cause, (con)cerns, (de)cide, (re)cital, †(re)collect, (be)-come?, (en)couraging, *(ac)count, *(en)dear(e)d, (be)fall, (be)friend, (a)-gain(st)-giving, (mis)gave?, (be)get, (a)gree, (be)haviour, (en)joy, *(a)-larum, (a)las, (be)lated, (un)less, (be)-longs, (be)longing, *(a)miss, *(a)mong, (be)nighted, *(a)nointed, *(an)noyance, (im)pairs, *(im)pale, *(ap)parel, (com)plain, (en)raged, *(ar)ray, *(ar)-rested, *(as)sayed, *(e)scape, (ek)scuse = excuse, (in)stalled, †(fore)stalled?, *(a)stomished, (de)stroyed, *(at)tend, (re)turn, *(al)lotted, un(re)sisting?, (be)ware, (en)vironed, (re)course, (re)-venge. In some cases, where the contraction is not written, Mr. Abbott assumes it, although the use of a trissyllabic measure would render it unnecessary.

Other contractions. — Barthol(o)mew, Ha(ve)rford, †dis(ci)ple, ignom(in)y, †gen(tle)man, gentl(e)man, gent(le), †eas(i)ly, par(i)lous = perilous, inter(ro)gatories, can(dle)stick, †mar(ve)le, †whe(th)er, God b(e) with ye, see *suprà* p. 773, in (hi)s, th(ou) wert, you (we)re, h(e) were, y(ou) are, she (we)re. In these five last cases, notwithstanding the orthography, the sound may have been, (dhou-rt, juu-r, hii-r, juu-r, shii-r). But in the passage cited for *she (we)re*, “Twere good *she were* spoken with: for she may strew,” H 4, 5, 5 (836, 14), the trissyllabic measure, which would be naturally introduced by any modern reader, obviates all difficulties. Similarly in the passages cited for *this* = this is, a trissyllabic measure removes all difficulties. Mr. Abbot says (461),

“it (this contraction) is at all events as early as Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 233.” On referring to the six-text edition, v. 1091, we find three MS. (Hengwrt, Cambridge, Lansdowne,) to which we may add Harleian, reading in various spellings, “We mote endure it this is the schort and playn,” where we may either contract “endure't,” or make *is the schort* a trissyllabic measure; but the Ellesmere MS. omits *it*, which seems the best reading, as the *it* is clearly superfluous, and the Corpus and Petworth omit *the*, which is not so commendable. Hence it is by no means clear that Chaucer ever said *this* for *this is*. Relying on the provincialism *'se*, *'s* for *shall*, in KL 4, 6, 85 (873, 246), and Lady Capulet's *thou's* for *thou shalt*, which was evidently an accommodation of her language to the nurse's, RJ 1, 3, 6 (715', 9), Mr. Abbott would avoid several trissyllabic measures, by reading *I'se* for *I shall*, but this does not seem advisable. Wi(th), †w(ith) us, †w(ith) ye, were probably *wi*, *wi'us*, *wi'je*. To these he adds d(o)ff, d(o)on, d(o)out, proba(b)l(e).

Words contracted in pronunciation. — *Abb.* 462, desirous of limiting the use of trissyllabic measures and Alexandrine verses as much as possible, suggests many elisions which often appear doubtful, and are certainly, for the most part, unnecessary. A grammarian who would count the syllables of Italian or Spanish verses on his fingers, would be led to conclude that final vowels were always elided before initial vowels, and that frequently a whole word, consisting of a single vowel, was lost in pronunciation. Turning to the musical setting of Italian words, and seeing only one

note written for the two or three vowels which thus come together, he would be strengthened in this opinion. But if he listens to an Italian singing or declaiming, he would find all the vowels pronounced, sometimes diphthongizing, but, as a rule, distinctly audible, without any connecting glide. Such open vowels are, however, generally pronounced with extreme rapidity, and perhaps this is what Mr. Abbott means by "softening," a term which he frequently uses in a manner phonetically unintelligible to me, thus: "R frequently *softens or destroys* a following vowel, the vowel being *nearly lost* in the burr which follows the effort to pronounce the *r*," *Abb.* 463, as alar(u)m, warr(a)nt, flour(i)shing, nour(i)sh, barr(e)ls, barr(e)n, spir(i)t; "R often *softens* a preceding unaccented vowel," *Abb.* 464, as confed(e)rates; "Er, El, and Le final *dropped or softened*, especially before vowels and silent *h*," *Abb.* 465. "Whether and ever are frequently written or pronounced *wh'er* or *where* and *e'er*. The *th* is also *softened* in *either, hither, other, father*, etc., and the *v* in *having, evil*, etc. It is impossible to tell in many of these cases *what degree of 'softening'* takes place. In '*other*,' for instance, the *th* is *so completely dropped* that it has become our ordinary '*or*' which we use without thought of contraction. So '*whether*' is often written '*wh'er*' in Shakespeare, *Some, but it is impossible to say what, degree of 'softening,'* though not expressed in writing, seems to have affected *th* in the following words, *brother, either, further, hither, neither, rather, thither, whether, whither, having*," *Abb.* 466, where he cites instances, which might certainly all have been used by a modern poet who naturally speaks the words disyllabically. A few words as *or, ill, e'er*, have established themselves. It is impossible to say what liberty of contraction or change the xvth century poets allowed themselves in verse. "*I* in the middle of a trisyllable, if unaccented, is frequently dropped, or *so nearly dropped* as to make it a favourite syllable in trisyllabic feet," *Abb.* 467, where he cites, punishment, cardinal,

willingly, languishing, fantastical, residue, promising;—easily, prettily;—hostility, amity, quality, civility;—officer, mariners, ladyship, beautiful, flourishes, par(i)lous. "Any unaccented syllable of a polysyllable (whether containing *i* or any other vowel) may sometimes be *softened and almost ignored*," *Abb.* 468, as barbarous, company, remedy, implements, enemy, messengers, passenger, conference, majesty "a quasi-dissyllable," necessary, sacrificers, innocent, inventory, sanctuary, unnatural, speculative, incredulous, instruments. It is hardly conceivable that these vowels were habitually omitted in solemn speech. *Abb.* 469, thus explains the apparent docking of a syllable in proper names. *Abb.* 470, makes power, jewel, lower, doing, going, dying, playing, prowess, etc., frequently monosyllables or "quasi-monosyllables." *Abb.* 471, remarks that "the plural and possessive cases of nouns in which the singular ends in *s, se, ss, ce, and ge* are frequently written, and still more frequently pronounced, without the additional syllable," but his instances of plurals are not convincing. We know that *-ed* after *t, d*, was often lost in olden time, as we now say *it hurt* for *it hurted*, but the instances cited in *Abb.* 472, by no means establish its general omission, or indeed its necessary omission in those very cases. Compare, however, *Abb.* 342.—Final *-ed*, as we see from Gill, was so regularly pronounced, that we should always rather keep than omit it, although Gill allows it to be frequently elided (*suprà* p. 937, l. 35), and *Abb.* 474, shews that it was often omitted and pronounced in the same line. "*Est* in superlatives is often pronounced *st* after dentals and liquids. A similar euphonic contraction with respect to *est* in verbs is found in Early English. Thus '*bindest*' becomes '*binst*,' '*eatest*' becomes '*est*.' Our '*best*' is a contraction for '*bet-est*,'" *Abb.* 473, where he cites, sweet'st, kind'st, stern'st, secret'st, eld'st, dear'st, loyal'st, great'st, near'st, unpleasant'st, strong'st, short'st, common'st, faithfull'st, far-rant'st.

TRISSYLLABIC MEASURES.

Unmistakeable trissyllabic measures occur in each of the five places, and occasionally two or even three occur in a single line. The complete lines are quoted and the trissyllabic measures are

italicised. As Mr. Abbott seeks to explain away many of these examples by contractions and softenings, I have added the reference to his book wherever he cites the example. But it will be seen that he has not noticed many of these instances.

First Measure Trissyllabic.

Barren winter with his wrathful nip-
ping cold 2H^o 2, 4, 1 (506', 3), *Abb.*
463.

Having God, her conscience, and these
bars against me R³ 1, 2, 88 (560,
235), *Abb.* 466

I beseech your graces both to pardon her
R³ 1, 1, 10 (557, 84), *Abb.* 456.

Naught to do with Mistress Shore ! I
tell thee, fellow R³ 1, 1, 13 (557, 98).

By your power legate within this
kingdom H^o 3, 2, 91 (611, 339).

In election for the Roman empery TA
1, 1, 3 (688', 22).

Second Measure Trissyllabic.

When *capital crimes*, chew'd, swallow'd,
and digested H^o 2, 2, 18 (445, 56).

Succeeding his father Bolingbroke, did
reign H^o 2, 5, 11 (479', 83).

A cockatrice hast thou hatch-ed to the
world R³ 4, 1, 19 (579, 55). This
seems more probable than the pro-
nunciation of *hatch'd* as one syllable,
throwing an emphasis on *thou*. The
folio, however, reads *hatcht*.

That would I learn of you, As one *that*
are best acquainted with her humour
R³ 4, 4, 79 (584, 269). Observe the
construction, *you as one that are*.

Be chosen *with* proclamati-*ons* to-day
TA 1, 1, 25 (690, 190), *Abb.* 479.

Third Measure Trissyllabic.

[This is by far the most common
and most musical position of the tris-
syllabic measure.]

Crouch for employment. *But* pardon,
gentles all. H^o 1, prol. (439, 8).

Appear before us ? *We'll* yet enlarge
that man H^o 2, 2, 18 (445, 56).

These English monsters ! *My Lord* of
Cambridge here H^o 2, 2, 26 (445,
85).

Save ceremony, *save* general ceremony
H^o 4, 1, 67 (457, 256).

And then we'll try *what* these dastard
Frenchmen dare H^o 1, 4, 17 (474',
111).

Myself had notice of your convéncies.
[Or else : *Myself* had notice of your
convéncies] 2H^o 3, 1, 25 (509, 166).

To prove him tyrant *this* reason may
suffice 3H^o 3, 3, 18 (542', 71).

Look, therefore, Lewis, *that* by this
league and marriage 3H^o 3, 3, 18
(542', 74).

The common people *by* numbers swarm
to us 3H^o 4, 2, 1 (545', 2).

I did not kill thy husband. *Why* then
he is alive R³ 1, 2, 22 (558, 92).

I have already. *Tush*, *that* was in thy
rage R³ 1, 2, 67 (559', 188).

Madam, we did ; *he* desires to make
atonement R³ 1, 3, 20 (560', 35).

My lord, good morrow ! *Good* morrow,
Ca-tes-by R³ 3, 2, 28 (573, 76).

At any time *have* recourse unto the
princes R³ 3, 5, 26 (576, 109), *Abb.*
460.

Thy back is sacrifice to the load. They
say H^o 1, 2, 10 (595', 50).

The gentleman is learn'd, and a most
rare speaker H^o 1, 2, 18 (596, 111).

Melt and lament *for* her. O ! God's
will ! much better H^o 2, 3, 2 (602',
12).

Your holy hat *to* be stamp'd on the
king's coin H^o 3, 2, 87 (611, 325).

Quite from their fixure. *O* when degree
is shaken TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 101), *Abb.*
343, in reference to *shaken*.

To doubtful fortunes : *sequestering* from
me all TC 3, 3, 1 (638, 8). As *sé-
quester* occurs, *suprà* p. 931, this
might be possibly, though harshly,
read : To doubtful fortunes *séques-
t'ring* from me all, pronouncing
(sek'estriq).

Did buy each other, *must* poorly sell
ourselves TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 42).

Of dreaded justice, *but* on the ministers
C 3, 3, 47 (674', 98).

Than gilt his trophy : *the* breasts of
Hecuba C 1, 3, 8 (657', 43).

The graves stood tenantless and the
sheeted dead H 1, 1, 50 (812', 115),
Abb. 468, cited in the index only, as
explained by that article, see *suprà*
p. 940, col. 2.

As of a father : *for* let the world take
note H 1, 2, 16 (814, 108).

My father's brother, *but* no more like
my father H 1, 2, 20 (814, 152).

Been thus encounter'd. *A* figure like
your father H 1, 2, 43 (814', 199).

To hang a doubt *on* : *or* *voe* upon thy
life Oth 3, 3, 130 (896, 366).

As Dian's visage *is now* begrim'd or
black Oth 3, 3, 135 (896, 387).
Comfort forswear me! *Unkindness may*
do much Oth 4, 2, 74 (903, 159).

Fourth Measure Trissyllabic.

Shall not be wink'd at, *how shall we*
stretch our eye H⁵ 2, 2, 18 (445, 55).
Which haply by much company might
be urged R³ 2, 2, 38 (569, 137).
Then is he more beholding to you than I
R³ 3, 1, 40 (571', 107).
I was then present, *saw them salute* on
horseback H⁵ 1, 1, 4 (592', 8).
Were hid against me, *now to forgive*
me frankly H⁵ 2, 1, 28 (600, 81).
Deliver this with modesty to the queen
H⁵ 2, 2, 48 (602, 136).
To see the battle. Hector, *whose*
pati-ence TC 1, 2, 4 (623', 4).
Co-rivall'd greatness. *Either to har-*
bour fled TC 1, 3, 2 (626', 44).
Let me not think on't—*Frailty, thy*
name is woman H 1, 2, 20 (814, 146).
This hideous rashness, *answer my life,*
my judgment KL 1, 1, 40 (848', 153).
Abb. 364, cited in the index only, to
explain the subjunctive mood.
On thy too ready hearing? *Disloyal!*
No Cy 3, 2, 1 (956', 6).

Fifth Measure Trissyllabic.

The citizens are mum, and speak *not a*
word R³ 3, 7, 2 (576, 3).
Put in their hands thy bruising irons of
wrath R³ 5, 3, 35 (588', 110).
Turns what he list. The king will
know *him one day*.
Pray God he do! he'll never know
himself else H⁵ 2, 2, 9 (601, 22).
Or maid it not mine too? Or which of
your friends H⁵ 2, 4, 9 (604, 29).
However, yet there is no breach; *when*
it comes H⁵ 4, 1, 40 (613, 106).
Fails in the promis'd largeness; checks
and disasters TC 1, 3, 1 (626, 5).
And curse that justice did it. Who
deserves greatness C 1, 1, 50 (655',

180); or we may contract *did't*, and
beginning with an accented syllable
after the pause thus avoid the trissyl-
labic measure.

Which would increase his evil. He
that depends C 1, 1, 50 (655', 183).
Except immortal Cæsar; speaking of
Brutus JC 1, 1, 30 (765', 60).
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged com-
rade. Beware H 1, 3, 8 (815', 65).

Two Measures Trissyllabic.

Of your great predecessor *king Edward*
the third H⁵ 1, 2, 25 (442', 248),
Abb. 469. The Collier MS. avoids
the two trissyllabic measures by
reading Edward third.
Foul devil, for God's sake hence, and
trouble us not R³ 1, 2, 9 (558', 50).
Either heav'n with lightning strike the
murderer dead R³ 1, 2, 9 (558', 64).
I hope so. I know so. *But gentle*
Lady Anne R³ 1, 2, 39 (559, 114).
Into a general prophecy: *That this*
tempest H⁵ 1, 1, 20 (593', 92).
My surveyor is false; the o'er-great
cardinal H⁵ 1, 1, 57 (594', 222).
To oppose your cunning, you're meek
and humble-mouth'd H⁵ 2, 4, 18
(604', 107).
A royal lady, spake one the least word
that might H⁵ 2, 4, 25 (605, 153),
Abb. 18, 344 for construction only.
Amidst the other; *whose* *medicinable*
eye TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 91).
My surname Coriolanus; *the painful*
service C 4, 5, 42 (678, 74).
Of impious stubbornness; 'tis unmanly
grief H 1, 2, 16 (813', 94).
But suck them up to the top-mast. *A*
kind of conquest Cy 3, 1, 5 (956, 22).

Three Measures Trissyllabic.

To the discontented members, the mu-
tinuous parts C 1, 1, 33 (655, 115),
Abb. 497, quoted in the index only.
Given to captivity me, and my utmost
hope Oth 4, 2, 29 (902, 51).

The following instances are not so well marked as the preceding, and many readers would account for them by an elision; but, the commonness of trissyllabic measures being now established, there seems to be no ground for such a violent remedy. Such trissyllabic measures as the following are frequent enough in modern poetry, where the lightness of the first syllable in the measure (depending on the strong accent on the last syllable of the preceding measure,) would make the use of the three syllables as a measure and a half, appear weak or antiquated. But Shakspeare has no such scruples.

Light Trissyllabic Measures.

Was aptly fitted and naturally per-
form'd TS ind. 1, 25 (230, 87),
Abb. 472. Writers in the xviith
century would use *nat'rally* and even
said (næt'ræli), as we now frequently
hear (nætsh'ræli). But the real
number of syllables in the word ap-
pears from—

Thy deed, inhuman and *unnatural*,
Provokes this deluge most *unnatural*.

R³ 1, 2, 9 (558', 60').

Whom I *unnaturally* shall disinherit,
? *unnat'rally*. 3H⁶ 1, 1, 95 (528',
193).

Your high profession sp'ritual that
again H³ 2, 4, 18 (604', 117), or
spiritu'el that, a tetrasyllabic mea-
sure, felt as a trissyllabic.

Her tears should drop on them per-
petually RL 686 (1020').

For he would needs be virtuous, that
good fellow H³ 2, 2, 47 (602, 133).

His vacancy with his voluptuousness
AC 1, 4, 3 (915, 26).

Upon whose influence Neptune's empire
stands H 1, 1, 50 (812', 119), *Abb.*
204, for the use of upon.

Printing their proud hoofs in the receiv-
ing earth H⁵ 1, prol. (439, 27).

Why so hath this, both by the father
and mother R³ 2, 3, 15 (569', 21).

I took by the throat the circumcis-ed
dog Oth 5, 2, 172 (910, 355).

To the king I'll say't, and make my
vouch as strong H³ 1, 1, 40 (594,
157).

To the water side I must conduct your
grace H³ 2, 1, 30 (600, 95).

In following this usurping Henr-y
3H⁶ 1, 1, 32 (527, 81).

Not well dispos'd, the mind growing
once corrupt H³ 1, 2, 18 (596, 116).

Of one not easily jealous, but being
wrought Oth 5, 2, 172 (910, 351).

Out, loath-ed medicine! hated potion
hence! MN 3, 2, 61 (172, 264).

Into your own hands, Cardinal by ex-
tortion H³ 3, 2, 77 (610', 285).

Would seem hyperboles. At this fusty
stuff TC 1, 3, 8 (627', 161).

That shews good husbandry for the
Volsian state C 4, 7, 5 (681, 22).

The senators and patricians love him
too C 4, 7, 7 (681', 30).

To justice continence and nobility TA
1, 1, 2 (688, 15).

A countenance more in sorrow than in
anger H 1, 2, 62 (815, 232), *Abb.* 468,
cited in index only.

Your mystery, your mystery: nay
dispatch Oth 4, 2, 19 (902, 30).

Effect of courtesy, dues of gratitude
KL 2, 4, 55 (860, 182).

My speculative and officed instruments
Oth 1, 3, 55 (884', 271).

ALEXANDRINE VERSES.

Shakspeare seems never to hesitate to use a pure Alexandrine or six-measure line when it suits his convenience. Such lines also occasionally contain trissyllabic measures. Some of these Alexandrines are well marked, in others the last word has such a strong accent on the last syllable but two that both final syllables fall on the ear rather as an addition to the last measure, a mere superfluous syllable, than a distinct measure by themselves. See *suprà* p. 649, l. 1. These two cases will be separately classed.

Mr. Abbott is always very unwilling to admit Alexandrines. He says: "A proper Alexandrine with six accents, such as 'And nów | by wínds | and wáves | my life|less límb's | are tóssed'—*DRYDEN*, is seldom found in *Shakespeare*," *Abb.* 493, but he admits also that lines with five accents are rare, *suprà* p. 929, n. 1. As he intentionally confuses the number of accents (or syllables bearing a stress) with the number of measures, he and I naturally view verses from different points. The true Alexandrine has a pause at the end of the third measure. It consists therefore of two parts of three measures each. This is very marked in the heroic French Alexandrine, where there must be a natural pause in the sense as well as at the end of a word. Now such Alexandrines Mr. Abbott

calls "Trimeter couplets—of two verses of three accents each," *Abb.* 500, an entirely new conception, whereby normal Alexandrines are made to be no Alexandrines at all. The rule of terminating the third measure with a word is, however, not so strictly followed by English as by French and German writers. Every one admits that the final line in the Spenserian stanza is an Alexandrine, or at least has six measures. Now in the 55 stanzas of the Faery Queen, Book 1, Canto 1, I find 44 perfect Alexandrines (Mr. Abbott's Trimeter Couplets), 9 in which the third measure does not end with a word, and 2 (stanzas 30 and 42) in which, although the third measure ends with a word, the sense allows of no pause. This is quite enough to establish the rule for Shakspeare's contemporaries, to shew that Mr. Abbott's Trimeter Couplets must be considered as regular Alexandrines, and to admit of the non-termination of a word with the third measure, which is inadmissible in French. Mr. Abbott begins by noting Alexandrines which are only so in appearance, "the last foot containing two extra syllables, one of which is *slurred*," (a term phonetically unintelligible to me) *Abb.* 494. These are those previously mentioned, and instanced below. But Mr. Abbott allows these two superfluous syllables to be inserted "at the end of the third or fourth foot," *Abb.* 495, without having any value in the verse. Thus, "The flúx | of cómpany. | Anón | a cáre|less héd," AY 2, 1, 6 (210', 52), is made to have only five "feet," i.e. measures, as is also "To cáll | for récompense : |ap-péar| it tó | your mínd," TC 3, 3, 1 (637', 3), and so on. This may do for "scanners," but will not do for listeners. These lines have distinctly six measures, with the true pause. "In other cases the appearance of an Alexandrine arises from the non-observance of contractions," *Abb.* 496. These "contractions" would have a remarkably harsh effect in the instances cited, even if they were possible. No person accustomed to write verses could well endure lines thus divided: "I dáre| abíde| no lónger (454).| *Whither* (466) should | I flý," M 4, 2, 34 (803', 73). The line belongs to two speeches, and *should* may be emphatic. "She lé|vell'd at | our *púr|pose(s)* (471), ánd, | béing (470) royál," AC 5, 2, 123 (943, 339). Here there are two trissyllabic measures, and no Alexandrine. "All mór|tal cónse|quence(s) (471) háve | pronounced | me thús," M 5, 3, 1 (807, 5). "As mís|ers dó | by béggars (454); | *neither* (466) gáve | to mé," TC 3, 3, 30 (639, 142). Here to me are two superfluous syllables. I should be sorry to buy immunity from Alexandrines at the dreadful price of such Procrustean "scansion." *Abb.* 497, adduces a number of lines which he calls "apparent Alexandrines," and says they "*can be explained*," that is, reduced to five measures, "by the omission of unemphatic syllables." The effect is often as harsh as in those just cited. *Abb.* 498, calls a number of Alexandrines "doubtful," because by various contrivances, reading "on" for "upon" and so on, he can reduce them to five measures. But is this a legitimate method of deducing a poet's usage? Another contrivance is to throw the two first or two last syllables into a line by themselves, *Abb.* 499. Finally we

have the "Trimeter Couplet" (500, 501), "the comic trimeter" (502), and "apparent trimeter couplets" (503), of which enough has been said. In order that the reader may see Mr. Abbott's method of avoiding the acknowledgment of Alexandrines in Shakspere, reference is made to all the passages in which he cites the following examples with that intention.

Well-marked Alexandrines.

Whose honour heav-en shield from
soil ! e'en he escapes not H^s 1, 2, 6
(595, 26).

The monk might be deceiv'd, and that
'twas dang'rous for him H^s 1, 2, 32
(596', 179), *Abb.* 501.

Pray for me ! I must now forsake ye :
the last hour H^s 2, 1, 32 (600', 132).

His highness having lived so long with
her and she H^s 2, 3, 1 (602', 2).

Still growing in a majesty and pomp,
the which H^s 2, 3, 1 (602', 7).

As soul and body's severing. Alas !
poor lady ! H^s 2, 3, 3 (602', 16).

More worth than empty vanities, yet
prayers and wishes H^s 2, 3, 22 (603,
69).

O'ertopping woman's power. Madam,
you do me wrong H^s 2, 4, 17 (604',
88).

And patches will I get unto these
cudgell'd scars H^s 5, 1, 27 (464', 94),
Abb. 501.

A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing
pleasing tongue R^s 1, 1, 11 (557,
94), *Abb.* 498.

Say that I slew them not. Why then
they are not dead R^s 1, 2, 20 (558',
89), *Abb.* 500, cited in index only.

I did not kill thy husband. Why then
he is alive R^s 1, 2, 22 (558, 9).

I would I knew thy heart. 'Tis figured
in my tongue R^s 1, 2, 69-79 (559',
192-202). These six Alexandrines
are by some considered to be twelve
six-syllable lines, and, as there is an
odd line of six syllables, v. 203, there
is considerable ground for this sup-
position. We must not forget, how-
ever, that Alexandrines are very
common in R^s, and that the odd line
can be explained by an amphistych,
suprà p. 928, n. 1, *Abb.* 500.

And hugg'd me in his arm, and kindly
kiss'd my cheek R^s 2, 2, 9 (568, 24).

Which since succeeding ages have re-
edified R^s 3, 1, 20 (571, 71), *Abb.*
494, cited in index only.

Thou'rt sworn as deeply to effect, what
we intend R^s 3, 1, 70 (572, 158),
Abb. 497.

She intends unto his holiness. I may
perceive H^s 2, 4, 31 (605', 235).

His practices to light. Most strangely.
O, how, how ? H^s 3, 2, 8 (608, 28).

And flies fled under shade, why, then
the thing of courage TC 1, 3, 2
(626', 51).

Speak, Prince of Ithaca ; and be't of
less expect TC 1, 3, 4 (626', 70).

Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow
factions TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 80).

What honey is expected. Degree being
vizarded TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 83).

And sanctify their numbers. Prophet
may you be ! TC 3, 2, 49 (637', 190).

To call for recompense. Appear it to
your mind TC 3, 3, 1 (637', 3).
Abb. 458 (miscited as v. 8), 495.

In most accepted pain. Let Diomedes
hear him TC 3, 3, 3 (638, 30).

Not going from itself: but eye to eye
opposed TC 3, 3, 28 (638', 107).

That has he knows not what. Nature,
what things there are TC 3, 3, 29
(639, 127).

In monumental mockery. Take the
instant way TC 3, 33, 1 (639, 153).

To see us here unarm'd : I have a
woman's longing TC 3, 3, 41 (640,
237).

And tell me, noble Diomed ; faith, tell
me true TC 4, 1, 18 (641, 51).

The cockle of rebellion, insolence, sedi-
tion C 3, 1, 42 (669', 70), *Abb.*
497, cited in index only.

Insult without all reason, where gentry,
title, wisdom C 3, 1, 62 (670, 144),
Abb. 501, cited in index only.

The warlike service he has done, con-
sider ; think C 3, 3, 26 (674, 49),
Abb. 512, where *think* is treated as
a separate "interjectional line."

As 'tis to laugh at 'em. My mother,
you wot well C 4, 1, 5 (675', 27).

Whose house, whose bed, whose meal,
and exercise C 4, 4, 7 (677, 14).

To thee particularly, and to all the
Volsces C 4, 5, 42 (678, 72).

Therefore away with her, and use her
as ye will TA 2, 3, 33 (696, 166).

Witness this wretched stump, witness
these crimson lines TA 5, 2, 6 (708, 22).
And when he's sick to death, let not
that part of nature Tim 3, 1, 15
(749', 64).

The memory be green and that it us
befitted H 1, 2, 1 (813, 2).

'Tis sweet and commendable in your
nature, Hamlet H 1, 2, 16 (813',
87), *Abb.* 490, who accentuates *com-
mendable*, agreeably to MV 1, 1, 23
(182, 111), in which case there are
two trissyllabic measures in the line.

That father lost, lost his, and the sur-
vivor bound H 1, 2, 16 (813', 90).

Are burnt and purged away. But that
I am forbid H 1, 5, 10 (817', 13).

The sway, revenue, execution of the rest
KL 1, 1, 37 (848', 139), *Abb.* 497,
cited in the index only.

When pow'r to flattery bows? To
plainness honour's bound KL 1, 1,
40 (848', 150), *Abb.* 501, cited in
the index only.

Of such a thing as thou, to fear, not to
delight Oth 1, 2, 27 (881', 71), *Abb.*
405, for the construction only.

Hath this extent, no more. Rude am
I in my speech Oth 1, 3, 32 (883, 81).

Lightly-marked Alexandrines,

or Verses of Five Measures with Two Superfluous Syllables.

And that you come to reprehend my
ignorance R³ 3, 7, 25 (577, 113),
Abb. 487.

The supreme seat, the throne majestic
R³ 3, 7, 28 (577, 118).

All unavoided is the doom of destiny
R³ 4, 4, 58 (583', 217).

Which I do well; for I am sure the
emperor H⁸ 1, 1, 42 (594', 186).

Wherein? and what taxation? My
lord cardinal H⁸ 1, 2, 8 (595, 38).

That's Christian care enough for living
murmurers H⁸ 2, 2, 47 (602, 131).

Is our best having. By my troth and
maidenhead H⁸ 2, 3, 6 (602', 23).

But what makes robbers bold but too
much lenity 3H⁶ 2, 6, 1 (537', 22).

Her looks do argue her replete with
modesty 3H⁶ 3, 2, 61 (540', 84).

I that am rudely stamp'd and want
love's majesty R³ 1, 1, 1 (556, 16),
Abb. 467, cited in index only.

Lord Hastings was to her for his
delivery R³ 1, 1, 8 (557, 75), *Abb.*
494, cited in index only.

I was: but I do find more pain in
banishment R³ 1, 3, 54 (562, 168).

Go to, I'll make ye know your times of
bu-si-ness H⁸ 2, 2, 24 (601', 72),

In speaking for myself. Yet, by your
gracious patience Oth 1, 3, 32 (883,
89).

Is once to be resolv'd. Exchange me
for a goat Oth 3, 3, 74 (894, 180).

Matching thy inference. 'Tis not to
make me jealous. Oth 3, 3, 74 (894,
183).

A séquester from liberty, fasting and
prayer Oth 3, 4, 24 (897, 40).

And knowing what I am, I know what
she shall be Oth 4, 1, 35 (899', 74).

That the sense aches at thee, would
thou hadst ne'er been born Oth 4, 2,
31 (902', 69).

Why should he call her whore? who
keeps her company? Oth 4, 2, 70
(903, 137).

Acquire too high a fame, when him we
serve's away AC 3, 1, 3 (924', 15).

Some wine, within there, and our
viands! Fortune knows AC 3, 11,
28 (929', 73).

Do something mingle with our younger
brown, yet ha' we AC 4, 8, 3 (935, 20).

And in 's spring became a harvest,
lived in court Cy 1, 1, 11 (944', 46).

Such griefs as you yourself do lay upon
yourself P 1, 2, 12 (979', 66).

busi-ness in three syllables, as usual
in Shakspere.

Or touch of her good person? My lord
cardinal H⁸ 2, 4, 26 (605, 156).

Believe me, she has had much wrong,
lord cardinal H⁸ 3, 1, 13 (606', 48).

You're full of heav'nly stuff, and bear
the inventory H⁸ 3, 2, 53 (609, 137).

I am not worthy yet to wear: I shall
assuredly H⁸ 4, 2, 17 (614', 92).

'Tis like a pardon after executi-on H⁸
4, 2, 31 (615, 121).

Heav'n knows how dearly! My next
poor petiti-on H⁸ 4, 2, 37 (615, 138).

He chid Andromache and struck his
armourer TC 1, 2, 4 (623', 6).

They tax our policy and call it cowar-
dice TC 1, 3, 10 (627', 197).

As feel in his own fall: for men, like
butterflies TC 3, 3, 24 (638', 78).

The reasons are more potent and
heroical TC 3, 3, 33 (639', 181).

Flowing and swelling o'er with arts
and exercise TC 4, 4, 29 (643, 80).

Like labour with the rest, where the
other instruments C 1, 1, 31 (655,
104).

And, mutually participate, did minister
C 1, 1, 31 (655, 106).

Shaksperian "Resolutions," Dissyllables corresponding to Modern Monosyllables.

The following instances of the resolution of one syllable into two, (as they seem to modern readers, who in fact have run two syllables together,) are so marked that it is impossible not to recognize that they were cases of actual accepted and familiar dissyllabic pronunciation. They occur in the most solemn and energetic speeches, where the resolution at present would have a weak and traily effect, such as no modern, even in direct imitation of an old model, would venture to write. We must therefore conclude that all the cases were habitually dissyllabic, and that those numerous cases, where they appear to be monosyllabic as at present, must be explained as instances of trissyllabic measures, Alexandrines, or lines with two superfluous syllables.

Mr. Abbott, however, by his heading "lengthening of words," *Abb.* 477, seems to consider the modern usage to be the normal condition, and the resolution to be the licence. Historically this view is incorrect, and the practise of orthoepists, though subject to the objection that "they are too apt to set down, not what is, but what [they imagine] ought to be," *Abb.* 479,—is all the other way. See Gill on Synæresis, *suprà* p. 937. *Abb.* 481, observes that "monosyllables which are emphatic either (1) from their meaning, as in the case of exclamations, or (2) from their use in antithetical sentences, or (3) which contain diphthongs, or (4) vowels preceding *r*, often take the place of a foot." The examples *Abb.* 481-486, are worth studying, but except in the case of *r*, they appear to be explicable rather by pauses, four-measure lines, accidentally or purposely defective lines, and such like, than by making *go-od*, *bo-ot*, *go-ad*, *fri-ends*, etc., of two syllables, or *daughte-r*, *siste-r*, *murde-r*, *horro-rs*, *ple-asure*, etc., of three syllables, which would be quite opposed to anything we know of early pronunciation. I have, however, referred to all Mr. Abbott's observations on the following citations.

Miscellaneous Resolutions.

And come against us in full *pu-is-sance*
2H⁴ 1, 3, 14 (414', 77).

Here's *Glow-ces-ter* a foe to citizens
H⁶ 1, 3, 25 (473, 62).

Abominable *Glow-ces-ter*, guard thy head
H⁶ 1, 3, 33 (473', 87).

Well, let them rest. Come hither,
Ca-tes-by. R³ 3, 1, 70 (572, 157).

Or horse or oxen from the *le-opard*
H⁶ 1, 5, 5 (475, 31), *Abb.* 484.

Divinest *cre-ature*, *Astræa's* daughter
H⁶ 1, 6, 2 (475, 4), *Abb.* 479,
where he cites: You have done our
ple-asures much grace, fair ladies
Tim 1, 2, 37 (745', 151). Although
he corroborates this division by some
passages of Beaumont and Fletcher,
cited from (S.?) Walker, without com-
plete reference, it must surely be a mis-
take. In the passages from Beaumont

and Fletcher *pleasures* is the last word of the line, which may in each case have had only four measures with one superfluous syllable. The word *pleasure* occurs very frequently in Shakspeare, and, apparently, always as a dissyllable, except in this one passage. This leads us to suppose the line to have only four measures, thus: You have done | our plea- | -sures much grace | fair la- | dies, just as the next line but three: You have ad- | ded worth | unto't | and lus- | tre; which again is closely followed by a line of three measures: I am | to thank | you for't |, shewing the, probably designedly, irregular character of the whole complimentary speech.

The Earl of Pembroke keeps his *regi-ment* R³ 5, 3, 10 (587', 29).

His *regi-ment* lies half a mile at least
R³ 5, 3, 11 (587', 37).

But deck'd with *di-amonds* and Indian
stones 3 H⁶ 3, 1, 16 (539, 63).

These signs have mark'd me *extra-ordinary* H⁴ 3, 1, 11 (395', 41).

Afford no *extra-ordinary* gaze H⁴ 3, 2, 3 (398, 78).

The false revolting Normans *thor-ough*
thee 2H⁶ 4, 1, 26 (515', 87), *Abb.* 478.

To shew her bleeding body *thor-ough*,
Rome RL 1861 (1030').

To be reveng'd on Rivers, *Vaugh-an*,
Grey R³ 1, 3, 102 (563', 333). This
name appears to be always dissylla-
bic. See the next two instances.

With them Sir Thomas *Vaugh-an*,
prison-ers R³ 2, 4, 24 (570, 43).

With Rivers, *Vaugh-an*, Grey; and so
'twill do R³ 3, 2, 25 (573, 67).

Till in her ashes she lie *buried* H⁵ 3,
3, 1 (450, 9), *Abb.* 474, cited in index
only.

The lustful Edward's title *buried*
3 H⁶ 3, 2, 81 (541, 129).

That came too lag to see him *buried*
R³ 2, 1, 26 (567, 90).

All circumstances well *consider-ed* R³
3, 7, 30 (577', 176), *Abb.* 474.

Please it, your Grace, to be *advertis-ed*
2 H⁶ 4, 9, 7 (521, 23).

For by my scouts I was *advertis-ed*
3 H⁶ 2, 1, 18 (533, 116).

As I by friends am well *advertis-ed*
R³ 4, 4, 163 (586, 501), *Abb.* 491.

And when this arm of mine hath *chds-
tis-ed* R³ 4, 4, 88 (584', 331), *Abb.*
491.

Tybalt is gone and Romeo *banish-ed*
RJ 3, 2, 12 (727', 69); 3, 2, 19
(728', 113). So unwilling are mod-
ern actors to pronounce this *-ed*,
that I have heard the line left imper-
fect, or eked out by repeating—
banisht, banisht.

Sanctuary.

Go thou to *sanct'ry* and good thoughts
possess thee R³ 4, 1, 28 (579, 94)
Abb. 468.

Of blessed *sanc-t'ry*! not for all this
land R³ 3, 1, 13 (571, 42).

Have taken *sanc-tua-ry*; the tender
princes R³ 3, 1, 11 (570', 28).

You break not *sanc-tua-ry* in seizing
him R³ 3, 1, 14 (571, 47).

Off have I heard of *sanc-tu-a-ry* men
R³ 3, 1, 14 (571, 56).

The Terminations, *-tion*, *-sion*.

Whose manners still our tardy apish
na-tion

Limps after in base *imitati-on* KJ 2,
1, 4 (362, 22). This is not meant
for a rhyme, it occurs in blank verse,
and if it rhymed, the second line
would be defective by a whole mea-
sure. As it stands, the first line has
two superfluous syllables.

With titles blown from *adulati-on*.
H⁶ 4, 1, 67 (457, 271).

Will'd me to leave my base *vocati-on*
H⁶ 1, 2, 49 (471', 80).

First will I see the *coronati-on* 3 H⁶ 2,
6, 22 (538', 96).

Tut, that's a foolish *observati-on* 3 H⁶
2, 6, 25 (538', 108).

O then hurl down their *indignati-on*
R³ 1, 3, 63 (562', 220).

Give me no help in *lamentati-on* R³ 2,
2, 20 (568, 66).

To sit about the *coronati-on* R³ 3, 1,
74 (572, 173).

It is and wants but *nominati-on* R³ 3,
4, 3 (574, 5).

Divinely bent to *meditati-on* R³ 3, 7,
13, (576', 62).

But on his knees at *meditati-on* R³ 3,
7, 16 (576', 73).

And hear your mother's *lamentati-on*
R³ 4, 4, 2 (581', 14).

Thus will I drown your *exclamati-ons*
R³ 4, 4, 29 (582', 153).

Now fills thy sleep with *perturbati-ons*
R³ 5, 3, 45 (589, 161).

A buzzing of a *separati-on* H⁶ 2, 1, 38
(600', 148).

Into my private *meditati-ons* H⁶ 2, 2,
22 (601', 66).

Only about her *coronati-on* H⁶ 3, 2,
106 (611, 407).

Besides the applause and *approbati-on*
TC 1, 3, 3 (626', 59).

As he being drest to some *orati-on* TC
1, 3, 8 (627', 166).

To bring the roof to the *foundati-on*
C 3, 1, 91 (671, 206).

Abated captives to some *nati-on* C 3,
3, 55 (675, 132).

Let molten coin be thy *damnati-on*
Tim 3, 1, 15 (749', 55).

Out of the teeth of *emulati-on* JC 2, 3,
1, (773', 14).

This present object made *probat-i-on*
H 1, 1, 57 (812', 156).

Of Hamlet's *transformati-on*; so call
it H 2, 2, 1 (820, 5), *Abb.* 479,
where he observes that the only
other instances of *-ti-on* preceded by

a vowel in the middle of a line which he has been able to collect are: With *observati-on* the which he vents AY 2, 7, 8 (213', 41), and: Be chosen with *proclamat-i-ons* to-day TA 1, 1, 25 (690, 190), but when preceded by *c*, as in *action*, *perfection*, *affections*, *distraction*, *election*, he cites six instances. Numerous other cognate cases, cited below, prove, however, that such rarity was merely accidental, and not designed. The instance cited below p. 952, as an Alexandrine by resolution, Mr. Abbott would probably scan: For dep[ra]va[tion] to square| the gen[er]al sex TC 5, 2, 102 (649, 132), admitting a trissyllabic foot to avoid an Alexandrine.

But yet an *un-ion* in *partiti-on* MN 3, 2, 43 (171', 210).

We must bear all. O hard *conditi-on*. H^s 4, 1, 67 (457, 250).

This day shall gentle his *conditi-on* H^s 4, 3, 10 (458', 63).

Virtue is choked with foul *ambiti-on* 2 H^s 3, 1, 25 (508', 143).

Than a great queen, with this *conditi-on* R^s 1, 3, 35 (561', 108).

Who intercepts my *expediti-on*? R^s 4, 4, 24 (582' 136).

Thrice fam'd beyond all *eruditi-on* TC 2, 3, 93 (634', 254).

I do not strain at the *positi-on* TC 3, 3, 29 (638', 112).

To undercrest your good *additi-on* C 1, 9, 11 (661', 72).

Meanwhile must be an earnest *moti-on* H^s 2, 4, 31 (605', 233).

God shield I should disturb *devoti-on* RJ 4, 1, 24 (733, 41).

Enforced us to this *executi-on* R^s 3, 5, 16 (575', 46).

To do some fatal *executi-on* TA 2, 3, 3 (694', 36).

So is he now in *executi-on* JC 1, 1, 85 (767', 301).

Which smok'd with bloody *executi-on* M 1, 2, 3 (788', 18).

The brightest heav-en of *inventi-on* H^s 1, prol. (439', 2).

Did push it out of further *questi-on* H^s 1, 1, 1 (439', 5).

All out of work and cold for *acti-on* H^s 1, 2, 10 (441', 114).

After the taste of much *correcti-on* H^s 2, 2, 17 (445, 51).

To scourge you for this *apprehensi-on* H^s 2, 4, 37 (478', 102).

To *ques-tion* of his *apprehensi-on* 3 H^s 3, 2, 80 (541, 122).

Thy son I kill'd for his *presumpti-on* 3 H^s 5, 6, 11 (554', 34).

E'en for revenge mock my *destructi-on* R^s 5, 1, 3 (587, 9).

To keep mine honour from *corrupti-on* H^s 4, 2, 12 (614, 71), compare: *Corruption wins not more than honesty* H^s 3, 2, 109 (612, 445), where there must be a trissyllabic measure.

To us in our *electi-on* this day TA 1, 1, 37 (690, 235).

Which dreads not yet their lives *destructi-on* TA 2, 3, 3 (694', 50).

Wanting a hand to give it *acti-on* TA 5, 2, 4 (703, 17).

When sects and *facti-ons* were newly born Tim 3, 5, 6 (752', 30).

But for your private *satisfacti-on* JC 2, 2, 20 (773, 72).

As whence the sun 'gins his *reflecti-on* M 1, 2, 5 (788', 25).

O master! what a strange *infecti-on* Cy 3, 2, 1 (956', 3).

For, by the way, I'll sort *occasi-on* R^s 2, 2, 43 (569, 148).

This we prescribe through no *physi-sici-an*

Deep malice makes too deep *incisi-on* R^s 1, 1, 19 (357', 154). The quartos read *phisition*, the first two folios *physition*. Thus justifying the rhyme, which is on the last syllable.

When they next wake, all this *derisi-on* Shall seem a dream and fruitless *visi-on*.

MN 3, 2, 92 (173, 370). The rhyme is on the *-on*, to make it on the *-is* would be to lose a measure in each verse.

Some say the lark makes sweet *divisi-on* RJ 3, 4, 5 (730', 29).

Jove, Jove! this shepherd's *passi-on* Is much upon my *fashi-on* AY 2, 4, 19 (212, 61).

Observe that the rhyme is here an identical one, on the final syllable *-on*, as in the two preceding cases, and that it is *not* a double rhyme (*pash-un*, *fash-un*) like the modern (*pæsh-en*, *fæsh-en*), as this would make each line defective by a measure. The following examples shew that *pas-si-on*, *fash-i-on*, were really trissyllables. The apparent double rhyme *passion*, *fashion*, which occurs three times, is really an assonance of (*-as-*, *-ash-*), and will be so treated under assonances, see S with SH and Z, below. It is necessary to be careful on this point, because readers not aware of the trissyllabic nature of *passion*, *fashion*, or the use of assonances in

Shakspere, might by such rhymes be led to imagine the change of *-sion* into (*-shun*), of which the only trace in Shakspere's time, is in the anonymous grammar cited, *suprà* p. 916.

Bear with him, Brutus, 'tis his *fashi-on* JC 4, 3, 55 (782, 135).

You break into some merry *passi-on* TS ind. 1, 27 (230, 97).

'A re' to plead Hortensio's *passi-on*

'C fa ut' that loves with all *affecti-on* TS 3, 1, 27 (240', 74).

This is it that makes me bridle *passi-on* 3 H⁶ 4, 4, 8 (547, 19).

I feel my master's *passi-on*! this slave Tim 3, 1, 15 (749', 59).

Whilst our *commissi-on* from Rome is read H⁸ 2, 4, 1 (603', 1).

He speaks by leave and by *permissi-on* JC 3, 1, 77 (776', 239).

Other Terminations in *-ion*.

It is *reli-gion* that doth make vows kept;

But thou has sworn against *religi-on* KJ 3, 1, 53 (342', 279).

Turns insurrec-tion to *religi-on* 2 H⁴ 1, 1, 34 (411', 201).

'Twas by *rebelli-on* against his king 3 H⁶ 1, 1, 59 (527', 133).

I would not for a *milli-on* of gold TA 2, 1, 8 (693, 49).

Could never be her mild *compani-on* P 1, 1, 4 (977', 18).

And formless ruin of *oblivi-on* TC 4, 5, 72 (645', 167).

Swill'd with the wild and wasteful *oce-an* H⁵ 3, 1, 1 (448', 14).

Final *-ience*, *-ient*, *-ious*, *-iage*, *-ial*, *-ier*.

Then let us teach our trial *pati-ence* MN 1, 1, 31 (162', 152).

Lest to thy harm thou move our *pati-ence* R³ 1, 3, 73 (562', 248).

Right well, dear madam. By your *pati-ence* R³ 4, 1, 6 (578', 15).

Then *pa-ti-ent-ly* hear my *impa-ti-ence* R³ 4, 4, 32 (582', 156).

To see the battle. Hector whose *pati-ence* TC 1, 2, 4 (623', 4).

Fearing to strengthen that *impati-ence* JC 2, 1, 63 (771', 248).

Dangers, doubts, wringing of the *consci-ence* H⁸ 2, 2, 11 (601, 28).

For policy sits above *consci-ence* Tim 3, 2, 24 (750', 94).

And yet 'tis almost 'gainst my *consci-ence* H 5, 2, 111 (845, 307).

Know the whole world he is as *vali-ant* TC 2, 3, 86 (634, 243).

For I do know Fluellen *vali-ant* H⁵ 4, 7, 53 (462, 187).

Were not revenge *suffici-ent* for me 3 H⁶ 1, 3, 10 (530, 26).

If you should smile he grows *impati-ent* TS ind. 1, 27 (230, 99).

Be *pa-tient*, gentle queen, and I will stay. Who can be *pati-ent* in such extremes?

3 H⁶ 1, 1, 109 (528', 214), *Abb.* 476.

I can no longer hold me *pati-ent* R³ 1, 3, 50 (562, 157).

How *fur-ious* and *impati-ent* they be TA 2, 1, 14, (693', 76).

Than the sea monster! Pray, sir, be *pati-ent* KL 1, 4, 89 (854, 283).

Heav'n, be thou *graci-ous* to none alive H⁶ 1, 4, 15 (474, 85).

The forest walks are wide and *spaci-ous* TA 2, 1, 25 (693', 113).

Confess yourself wondrous *malici-ous* C 1, 1, 29 (655, 91).

Hath told you Cæsar was *ambiti-ous*, But Brutus says he was *ambiti-ous*,

Did this in Cæsar seem *ambiti-ous* JC 3, 2, 30 (777', 83. 91. 95. 98. 103).

Therefore 'tis certain he was not *ambiti-ous* JC 3, 2, 34 (778, 117), where the line is therefore Alexandrine, or rather with two superfluous syllables.

Why so didst thou: seem they *religi-ous* H⁵ 2, 2, 26 (445', 130).

Methinks my lord should be *religi-ous* H⁶ 3, 1, 15 (480, 54).

To England's king in lawful *mar-ri-age* 3 H⁶ 3, 3, 15 (542, 57).

Is now dishonour'd by this new *mar-riage* 3 H⁶ 4, 1, 14 (544', 33).

And in his wisdom hastes our *marri-age* RJ 4, 1, 4 (732', 11).

For honesty and decent *car-ri-age* H⁸ 4, 2, 37 (615, 145).

Too flattering sweet to be *substanti-al* RJ 2, 2, 33 (720', 141).

He would himself have been a *soldi-er* H⁴ 1, 3, 6 (385', 64).

With some few bands of chosen *soldi-ers* 3 H⁶ 3, 3, 55 (543', 204).

The counsellor heart, the arm our *soldi-er* C 1, 1, 34 (655, 120).

But he's a tried and valiant *soldi-er* JC 4, 1, 12 (780, 28), *Abb.* 479.

You say you are a better *soldi-er* JC 4, 3, 20 (781, 51).

Final *-or*, *-ir*, *-er*, after a Vowel.

May-or, farewell, thou dost but what thou mayst He 1, 3, 32 (473', 85).

He sent command to the lord *may-or* straight H⁸ 2, 1, 39 (600', 151).

The *we-ird* sisters hand in hand M 1, 3, 12 (789', 31), *Abb.* 484.

I mean, my lords, those *pow-ers* that the queen 3 H⁶ 5, 3, 1 (552, 7).

But you have *pow-er* in me as a kinsman R³ 3, 1, 41 (571', 109).

The greatest strength and *pow-er* he can make R³ 4, 4, 138 (585', 449).

But she with vehement *pray-ers* urgeth still RL 475 (1019).

I would prevail if *pray-ers* might prevail H⁶ 3, 1, 20 (480', 67).

With daily *pray-ers* all to that effect R³ 2, 2, 6 (567', 15).

And, see, a book of *pray-er* in his hand R³ 3, 7, 28 (577, 98).

My *pray-ers* on the adverse party fight R³ 4, 4, 46 (583, 190).

Hath turn'd my *feign-ed pray-ers* on my head R³ 5, 1, 5 (587, 21), *Abb.* 479.

Make of your *pray-ers* one sweet sacrifice H⁶ 2, 1, 27 (600, 77).

Almost forgot my *pray-ers* to content him H³ 3, 1, 29 (607, 132).

Men's *pray-ers* then would seek you, not their fears H⁸ 5, 3, 24 (618', 83).

If I could pray to move, *pray-ers* would move me JC 3, 1, 30 (774', 58).

These instances shew that the word *pray-er* must always be considered as a dissyllable, and that no distinction could have been made, as now, between *pray-er* one who prays (*preer*), and *prayer* the petition he utters (*preer*), but both were (*prai-er*). The possibility of the *r* having been vocal (*r*), however, appears from the next list of words.

Syllabic R. *Abb.* 477. 480.

You sent me deputy to *I-re-land* H³ 3, 2, 73 (610, 260).

And in compassion weep the *fi-re* out R² 5, 1, 4 (376', 48).

Away with him and make a *fi-re* straight TA 1, 1, 14 (689', 127).

As *fi-re* drives out *fi-re*, so pity, pity JC 3, 1, 65 (775', 171). Here I read the second *fi-re* as also dissyllabic, introducing a trissyllabic measure.

Should make *desi-re* vomit emptiness Cy 1, 6, 9 (949', 45).

We have no reason to *desi-re* it P 1, 3, 10 (980', 37).

And were they but *atti-r'd* in grave weeds TA 3, 1, 5 (698, 43).

To stab at half an *hou-r* of my life 2 H⁴ 4, 5, 31 (432, 109).

How many *hou-rs* bring about the day 3 H⁶ 2, 5, 1 (536', 27).

So many *hou-rs* must I, etc. 3 H⁶ 2, 5, 1 (536', 31-35).

If this right hand would buy two *hou-rs* life 3 H⁶ 2, 6, 21 (538, 80).

'Tis not an *hou-r* since I left him there TA 2, 3, 60 (696', 256).

Richly in two short *hou-rs*. Only they H⁸ prol. (592, 13).

These should be *hou-rs* for necessities H⁸ 5, 1, 3 (615', 2).

One *hou-r's* storm will drown the fragrant meads TA 2, 4, 8 (697', 54).

Long after this, when *Hen-r-y* the Fifth H⁶ 2, 5, 11 (479', 82).

But how he died, God knows, not *Hen-r-y* 2 H⁶ 3, 2, 29 (512, 131).

But let my sov'reign vir-tuous *Hen-r-y* 2 H⁶ 5, 1, 8 (522', 48).

In following this usurping *Hen-r-y* 3 H⁶ 1, 1, 32 (527, 81).

I am the son of *Hen-r-y* the Fifth 3 H⁶ 1, 1, 46 (527', 107).

So would you be again to *Hen-r-y* 3 H⁶ 3, 1, 26 (539', 95).

You told not how *Hen-ry* the Sixth hath lost All that which *Hen-r-y* the Fifth had gotten 3 H⁶ 3, 3, 23 (542', 89).

So stood the state when *Hen-r-y* the Sixth R³ 2, 3, 13 (569', 15).

As I remember, *Hen-r-y* the Sixth R³ 4, 2, 45 (580', 98), *Abb.* 477, cited in index only.

In our sustaining corn. A *sen-tr-y* send forth KL 4, 4, 1 (870, 5), an Alexandrine, the word is spelled variously, *century* in early quartos and late folios, and *centery* in the first two folios, indicating its trissyllabic pronunciation.

Who cannot want the thought how *mons-tr-ous* M 3, 6, 1 (800', 8), *Abb.* 477.

But who is man that is not *ang-r-y*? Tim 3, 5, 9 (752', 57), *Abb.* 477.

Lavinia will I make my *em-pr-ess* TA 1, 1, 37 (690', 240).

And will create thee *em-pr-ess* of Rome TA 1, 1, 64 (691, 320).

And make proud Saturnine and his *em-pr-ess* TA 3, 1, 56 (700', 298), but in two syllables in: Our *em-pr-ess* shame and stately Rome's disgrace TA 4, 2, 24 (703, 60), unless we venture to read the line as an Alexandrine, thus: Our *em-pr-ess-es* shame, and stately Rome's disgrace, which is, however, somewhat forced.

After the prompter for our *en-tr-ance* RJ 1, 4, 2 (716', 7).

Farewell: commend me to your mis-
-tr-ess RJ 2, 4, 81 (723', 204).
Make way to lay them by their breth-
-r-en TA 1, 1, 9 (689, 89).
Good, good, my lord; the se-cr-ets of
nature TC 4, 2, 35 (642, 74).

Syllabic L.

Me thinks his lordship should be
hum-bl-er H⁶ 3, 1, 16 (480', 56).
You, the great toe of this assem-bl-y
C 1, 1, 45 (655', 159), *Abb.* 477.
While she did call me rascal fid-dl-er
TS 2, 1, 45 (238, 158), *Abb.* 477.
A rotten case abides no han-dl-ing
2 H⁴ 4, 1, 26 (427, 161), *Abb.* 477.
Does thoughts unveil in their dumb
cra-dl-es TC 3, 3, 35 (639', 200),
Abb. 487. This line has much ex-

ercised commentators, who propose
to read *dumb crudities*, *dim crudities*,
dumb oracles, *dumb orat'ries*, *dumb*
cradles laid, *dumb radicles*, *dim par-*
ticles, *dumb characters*. The pre-
ceding and following examples shew
that there is no metrical, as there is
certainly no rational ground for such
dim crudities.

Than Bolingbroke's return to Eng-l-
-and R² 4, 1, 4 (373', 17), *Abb.* 477.
And mean to make her queen of Eng-
-l-and R³ 4, 4, 74 (584, 263), *Abb.*
477. The folios read *do intend* for
mean, and thus avoid this resolution.
Lies rich in virtue and unming-l-ed
TC 1, 3, 1 (626', 30).
O me! you jug-gl-er! you canker blossom
MN 3, 2, 69 (172, 282), *Abb.* 477.

These numerous examples of unmistakeable resolutions, trissyllabic measures, and Alexandrines, will shew us that we must consider the following, which are only an extremely small sample out of an extremely large number, as trissyllabic measures, and Alexandrine verses, or lines with two superfluous syllables, arising from real, though frequently disregarded, resolutions.

Trissyllabic Measures from Resolution.

His pray-ers are full of false hypocrisy;
Our pray-ers do outpray his; then let
them have
That mercy which true pray-er ought
to have,
R² 5, 3, 36 (379', 107, 109).
Upon the power and pu-iss-ance of the
king 2 H⁴ 1, 3, 2 (414, 9).
The prayers of holy saints and wrong-
-ed souls R³ 5, 3, 61 (589', 241).
Or but allay, the fire of passi-on. Sir
H⁶ 1, 1, 37 (594, 149).

Prithee to bed and in thy pray-ers re-
member H⁶ 5, 1 23 (616, 73).
Stand forth and with bold spirit relate
what you H⁶ 1, 2, 19 (596, 129).
A marriage twixt the Duke of Orleans
and H⁶ 2, 4, 26 (605, 174).
Our aery bullfinch in the cedar's top
R³ 1, 3, 81 (563, 264). Your aery
buildeth in our aery's nest R³ 1, 3,
82 (563, 270). Both instances are
doubtful, but see *suprà* p. 881, sub.
airy.

Alexandrines with Internal Resolutions.

His eyes do drop no tears, his pray-ers
are in jest R² 5, 3, 36 (379', 101),
Abb. 497 or 501, cited in index only.
So tediously away. The poor con-
demn-ed English H⁵ 4, prol. (454',
22).
To wit, an indigested and deform-ed
lump 3 H⁶ 5, 6, 12 (554', 51).
Environ'd me about, and howl-ed in
mine ears R³ 1, 4, 8 (564, 59), *Abb.*
460, where he avoids the Alexan-
drine by pronouncing 'viron'd m'
about.

To base declensi-on and loath-ed bigamy
R³ 3, 7, 30 (577', 189).
They vex me past my pati-ence! Pray
you, pass on H⁶ 2, 4, 23 (605, 130).
For depravati-on to square the general
sex TC 5, 2, 102 (649, 132).
Rome's readiest champi-ons, repose you
here in rest TA 1, 1, 19 (689', 151).
Make me less graci-ous, or thee more
fortunate TA 2, 1, 3 (693, 32).
The fair Opheli-a! Nymphs in thy
orisons H³, 1, 19 (826, 89), *Abb.*
469, cited in index only.

Alexandrines with Final Resolutions, or Five-measure Verses with two Superfluous Syllables.

Were't not that, by great preservati-on
R³ 3, 5, 14 (575', 36).

That I have been your wife in this
obedi-ence H⁶ 2, 4, 9 (604, 35).

Of every realm that did debate this
bus-iness H^s 2, 4, 9 (604, 52).

In the deep bosom of the ocean *buried*
R^s 1, 1, 1 (556, 4).

I that am curtail'd of this fair *propor-*
ti-on R^s 1, 1, 1 (556, 18).

And that so lamely and *unfashi-onable*
R^s 1, 1, 1 (556, 22), *Abb.* 397, for
adverbial use only.

What means this scene of rude *im-*
pati-ence R^s 2, 2, 15 (568, 38).

We come not by the way of *accusati-on*
H^s 3, 1, 14 (606', 55).

There's order given for her *coronati-on*
H^s 3, 2, 21 (608, 46).

Since you provoke me, shall be most
notori-ous H^s 3, 2, 77 (610', 287).

Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away
ambiti-on H^s 3, 2, 109 (612, 441).

But makes it much more heavy. Hec-
tor's *opini-on* TC 2, 2, 99 (632, 188).

SHAKSPERE'S RHYMES.

After the preceding examination of Spenser's rhymes, pp. 862–871, we cannot expect to find any very great regularity in a poet of nearly the same date, who was doubtless familiar with Spenser's Faery Queen. Shakspeare, however, did not allow himself quite so many liberties as Spenser, although his rhymes would be in themselves quite inadequate to determine his pronunciation. His poems are not in this respect more regular than the occasional couplets introduced into his plays. But the introduced songs are the least regular. He seems to have been quite contented at times with a rude approximation. Consonantal rhymes (where the final consonants are the same, but the preceding vowels are different,) are not uncommon. Assonances (where the vowels are the same, but final consonants different,) are liberally sprinkled. The combination of the two renders it quite impossible, from solitary or even occasional examples, to determine the real pronunciation of either vowel or consonant. It is therefore satisfactory to discover that, viewed as a whole, the system of rhymes is confirmatory of the conclusions drawn from a consideration of external authorities only in Chapter III, and to arrive at this result, the labour of such a lengthened investigation has not been thrown away. As it would be impossible for the reader to accept this statement, merely from my own impressions, I have thought it right to give a somewhat detailed list of the rhymes themselves, and I am not conscious of having neglected to note any of theoretical interest. The observations on individual rhymes or classes of rhymes will be most conveniently inserted in the lists themselves. As a rule, only the rhyming words themselves are given, and not the complete verse, but the full references appended will enable the reader to check my conclusions without difficulty.

Identical and Miscellaneous Rhymes.

me me MN 1, 1, 41 (163, 198).

mine mine MN 1, 1, 43 (163, 200).

invisi-ble sensi-ble VA 434 (1007).

The rhyme is on *-ble*.

bilber-ry slutte-ry MW 5, 5, 13 (65, 49).

The rhyme is on *-ry*.

resolu-tion absolu-tion dissolu-tion RL 352 (1017'). The first line would want a measure if we divided as above, so as to make the rhyme *-ution*, giving two superfluous syllables to each. Hence we must con-

sider the rhyme to be on *-on*, and the last two lines to be Alexandrine.

imaginati-on regi-on P 4, 4, Gower (993, 3). The versification of the Gower speech in P seems intended to be archaic, and the rhymes are often peculiar. This kind of identical rhyme is, however, not unfrequent in Shakspeare, but it has not been thought necessary to accumulate instances. See remarks on *fashi-on*, *passi-on*, *supra* p. 949, col. 2.

extenu-ate insinu-ate VA 1010 (1012).
ocean motion RL 589 (1020). These
are both lines with two superfluous
syllables, so that the rhyme is
(oo'sian, moo'siun), the indistinct un-
accented syllable not coming into
account, compare *suprà* p. 921.

Compare also the double rhymes :

canis manus LL 5, 2, 272 (157', 592).
Almighty, fight yea LL 5, 2, 320 (158,
657).

commendable vendible MV 1, 1, 23
(182, 111).

riot quiet VA 1147 (1013').

in women H⁸ epil. (621', 9). This
couplet is manifestly erroneous some-
where. As it stands the second line
is an Alexandrine, thus, marking the

even measures by italics (*suprà* p.
334, n. 2). "For this *play at this*
time is only in The merciful construc-
ti-on of good women," which in-
troduces the common modern pro-
nunciation (wim'in) with the accent
thrown forward for the rhyme. This
is very forced. Collier's substitution
of: "For this play at this time we
shall not owe men But merciful
construction of good women;" intro-
duces a rhyme *owe men, women*,
which not even Spenser or Dryden
would have probably ventured upon,
and which the most modern "rhyme-
ster to the eye" could scarcely con-
sider "legitimate." See Gill's pro-
nunciation, *suprà* p. 909.

Consonantal Rhymes, arranged according to the preceding Vowels.

A with I.

father hither LL 1, 1, 34 (136', 139).

Short A with short O.

foppish apish KL 1, 4, 68, *song* (853,
182).

dally folly RL 554 (1019').

man on MN 2, 1, 38 (166', 263), MN
3, 2, 91 (172, 348).

corn harm KL 3, 6, 16, *song* (865', 44).

Here *n* and *m* after *r* are considered
identical.

Tom am KL 2, 3, 1 (858', 20).

crab bob MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 48).

pap hop MN 5, 1, 86 (179, 303).

departure shorter KL 1, 5, 29 (855',
55). See *suprà* p. 200, l. 11, and

infra p. 973, in Mr. White's Eliza-
bethan pronunciation under -URE.

cough laugh MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 54).

heart short part, LL 5, 2, 30 (152, 55).

Short A with Long O.

man one TS 3, 2, 27, *song* (241', 86).

Short A with Short U.

adder shudder VA 878 (1011).

Long A with EA.

created defeated S 20, 9 (1033'). Com-
pare the rhyme *created seated* in the
version of Luther's hymn, "Great
God! what do I see and hear,"
usually sung in churches, and see the
remarks on *bate beat*, *suprà* p. 923.
The numerous examples of the false
rhyming of *a* must warn us against
supposing that long *a* was here (ee),
to rhyme with (*ea*) which was cer-
tainly (ee).

Short A with Short E.

wretch scratch VA 703 (1009').

AR with ER.

[It is very possible that the rhymes
in this series were rendered perfect oc-
casionally by the pronunciation of *er*
as *ar*. From the time of Chaucer at
least the confusion prevailed, and it
became strongly marked in the xviith
century, *suprà* p. 86, l. 1. Compare
desartless MA 3, 3, 5 (122', 9). And
see Mulcaster, *suprà* p. 913.]
desert part S 49, 10 (1037).
deserts parts S 17, 2 (1033).
desert impart S 72, 6 (1040).
carve serve LL 4, 1, 22 (144, 55).
heart convert RL 590 (1020),
departest convertest S 11, 2 (1032').
art convert S 14, 10 (1033).

Short E with long I, E, and U.

die he! TC 3, 1, 68, *song* (635', 131).

Benedicite me RJ 2, 3, 5 (721', 31).

enter venture VA 626 (1009). See
suprà p. 200, l. 11, and *infra* p. 973,
in Mr. White's Elizabethan pro-
nunciation under -URE.

Long O with OU (ou).

[These rhymes may be compared
first with the rhymes Long O with
OW = (oou), and secondly with the
rhymes OW with OU (oou, ou) below.
They were not so imperfect when pure
(oo, ou) were pronounced, as they are
now when these sounds are replaced
by (oo, ou).]
sycamore hour LL 5, 2, 42 (152, 89).
Moor deflour TA 2, 3, 41 (696, 190).
down bone TC 5, 8, 4 (652', 11).

Assonances, arranged according to the corresponding Consonants.

B, with TH, P, D.

labour father *in the riddle*, P 1, 1, 11 (978, 66).

invisible steeple TG 2, 1, 73 (25', 141).

This rhyme is evidently meant to be quaint and absurd.

lady baby MA 5, 2, 11 (132, 37). This is also meant to be ludicrously bad.

lady may be LL 2, 1, 77 (141, 207). This is intended for mere doggrel.

K with P, T.

broken open VA 47 (1003'); S 61, 1 (1038').

open'd betoken'd VA 451 (1007). All these three cases occur in perfectly serious verse.

fickle brittle PP 7, 1 (1053', 85).

M with N and NG.

plenty empty T 4, 1, 24 (15', 110).

Jamypenny many *in a proverbial jingle*, TS 3, 2, 27 (241', 84).

betime Valentine H 4, 5, 19, *song* (836, 49).

win him TC 3, 3, 35 (639', 212).

perform'd adjourn'd return'd Cy 5, 4, 11 (970', 76).

moons dooms P 3, *Gower* (987, 31).

run dumb P 5, 2, *Gower* (998, 266).

soon doom P 5, 2, *Gower* (998, 285).

replenish blemish RL 1357 (1026').

témpering vénturing VA 565 (1008), *ventring* quartos.

sung come P 1, *Gower* (977, 1).

S with SH and Z.

refresh redress PP 13, 8 (1054, 176).

fashion passion LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 139);

RL 1317 (1026); S 20, 2 (1033').

General Rhymes, arranged according to the Combinations of Letters which they illustrate.

A long or short.

Have *rhymes with cave* AY 5, 4, 50 (228', 201); slave AY 3, 2, 34 (216', 161); VA 101 (1004); RL 1000 (1023'); grave R² 2, 1, 20 (363, 137); RJ 2, 3, 15 (722, 83); S 81, 5 (1041); Cy 4, 2, 104 (966, 280); VA 374 (1006'), 757 (1010); gave RL 1511 (1028); crave PP 10, 7 (1054, 137). Kate ha't TS 5, 1, 87 (253, 180), *suprà* p. 64, n. 2. In all these cases of *have* and its rhymes we have long (aa).

Haste *rhymes with fast* CE 4, 2, 16 (103, 29); MN 3, 2, 93 (173, 378);

See the remarks on these words *suprà* p. 949, col. 2, in proof that they should be considered assonances, and not rhymes. This assonance was almost a necessity, and may have been common. In Walker's *Rhyming Dictionary*, the only words in *-assion* are *passion* and its compounds, and the only word in *-ashion* is *fashion*.

defaced razed S 64, 1 (1039).

wise paradise LL 4, 3, 14 (147, 72).

eyes suffice LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 113).

his kiss LL 2, 1, 101 (141', 247').

this is TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 314).

is amiss H 4, 5, 6 (836, 17).

Miscellaneous.

farthest harvest *in the masque*, T 4, 1, 24 (16, 114).

doting nothing S 20, 10 (1033'). See Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation, *infra* p. 971, col. 1.

heavy leafy MA 2, 3, 18, *song* (118', 73).

sinister whisper, *in Pyramus and Thisbe*, MN 5, 1, 31 (77', 164).

rose clothes H 4, 5, 19, *song* (836, 52).

leap swept MW 5, 5, 13 (65, 47). Perhaps pronounced *sweep*, which is even yet not unfrequent among servant girls. The rhyme occurs in ludicrous verses.

downs hounds VA 677 (1009'). This is in serious verse. Compare *sound* from *son*, *swoond* and *swoon*, and the vulgarisms *drown-d gown-d*.

time climb RL 774 (1021'); him limb R² 3, 2, 24 (370, 186). Both of these were probably correct rhymes, final *mb* being = (m).

KJ 4, 2, 52 (349, 268); RJ 2, 3, 18 (722, 93); VA 55 (1003'); fast blast RL 1332 (1026). Taste *rhymes with last* VA 445 (1007); S 90, 9 (1042); LC 167 (1051'); fast VA 527 (1008). The length of the vowel in all these cases is uncertain. Gill has (haasted, haastnd, haast'i, last). The modern development has been so diverse, however, (*heest*, *teest*, *laast* last *laest*, *faast* fast *fæst*, *blaast* blast *blæst*) that a difference of length is presumable.

sad shade MN 4, 1, 26 (174', 100); babe drab M 4, 1, 8 (801', 30); chat

- gate VA 422 (1007); grapes mis-
haps VA 601 (1008). These are
instances of long (aa) rhyming with
short (a).
- ranging changing TS 3, 1, 31 (241, 91).
granted haunted planted LL 1, 1, 38
(136', 162).
- Want *rhymes with* enchant T epil. (20',
13); scant KL 1, 1, 74 (849', 281); PP
[21], 37 (1056', 409); vaunt RL 41
(1015); pant grant RL 555 (1019').
The insertion of the (u) sound be-
tween (a) and (n), seems to have
exerted no influence on these rhymes.
- shall withal LL 5, 2, 48 (152', 141);
befall hospital LL 5, 2, 392 (159',
880); all burial MN 3, 2, 93 (173,
382); gall equivocal Oth 1, 3, 46
(884, 216); festivals holy-ales P 1,
Gower (977, 5); thrall perpetu-
al RL 725 (1021); fall general RL 1483
(1027'); perpetu-al thrall S 154, 10
(1049'); falls madrigals PP [20], 7
(1056', 359); shall gall RJ 1, 5, 25
(718', 93). The influence of *l* in in-
troducing (u) after (a), or in chang-
ing (al) to (Aal), does not seem to
have been regarded in rhyming.
- wrath hath MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 20); LC
293 (1052').
- unfather'd gather'd S 124, 2 (1046).
place ass CE 3, 1, 22 (99, 46) = (plaa-
as).
- Was *rhymes with* pass WT 4, 1, 1
(317, 9); H 2, 2, 143 (823', 437);
S 49, 5 (1037') = (pas was); ass (by
implication, see next speech) H 3, 2,
89 (829', 293); grass RL 393
(1018); glass RL 1763 (1030); S
5, 10 (1031'); lass PP [18], 49
(1055', 293). The *w* exerts no
influence on the following *a* here, or
in: can swan PT 14 (1057);
watch match VA 584 (1008').
- Water *rhymes with* matter LL 5, 2,
83 (153, 207); KL 3, 2, 14, in *the*
Fool's prophecy (863, 81); flatter RL
1560 (1028). Gill is very uncertain
about *water*, having (wat'er, waa'ter,
waa'ter). Here it rhymes simply as
(water).
- amber chamber song, WT 4, 4, 48 (321,
224). Compare Moore's rhymes,
suprà p. 859, col. 1.
- plat hat LC 29 (1050). We now write
plait, but generally say (plæt).
- AI and EI with A and EA.
- Gait *rhymes with* state T 4, 1, 21 (15',
101); consecrate MN 5, 1, 104 (179',
422); hate Tim 5, 4, 14 (763', 72);
late VA 529 (1008); state S 128, 9
(1046'). In all these cases the old
spelling was *gate*; see suprà p. 73, n.
- Waist *rhymes with* fast LL 4, 3, 41
(148, 185); chaste RL 6 (1014). In
these two cases the old spelling was
wast, suprà p. 73, note.
- Again *rhymes with* vein main LL 5, 2,
248 (156', 546); then LL 5, 2, 382
(159', 841); mane VA 271 (1005'),
[*maine* in quartos, see suprà p. 73];
slain VA 473 (1007'). We must
remember that *again* had two spell-
ings, with *ai*, and *e*, from very early
times, and has still two sounds
(*ee*, *e*).
- Said *rhymes with* read LL 4, 3, 50
(148', 193); maid MN 2, 2, 13 (167,
72); H^e 4, 7, 6 (489, 37). The
word *said* was spelled with *ai* and *e*
from very early times, suprà pp. 447,
484. It has still two sounds with
(*ee*, *e*). Gill especially objects to call-
ing *said*, *maid* (sed meed), though
he acknowledges that such sounds
were actually in use.
- Bait *rhymes with* conceit PP 4, 9
(1053, 51); state CE 2, 1, 36 (96,
94). It is impossible that both of
these rhymes should be perfect. The
pronunciation of *conceit*, *state* was
then (consect; staat). It is there-
fore possible that Shakspeare may
have pronounced (bait), as Gill did,
and left both rhymes false.
- Wait *rhymes with* conceit LL 5, 2, 192
(155', 399); gate P 1, 1, 11 (978,
79). We have just the same phe-
nomenon here, as in the last case.
Smith and Gill both give (wait), the
other words were (konsect; gaat).
- receive leave AW 2, 3, 43 (262', 90);
TC 4, 5, 20 (644, 35); LC 303
(1052'); deceive leave AW 1, 1, 62
(256, 243); TC 5, 3, 39 (650' 89);
RL 583 (1019'); S 39, 10 (1036);
repeat deceit P 1, 4, 15 (981, 74). In
these words Gill writes (-seer, -seet)
throughout; the pronunciation had
therefore definitely changed, and the
rhymes are all perfect.
- Leisure *rhymes with* measure MM 5,
1, 135 (91, 415); treasure TS 4, 2,
23 (246', 59); pleasure S 58, 2
(1038). As the word *leisure* does not
occur in my authorities, we can only
suppose that it may have followed
the destinies of *receive* and become
(lee'zyr).
- survey sway AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 2).
key survey S 52, 1 (1037').

key may MV 2, 7, 4 (190, 59). It is not quite certain whether this last is meant for a rhyme. The only word in the authorities is *may*, which Gill writes (mai).

hair despair RL 981 (1023); S 99, 7 (1043). There is no doubt that *hair* was (heer), and Gill gives (despair').

hair fair LC 204 (1051').

fair repair there *song*, TG 4, 2, 18 (35, 44).

fair heir S 6, 13 (1032), see *suprà* p. 924, col. 1.

ferre heir P 1, *Gower* (977, 21).

wares fairs LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 317).

scales prevails 2 H^s 2, 1, 106 (504', 204').

Syria say P 1, *Gower* (977, 19).

bail gaol S 133, 10 (1047), *bale* quarto.

play sea H^s 3, 1, 2, *song* (606, 9). For all these rhymes, which would make *ai* sometimes (ee) and sometimes (aa), see the above observations on the rhymes to *bait*, and on similar rhymes in Spenser, *suprà* p. 367.

unset counterfeit S 16, 6 (1033).

counterfeit set S 53, 5 (1037').

AU, AW, AL.

assaults faults T epil. (20', 17).

cauf=*cauf* LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 25); hauf = *half* LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 26). Really (HAUF KAUF) or only (hauf kauf)?

Gill favours the former hypothesis.

chandron cauldron M 4, 1, 8 (801', 33).

talk halt PP 19, 8 (1056, 306). This is rather an assonance.

hawk balk RL 694 (1020').

la! flaw LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 414).

This favours the complete transition of (au) into (aa), as Gill seems also to allow. Perhaps the modern pronunciation (laa) was already in use.

EA with long E.

Great *rhymes with sweat* LL 5, 2, 257 (157, 555); eat Cy 4, 2, 94, *song* (965', 264); seat P 1, *Gower* (977, 17); RL 69 (1015), *suprà* pp. 86-87; repeat P 1, 4, 5 (981, 30); defeat S 61, 9 (1038').

scene unclean RJ prol. (712, 2).

theme dream CE 2, 2, 65 (98, 183); stream VA 770 (1010).

extreme dream S 129, 10 (1046').

speak break TC 3, 3, 35 (639' 214); 4, 4, 5, *song* (642', 17); H 3, 2, 61 (829, 196); RL 566 (1019'), 1716 (1029'); S 34, 5 (1035).

pleadeth dreadeth leadeth RL 268 (1017).

These *rhymes with seas* CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 20); please LL 1, 1, 5 (135' 49);

Simonides P 3, *Gower* (987, 23).

Pericles seas P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 9).

displease Antipodes MN 3, 2, 8 (170, 54).

dread mead VA 634 (1009).

sweat heat VA 175 (1005').

EA with short E.

dead order-ed P 4, 4, *Gower* (993', 46).

dead remember-ed S 74, 10 (1040).

head punished RJ 5, 2, 65 (740', 306).

deal knell PP [18], 27 (1055', 271).

heat get VA 91 (1004).

eats gets *song*, AY 2, 5, 13 (213, 42).

great get RL 876 (1022).

better greater S 119, 10 (1045').

entreats frets VA 73 (1004).

steps leaps VA 277 (1005').

bequeath death MN 3, 2, 33 (171, 166).

Macbeth *rhymes with death* M 1, 2,

16 (789, 64); 3, 5, 2 (800', 4);

heath M 1, 1, 5 (788, 7).

death breath bequeath RL 1178 (1025).

deck speak P 3, *Gower* (987, 59).

oppress Pericles P 3, *Gower* (987, 29).

Bless *rhymes with increase* T 4, 1, 23

(15', 106); peace MN 5, 1, 104

(179', 424); cesse = *cease* AW 5, 3,

16 (277', 71).

confess=decease VA 1001 (1012).

East *rhymes with detest* MN 3, 2, 109

(173', 432); rest PP 15, 1 (1054',

193).

Feast *rhymes with guest* CE 3, 1, 10

(98', 26); H⁴ 4, 2, 21 (402', 85);

RJ 1, 2, 5 (714', 20); Tim 3, 6, 42

(754, 109); VA 449 (1007); vest

TS 5, 1, 67 (251, 143).

Beast *rhymes with rest* CE 5, 1, 30

(107, 83); jest LL 2, 1, 92 (141,

221); VA 997 (1012); blest VA 326

(1006); possess'd least S 29, 6

(1034').

crest breast VA 395 (1006').

congest breast LC 258 (1052).

lechery treachery MW 5, 3, 9 (64', 23).

EA, or long E with EE or IE.

[Most of the following are manifestly false or consonantal rhymes similar to those on p. 954, as there was no acknowledged pronunciation of *ea* or long *e* as (ii), except in a very few words, *suprà* p. 81. Possibly *beseech*, for which we have no orthoepical authority, retained its old sound (*beseetsh*), as

leech retained the sound of (leetch) beside the newer sound (liitch), *suprà* p. 895.]

discreet sweet RJ 1, 1, 78 (714, 199).

Crete sweet H^s 4, 6, 5 (489, 54).

up-heaveth relieveth VA 482 (1007').

leaving grieving WT 4, 1, 1 (317', 17').

teach beseech TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 318).

beseech you, teach you P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 7).

beseech thee, teach thee VA 404 (1007').

impleach'd beseech'd LC 205 (1051').

each leech (*folio* leach) Tim 5, 4, 14 (763', 83).

reading proceeding weeding breeding LL 1, 1, 15 (136, 94).

eche *v.* speech P 3, *Gower* (986', 13).

deems extremes RL 1336 (1026).

seems extremes VA 985 (1012).

Sleeve *rhymes with* Eve LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 321), believe CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 21). These may be perfect; the first is rather doubtful.

EE or IE with short E or short I.

sheds deeds S 34, 13 (1035').

field held S 2, 2 (1031).

field build KL 3, 2, 14 (863, 89), see *suprà* p. 136, n. 1.

Short E with short I.

[See the remarks on *civil Seville*, *suprà* p. 925.]

hild = *held* fulfill'd RL 1255 (1025').

mirror error P 1, 1, 8 (978, 45).

theft shift RL 918 (1022').

sentinel kill VA 650 (1009).

Yet *rhymes with* sit RJ 2, 3, 11 (722, 75); wit LL 4, 2, 10 (145', 35); VA 1007 (1012), agreeing with Smith and Gill.

ditty pretty PP 15, 7 (1055, 199).

im-pression com-mission VA 566 (1008).

spirit merit S 108, 2 (1044).

Hither *rhymes with* weather song, AY 2, 5, 1 (212', 5), RL 113 (1015'); leather CE 2, 1, 34 (96, 84); together song, AY 5, 4, 35 (227, 116).

whether thither PP 14, 8 (1054', 188).

Together *rhymes with* thither TC 1, 1, 37 (623', 118); whither VA 902 (1011).

Though not precisely belonging to this category, the following rhymes are closely connected with the above through the word together. See p. 129, note. either neither hither CE 3, 1, 44 (99, 66); neither together LL 4, 3, 49 (148, 191); together neither PT 42 (1057'); whether neither PP 7, 17 (1054, 101).

devil evil LL 4, 3, 91 (149, 286), 5, 2, 42 (152', 105); TN 3, 4, 142 (297', 403); RL 85 (1015'), 846 (1022), 972 (1023). It is probable that all these should be taken as (div^l, iiv^l), but Smith also gives (diiv-il). Compare modern Scotch *deil* = (dil).

uneven seven R² 2, 2, 25 (366, 121).

heaven even AY 5, 4, 35 (227', 114); VA 493 (1007').

never fever S 119, 6 (1045').

privilege edge S 95, 13 (1042').

Mytilene *rhymes with* then P 4, 4, *Gower* (993', 50); din P 5, 2, *Gower* (998, 272). See *suprà* p. 929, col. 1.

Friend *rhymes with* penn'd LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 402); end AY 3, 2, 34 (216, 142); AC 4, 15, 28 (938', 90); Cy 5, 3, 10 (969', 59); VA 716 (1009'); RL 237 (1016'), 897 (1022').

tend H 3, 2, 61 (829, 216); intend VA 587 (1008'); comprehend RL 494 (1019). These rhymes are opposed to Salesbury (*suprà* p. 80, l. 9), Bullokar, and Gill.

Fiend *rhymes with* end PT 6 (1057); S 145, 9 (1048'); friend S 144, 9 (1048').—Shakspeare therefore apparently pronounced both *friend* and *fiend* with *e*. Salesbury has (*fründ*, *fend*), which is just the reverse of modern use.

teeth with VA 269 (1005').

sin bin = *been* RL 209 (1016').

give believe H^s prol. (592, 7). See *suprà* p. 891, col. 1; *give* had occasionally a long vowel.

give me, relieve me P 5, 2, *Gower* (998, 268).

field gild RL 58 (1015); killed RL 72 (1015).

yielded shielded builded LC 149 (1051).

Long and Short I, -IND.

[These rhymes were "allowable," perhaps, in the same sense as poets in the xviith and xviiith centuries allowed themselves to use, as rhymes, words which used to rhyme in preceding centuries. If I have not been greatly mistaken, the following words would have rhymed to Palsgrave and Bullokar, perhaps even to Mulcaster, though it is not likely that any actor of Shakspeare's company would have pronounced them so as to rhyme. We find Tennyson allowing himself precisely similar rhymes to this day, *suprà* p. 860, c. 1, and, as there shewn, the singularity of the present pronunciation (*wind*), leads poets to consider it to be (*wæind*), as

many always pronounce it when reading poetry. The existence of such rhymes, which could not be accounted for by any defect of ear, gives a strong presumption therefore in favour of the old sound of long *i* as (ii) or (ii), and not as (oi).]

Longaville *rhymes with* compile LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 133); mile LL 5, 2, 29 (152, 53); ill LL 4, 3, 36 (147', 123).

line Collatine RL 818 (1021').

unlikely quickly VA 989 (1012).

deprived unliv'd derived RL 1752 (1030).

live *v.* contrive JC 2, 3, 1 (773', 15).

lives *s.* restoratives P 1, *Gower* (977, 7).

Ilion pavilion LL 5, 2, 320 (158, 658).

grind confined S 110, 10 (1044').

Inde blind LL 4, 3, 69 (148, 222).

mind kind VA 1016 (1012).

Wind *rhymes with* behind hind CE 3, 1, 51 (99', 76); mind LL 4, 2, 9 (145, 33); find LL 4, 3, 36 (147', 105), RL 760 (1021); unkind AY 2, 7, 36 (215, 174), VA 187 (1005); Ind lined mind AY 3, 2, 25 (216, 93); kind M 1, 3, 5 (789, 11).

Final unaccented Y with long I.

[These rhymes, which are fully accepted by Gill, who generally pronounced both as (oi), are very frequent in Shakspeare as well as in Spenser, *suprà* p. 869. But final unaccented *y* also rhymes with long *ee* or as (ii), and hence we gather that the original (-e, -ii, -iie), out of which these were composed, were still in a transition state. Though they have now become regularly (-i), yet, as we have seen by numerous examples from Moore and Tennyson, *suprà* p. 861, the old licence prevails, although the rhyme (-i, -ii) is now more common than (-i, -oi), thus reversing the custom of the xvth century.]

I *rhymes with* Margery *song*, T 2, 2, 3 (10, 48); lie fly merrily *song*, T 5, 1, 10 (18 88); reportedly MA 3, 1, 26 (121, 115); loyalty MN 2, 2, 11 (167, 62).

Eye *rhymes with* die jealousy CE 2, 1, 38 (96', 114); disloyalty CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 9); merrily CE 4, 2, 1 (102', 2); perjury LL 4, 3, 14 (147, 60); majesty LL 4, 3, 69 (148', 226); infancy LL 4, 3, 71 (149, 243); dye, archery, espy, gloriously, sky, by, remedy MN 3, 2, 22 (170', 102); poverty LL 5, 2, 179 (155, 379); melody MN 1, 1, 36 (162', 188);

company MN 1, 1, 47 (163, 218); remedy R² 3, 3, 31 (372, 202); infirmity P 1, *Gower* (977, 3); justify P 1, *Gower* (977', 41); majesty satisfy RL 93 (1015'); secrecy RL 99 (1015'); dignity RL 435 (1018'); piety RL 540 (1019'); alchemy S 32, 2 (1035); prophecy S 106, 9 (1044).

Lie *rhymes with* conspiracy T 2, 1, 147 (9', 301); I minstrelsy LL 1, 1, 39 (136', 175); remedy RJ 2, 3, 8 (721', 51); subtlety S 138, 2 (1047); rarity simplicity PT 53 (1057').

Die *rhymes with* philosophy LL 1, 1, 3 (135, 31); misery H⁶ 3, 2, 45 (483, 136); eternity H 1, 2, 12 (813', 72); testify P 1, *Gower* (977, 39); dignity S 94, 10 (1042').

dye fearfully PP [18], 40 (1055', 284).

Flies *rhymes with* enemies H 3, 2, 61 (829, 214); adulteries Cy 5, 4, 4 (970, 31).

fly destiny RL 1728 (1029').

adversity cry CE 2, 1, 15 (95', 34).

cry deity Cy 5, 4, 14 (970', 88).

try remedy AW 2, 1, 50 (260, 137); enemy H 3, 2, 61 (829, 218).

warily by LL 5, 2, 42 (152, 93).

why amazedly M 4, 1, 42 (802', 125).

spy jealousy VA 655 (1009).

advise companies TS 1, 1, 59 (234, 246).

exercise injuries miseries Cy 5, 4, 12 (970', 82).

modesty reply TG 2, 1, 91 (26, 171).

apply simplicity LL 5, 2, 36 (152, 77).

Final unaccented Y with long EE.

See *rhymes with* enemy AY 2, 5, 1, *song* (212', 6); solemnity AC 5, 2, 131 (943', 368).

He *rhymes with* villag'ry MN 2, 1, 4 (164', 34); destiny M 3, 5, 2 (800', 16); be dignity Cy 5, 4, 7 (970, 53).

be cruelty TN 1, 5, 113 (286, 306).

three honesty KJ 1, 1, 48 (334, 180); melancholy S 45, 6 (1036').

decree necessity LL 1, 1, 37 (136', 148).

me necessity LL 1, 1, 38 (136', 154).

Long O and short O.

One *rhymes with* on T 4, 1, 29 (16, 137); TG 2, 1, 2 (24', 1) [this is (on oon)]; done R² 1, 1, 26 (358, 182) [this is (oon dun)]; Scone M 5, 8, 23 (810', 74); shoon H 4, 5, 9, *song* (836, 25); thrown Cy 5, 4, 8 (970', 59) [this is (throuon oon)]; bone VA 293 (1006); loan S 6, 6 (1032); none S 8, 13 (1032); bone LC 43 (1050); gone CE 4, 2, 14 (103, 23),

VA 518 (1008); 227 (1005); alone
 RL 1478 (1027'); S 36, 2 (1035');
 PP 9, 13 (1054, 129).
Alone rhymes with anon S 75, 5 (1040);
 none TN 3, 1, 65 (293, 171); H⁶ 4,
 7, 1 (489, 9).
None rhymes with stone S 94, 1 (1042');
 moan PP [18], 51 (1055', 295);
 gone CE 3, 2, 50 (101, 157); MN 2,
 2, 13 (167, 66); I will have none.
 Thy gown? *as an echo* TS 4, 3, 31
 (247, 85).
Gone rhymes with moan MN 5, 1, 96
 (179, 340); H 4, 5, 60, *song* (837',
 197); groan R² 5, 1 17 (377, 99);
 RL 1360 (1026'); stone H 4, 5, 11,
song (836, 30); bone VA 56 (1003');
 on P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 19), Oth 1,
 3, 45 (884, 204); sun VA 188 (1005).

Long O with short O.

not smote LL 4, 3, 4 (146', 24).
 note pot LL 5, 2, 405 (160', 929).
 o'clock oak MW 5, 5, 16 (65', 78).
 wot boat H⁶ 4, 6, 3 (488', 32).
 moment comment S 15, 2 (1033).
 frost boast LL 1, 1, 23 (136, 100).
 most lost LL 1, 1, 36 (136', 146).
 boast lost H⁶ 4, 5, 6 (488, 24).
 lost coast P 5, *Gower* (995', 13).
 lost boast VA 1075 (1013); RL 1191
 (1025).
 cost boast S 91, 10 (1042).
 oath troth LL 1, 1, 11 (135', 65); 4,
 3, 38 (148, 143).
 oath wroth MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 77).
 troth oath growth RL 1059 (1024).

Long O with open OW=(oo).

[These rhymes shew that the after-sound of (u) had become faint, justifying its entire omission by the orthoepists of the xviiith century. It is curious, however, to find that in the xixth century the (u) has reappeared, not merely where there was formerly (oo), but also where there was only (oo). It has no connection with either of the above sounds, having been merely evolved from (oo), which replaced both of them in the xviiith century. The changes of (ee, oo) into (eei, ouu) are local, belonging only to the Southern or London pronunciation of English, although widely spread in America, and orthoepists are not agreed as to their reception; the further evolution into (ei, ou), or nearly (ei, ou), is generally condemned. But orthoepists have a habit of condemning in one century the rising practice of the next.]

Angelo grow MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 283).
 owe Dromio CE 3, 1, 20 (99, 42).
Go rhymes with know MM 3, 2, 86
 (82, 277); below H 3, 3, 10 (831',
 97); flow Cy 3, 5, 53 (961', 165);
 grow S 12, 10 (1032'); below VA
 923 (1011'); so toe mow no T 4, 1,
 10 (15, 44). A writer in the *Athenæum*
 for 20 Aug. 1870, p. 253, proposes
 to alter the last *no* into *now*, stating,
 among other reasons, that "*now* enjoys
 the advantage of rhyming with *move*,
 which it was meant to do." But *mow*
 in this sense was (moou), according to
 Sir T. Smith, and all five lines are
 meant to rhyme together.
 bow=arcus doe TC 3, 1, 68 (635', 126).
No rhymes with blow CE 3, 1, 31 (99,
 54); show AY 3, 2, 34 (216, 134).
So rhymes with crow CE 3, 1, 57 (99',
 84); P 4, *Gower* (990, 32); know
 CE 3, 2, 3 (100', 53); LL 1, 1, 11
 (135', 59); Oth 4, 3, 41 (905, 103);
 VA 1109 (1013); blow LL 4, 3, 36
 (147', 109); owe TN 1, 5, 118
 (286, 329); shew MN 3, 2, 32 (171,
 151), [hence probably Shakspeare
 said (shoou) and not (sheu)]; see
 Spenser's various uses, *suprà* p. 871;]
 shrew TS 5, 2, 92 (253', 188). (Shroo)
 is still heard, compare also the common
 pronunciation (Shrooz-beri) for
 Shrewsbury, and the rhymes: O's
 shrews LL 5, 2, 23 (151', 45); shrew
 shew TS 4, 1, 67 (245, 223); shew
 crow RJ 1, 2, 26 (715', 91).
Woe rhymes with show LL 4, 3, 4
 (147, 36); flow H⁶ prol. (592, 3);
 show H 1, 2, 15 (813', 85).
 suppose shows P 5, 2, *Gower* (998, 5).
Rose rhymes with grows LL 1, 1, 24
 (136, 105); flows LL 4, 3, 4 (146',
 27); throws VA 590 (1008').
 snow foe VA 362 (1006').
 foes overthrows RJ prol. (712, 5).
 crows shews RJ 1, 5, 14 (718, 50).
 Cleon grown P 4, *Gower* (990, 15).
 more four MN 3, 2, 110 (173', 437);
 LL 4, 3, 62 (148', 210).
 four door VA 446 (1007).
 foal bowl=cup MN 2, 1, 5 (164', 46).
 shoulder bolder LL 5, 2, 42 (152',
 107); poll=head soul H 4, 5, 60,
song (837', 196). These two instances
 only apparently belong to this category,
 (u) being developed by (l) in *bold*,
poll, unless we are to assume that
 Shakspeare did not develop this (u),
 and also left out the *u* in *shoulder*,
soul.

Long O = (oo) or open OW =
(ouu) with close OU = (ou).

[Such rhymes are strongly opposed to the notion that Shakspeare recognized Palsgrave and Bullokar's antiquated pronunciation of (uu) for (ou).] low cow MA 5, 4, 22 (133', 48'). four hour LL 5, 2, 177 (155, 367').

Gill pronounces (foour), and provincially *four* is frequently pronounced so as to rhyme with *hour*, as here.

bowl = *cup* owl LL 5, 2, 405 (160', 935'). fowls controuls CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 18').

souls fowls CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 22').

brow grow VA 139 (1004').

glow brow VA 337 (1006').

growing bowing T 4, 1, 24 (15', 112').

allowing growing WT 4, 1, 1 (317', 15').

known town H^s prol. (592, 23').

coward froward VA 569 (1008').

toward coward VA 1157 (1013').

Rhymes in OVE.

Love *rhymes with* move CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 22); 4, 2, 9 (103, 13); MN 1, 1, 39 (163, 196); TN 3, 1, 66 (293, 175); H 2, 1, 37 (820, 118); PP [20], 15 (1056', 367); [20], 19 (1056', 371); remove RJ prol. (712, 9); S 116, 2 (1045); PP [18], 11 (1055', 255); prove LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 109); 4, 3, 88 (149', 282), TN 2, 4, 36 (289', 120); S 116, 13 (1045); 117, 13 (1045'); 153, 5 (1049'); 154, 13 (1049'); PP [20], 1 (1056, 353); reprove S 142, 2 (1048); approve S 147, 5 (1049); Jove LL 4, 3, 36 (147', 119); RL 568 (1019'); grove MN 2, 1, 33 (166, 259); T 4, 1, 16 (15', 66); dove PT 50 (1057'); above AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 1). moreover lover LL 5, 2, 211 (156, 446). discover lover TG 2, 1, 91 (26, 173). move prove R² 1, 1, 9 (356', 45').

Long O with long OO.

shoot do't LL 4, 1, 11 (143', 26'). doing wooing TS 2, 1, 26 (237', 74'). do too Cy 5, 3, 10 (969', 61'). do't foot LL 5, 2, 50 (152', 145'). to't root Tim 1, 2, 15 (744', 71'). Woo *rhymes with* two MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 75); unto VA 307 (1006); LC 191 (1051'); ago RJ 3, 4, 1 (730, 8); know MN 5, 1, 28 (177', 139'). choose lose CE 4, 3, 27 (104', 96); MV 2, 9, 10 (191, 80). propose lose H 3, 2, 61 (829, 204').

Come *rhymes with* tomb S 17, 1 (1033); doom S 116, 10 (1045); 145, 5 (1048'); roam TN 2, 3, 17 (287', 40); masterdom M 1, 5, 9 (791', 70').

moon fordone MN 5, 1, 101 (179', 379').

doth tooth TC 4, 5, 113 (646', 292').

look Bolingbroke R² 3, 4, 23 (373, 98).

store poor LL 5, 2, 178 (155, 377);

RJ 1, 1, 88 (714', 221').

Whore *rhymes with* more TC 4, 1, 19 (641, 65), 5, 2, 92 (649, 113); poor KL 2, 4, 19, *song* (859, 52).

do woe P 1, 1, 8 (978, 47').

no man, woman TG 3, 1, 18 (31, 104).

moon Biron LL 4, 3, 70 (148', 230').

OO.

Blood *rhymes with* good LL 2, 1, 58 (141, 186); MN 5, 1, 83 (178', 287); AW 2, 3, 47 (262, 102); H^s 2, 5, 18 (479', 128); Tim 4, 2, 7 (755, 38); M 4, 1, 10 (801', 37); VA 1181 (1013'); RL 1028 (1023'); S 109, 10 (1044'); LC 162 (1051); mood MN 3, 2, 13 (170, 74); stood VA 1121 (1013), 1169 (1013'); understood mood LC 198 (1051'); wood = *mad* H^s 4, 7, 5 (489, 35); wood VA 740 (1010').

Flood *rhymes with* wood VA 824 (1010'); stood PP 6, 13 (1053', 83).

Foot *rhymes with* boot H^s 4, 6, 4 (489, 52); root RL 664 (1020').

groom doom RL 671 (1020').

should cool'd VA 385 (1006'). Compare Spenser's rhyme as (shoould), *suprà* p. 871, and p. 968, under L.

Short O or OO with short U.

[See the puns depending on the identity of these sounds, *suprà* p. 925.] crum some KL 1, 4, 74, *song* (853', 217').

Come *rhymes with* some LL 5, 2, 381 (159', 839); sum S 49, 1 (1037), LC 230 (1052); dumb TG 2, 2, 9 (26', 20); drum H⁴ 3, 3, 71 (400', 229); M 1, 3, 11 (789', 30); thumb LL 5, 2, 42 (152', 111); M 1, 3, 10 (789, 28).

tomb dumb MA 5, 3, 3 (132', 9); MN 5, 1, 96, *Pyramus and Thisbe* (179, 334); AW 2, 3, 57 (263, 146); RL 1121 (1024'); S 83, 10 (1041); 101, 9 (1043').

sun won LL 1, 1, 14 (136, 84).

done won sun M 1, 1, 2 (788, 4).

sun done Cy 4, 2, 93, *song* (965', 258), VA 197 (1005').

begun done R² 1, 2, 8 (358', 60).

nuns sons VA 752 (1010).

under wonder VA 746 (1010).

wonder thunder LL 4, 2, 34 (146, 117).
 good bud PP 13, 1 (1054', 169).
 flood mud LC 44 (1050).
 wolf gulf M 4, 1, 8 (801', 22).
 trouble bubble M 4, 1, 5 (801', 10).

Short O rhyming as short U.

son done T 4, 1, 20 (15', 93); M 3, 5, 2
 (800', 10).
 noon son S 7, 13 (1032).
 took provoke P 1, *Gower* (977, 25).
 forage courage VA 554 (1008).

-ONG, with -OUNG, -UNG.

[The following list of words in *-ong* = (oq, uq), now (œq, uq), shews with what laxity this termination was used for convenience, so that consonantal rhyme is constantly employed. See Spenser's rhymes, *suprà* p. 870.]

Young *rhymes with long* LL 5, 2, 386
 (159', 845); RJ 1, 1, 64 (714, 166);
 RJ 4, 5, 21 (735', 77); KL 1, 4, 76,
song (853', 235); 5, 3, 124 (878',
 325); PP 12, 10 (1054, 166);
 strong VA 419 (1007); RL 863
 (1022); belong AW 1, 3, 35 (258,
 134).

Tongue *rhymes with belong* LL 5, 2,
 181 (155, 381); 4, 3, 71 (148', 238);
 long 5, 2, 117 (153', 242); MN 5,
 1, 105 (180', 440); TS 4, 2, 25 (245',
 57); wrong MA 5, 3, 3 (132', 1);
 LL 1, 1, 39 (136', 167); 4, 2, 34
 (146, 121); MN 2, 2, 2 (166', 9).
 2 H⁴ *ind.* (409', 39); VA 217 (1005);
 329 (1006); 427 (1007); 1003
 (1012); RL 78 (1015'); S 89, 9
 (1042); throng KL 3, 2, 14 (863,
 87); strong MM 3, 2, 65 (81, 198);
 song LL 5, 2, 192 (155', 403); VA
 775 (1010); S 17, 10 (1033); stung
 MN 3, 2, 12 (170, 72).

sung among KL 1, 4, 70, *song* (853', 192).
 belong among strong LC 254 (1052).
 along sung VA 1094 (1013).

Short U.

us thus guess? LL 5, 2, 43 (152', 119).
 ridiculous us LL 5, 2, 155 (154', 306).
 bush blush LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 137).
 touch much MN 3, 2, 12 (170, 70).
 Antipholus ruinous CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 2).
 does glorious P 2, *Gower* (981', 13).
 fullness dullness S 56, 6 (1038).
 pull dull AW 1, 1, 62 (256, 233).
 begun sun KJ 1, 1, 42 (333', 158).
 shun you, on you T 4, 1, 24 (16, 116).

Long U, UE, EW, IEW, and YOU.

[The following examples shew, that whatever was the pronunciation, Shakspeare found these rhymes sufficiently good for his purposes. According to Gill, he must have rhymed (yy, eu, juu). The modern pronunciations are (iu, uu, juu) in various words, and are generally held to rhyme. But the rhymes in Shakspeare can no more justify us in supposing that he pronounced them identically, than the universal custom of German poets in rhyming *ö, ü, eu* with *e, i, ei*, would admit of us supposing that they would endure the former vowels, received as (œœ œ, yy y, ay oy oi), to be reduced to the second, which are received as (*ee e, ii i, ai*). This is a most instructive example, because this custom of rhyming is universal among German poets. The corresponding pronunciation is extremely common, and it is as much shunned by all who have any pretence to orthoepical knowledge, as the omission or insertion of the aspirate in English speech. We may, therefore, well understand Shakspeare using rhymes and making puns due to a perhaps widely spread pronunciation, while he would, as manager, have well "wigg'd" an actor who ventured to employ them on the stage in serious speech,—a fate impending on any German actor who should "assist" his author's rhymes by venturing to utter *ö* as (*ee*), *ü* as (*ii*), or *eu* as (*ai*).]

You *rhymes with adieu* LL 1, 1, 25
 (136, 110); 2, 1, 83 (141, 213); 5,
 2, 116 (153', 240); MN 1, 1, 48
 (163, 224); H⁶ 4, 4, 21 (488, 45);
 VA 535 (1008); S 57, 6 (1038);
 new CE 3, 2, 2 (100, 37); S 15, 13
 (1033); grew S 84, 2 (1041); view
 LL 4, 3, 40 (148, 175); true T *epil.*
 (20', 3); S 85, 9 (1041'); 118, 13
 (1045'); true sue LL 5, 2, 197 (155',
 426); untrue LL 5, 2, 217 (156,
 472); view true new MV 3, 2, 14
 (193', 132).

True *rhymes with adieu* MA 3, 1, 26
 (121, 107); RJ 2, 2, 32 (720', 136);
 Montague RJ 3, 1, 54 (726', 153);
 view RL 454 (1018'); new S 68,
 10 (1039'); grew LC 169 (1051');
 subdue LC 246 (1052).
 viewing ensuing VA 1076 (1013).
 blue knew RL 407 (1018).
 hue Jew MN 3, 1, 32 (168', 97).
 beauty duty RL 13 (1014'); VA 167
 (1004').

excuses abuses sluices RL 1073 (1024).
pollute fruit RL 1063 (1024).
suit mute LL 5, 2, 138 (154, 275);
VA 205 (1005); 335 (1006).
suitor tutor TG 2, 1, 73 (25', 143);
KL 3, 2, 14 (863, 83).
youth ruth PP 9, 9 (1054, 125); S 37,
2 (1035').

Long U with Long OO.

[These examples, though few in number, are instructive. There can be no question that the first two are not rhymes, and that if the third *do you* is a rhyme, the common *you adieu* in the last list, is not.]
suing wooing VA 356 (1006').
lose it, abuse it H⁶ 4, 5, 13 (488, 40).
do you M 3, 5, 2 (800', 12).

Long I with EYE and AY.

Eye rhymes with by LL 1, 1, 14 (136, 81); VA 281 (1005'); ay LL 2, 1, 60 (141, 188); buy LL 2, 1, 101 (141', 242); I LL 4, 3, 41 (148, 183); why TS 1, 1, 16 (232, 79); die RJ 1, 2, 7 (715, 50); lie RJ 1, 3, 23 (716', 85).
Eyne rhymes with shine LL 5, 2, 88 (153, 205); mine TS 5, 1, 56 (250', 120); vine AC 2, 7, 66, *song* (924, 120).
die ay R² 3, 3, 21 (372, 175).
fly perdy KL 2, 4, 27, *song* (859, 84).

OY with UI, and long I.

noise boys CE 3, 1, 39 (99, 61).
oyes = oyez toys MW 5, 5, 12 (65, 45),
in ludicrous rhymes.
moi Fr. destroy R² 5, 3, 39 (379', 119).
joy destroy H 3, 2, 61 (829, 206).
voice juice VA 134 (1004'). This rhyme is somewhat obscure. But Hodges, 1643, gives *juice* and *joice*, meaning *joist*, as identical in sound; he probably said (dzhois), a pronunciation still common among carpenters.
swine groin VA 1115 (1013). Here possibly (grain) may have been said.

Close OU (ou),

with especial reference to the word *wound*, called (wound) by Smith, and (wuund), in accordance with the present general use, by Gill, who gives (waand), or perhaps (waund), as a Northern pronunciation.

Wound rhymes with ground MN 2, 2, 18 (167', 100); R² 3, 2, 18 (369', 139); RL 1199 (1025); confound MN 5, 1, 86 (179, 300); TC 3, 1,

68 (635', 128); found RJ 2, 1, 10, and 2, 2, 1 (719', 42 and 1); sound RJ 4, 5, 40 (736, 128); P 4, *Gower* (990, 23); bound VA 265 (1005'); round VA 368 (1006'); hound VA 913 (1011').

swounds wounds RL 1486 (1027').
profound ground M 3, 5, 2 (800', 24).
crown lown Oth 2, 3, 31, *song* (889, 93).

GH with F.

Maeduff enough M 5, 8, 9 (809', 33).
laugh draff MW 4, 2, 41 (60, 104).
laugh staff CE 3, 1, 26 (99, 56).
hereafter laughter TN 2, 3, 20 (287', 48).
after daughter TS 1, 1, 59 (234, 244).

This may be meant as ludicrous.
daughter after WT 4, 1, 1 (317', 27).
In the speech of Time, as chorus.

caught her, daughter, slaughter, halter, after KL 1, 4, 101 (854', 340). In a Song of the Fool. These last three examples are very remarkable, especially the last, including the word *halter*. When this rhyme occurs in modern ludicrous verse it is usual to say (aa'tu) daa'tu). Whether any such ludicrous pronunciation then proceeded is not clear, but (-AA'ter) would save every case, as *halter* might well sink to (HAA'ter).
oft nought PP 19, 41 (1056, 339).

Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth, says that he has heard *higher lower* pronounced in that neighbourhood as (hoifə loofə), and that (thaaft, saif) are common in Devonshire for *thought, sigh*. See p. 212.

GH written as TH.

mouth drouth P 3, *Gower* (986', 7);
VA 542 (1008). See Jones's pronunciation, *supra* p. 212.

GH mute.

[This is entirely comparable to the disregard of (u) in the rhymes (ou, ou), *supra* p. 961, col. 1. It by no means proves that the *gh* (kh) was not still lightly touched. The sound was confessedly gentle, and not so harsh as the Welsh *ch*, *supra* pp. 210, 779. But it favours Gill's (ræikht), etc., for Salesbury's (rikht).]

Light rhymes with bite R² 1, 3, 57 (361, 292); white VA 1051 (1012'); spite VA 1133 (1013'); smite RL 176 (1016).

Right rhymes with appetite RL 545 (1019'); spite H 1, 5, 64 (819, 188); CE 4, 2, 2 (102', 7).

might rite MA 5, 3, 5 (132', 21).
 Night *rhymes with* quite Oth 5, 1, 78
 (906', 128); despite VA 731 (1009').
 spite knight MN 5, 1, 83 (178', 281).
 Delight *rhymes with* quite LL 1, 1, 13
 (135', 70); white LL 5, 2, 404 (160,
 905); sprite M 4, 1, 42 (802', 127).
 sight white VA 1166 (1013').
 sleights sprites M 3, 5, 2 (800', 26).
 Nigh *rhymes with* try CE 2, 1, 16 (95',
 42); immediately MN 2, 2, 24 (167',
 155); sky AY 2, 7, 36 (215', 184);
 fly Oth 2, 1, 57 (887, 153); eye VA
 341 (1006).
 high *rhymes with* eye AW 1, 1, 62
 (256, 235); dry VA 551 (1008).

sighs eyes RJ 1, 1, 78 (714, 196).
 nebour = *neighbour* LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 27).
 fray weigh MN 3, 2, 27 (170', 129).
 weigh'd maid RJ 1, 2, 28 (715', 101).
 straight conceit CE 4, 2, 33 (103', 63).
 paying weighing MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 279).
 so though MN 2, 2, 20 (167', 108);
 KJ 1, 1, 45 (333', 168).
 bough now VA 37 (1003').
 vows boughs AY 3, 2, 34 (216', 141).

-ED = T after S, K.

kissed whist T 1, 2, 99 (5', 379).
 deck'd aspect LL 4, 3, 75 (149, 258).
 breast distress'd VA 812 (1010').

Effect of R final.

Unaccented final ar, er, or.

ne'er Jupiter T 4, 1, 17 (15', 76).
 worshipper fear cheer RL 86 (1015').
 appear murderer P 4, *Gower* (990, 51).
 characters tears bears LC 16 (1050).
 stomachers dears WT 4, 4, 48 (321,
 226).
 harbinger near PT 5 (1057).
 character where AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 6).
 conspirator ravisher RL 769 (1021').
 orator harbinger CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 10).
 orator singular publisher RL 30 (1015).
 progenitors ours RL 1756 (1030).

AR, ARE.

Are *rhymes with* star LL 1, 1, 14 (136,
 89); prepare 5, 2, 39 (152, 81);
 care R² 2, 3, 40 (367', 170); 3 H² 2,
 5, 14 (537', 123); S 147, 9 (1049);
 dare M 3, 5, 2 (800', 2); compare VA
 8 (1003); care snare RL 926 (1022');
 car S 7, 9 (1032); prepare S 13, 1
 (1032); compare S 35, 6 (1035');
 war TC prol. (622, 30).
 War *rhymes with* star MN 3, 2, 101
 (173, 407); P 1, 1, 7 (978, 37); jar
 VA 98 (1004); bar S 46, 1 (1036').
 warp sharp AY 2, 7, 36 (215, 187).
 reward barr'd AW 2, 1, 51 (260', 150).
 warm harm VA 193 (1005).
 warm'd charm'd LC 191 (1051'). The
 above rhymes shew, either that (w)
 did not affect the following (a), or
 that the effect was disregarded. Gill
 authorizes the first conclusion.
 vineyard rocky hard T 4, 1, 16 (15', 68).
 start heart MW 5, 5, 20 (65, 90).
 athwart heart LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 135).
 Heard *rhymes with* reward P 5, 3,
Gower (999', 85); regard RL 305
 (1017').

EAR, -ERE.

[These seem to have been in a transi-
 tional state between (iir) and (eer),
 (p. 81), probably for this reason the
 rhymes are rather confused. But the
 general pronunciation was evidently
 (eer).]

Ear *rhymes with* there R² 5, 3, 40
 (379', 125); PP 19, 26 (1056, 324);
 dear RJ 1, 5, 14 (718, 48); hair
 VA 145 (1004'); tear s. RL 1126
 (1024'); bear hear RL 1327 (1026);
 swear bear RL 1418 (1027); bear
 S 8, 6 (1032).

Hear *rhymes with* chanticleer T 1, 2,
 101 (5', 384); swear LL 4, 3, 38
 (148, 145); tear fear LL 4, 3, 55
 (148', 200); fear MN 2, 2, 24 (167',
 153); bear Oth 1, 3, 46 (884, 212);
 VA 428 (1007); tear v. bear RL
 667 (1020'); cheer PP [21], 21
 (1056', 393).

Here *rhymes with* were CE 4, 2, 4
 (102', 9); swear ear LL 4, 1, 23
 (144, 57); ear appear LL 4, 3, 4
 (147, 44); there 4, 3, 45 (148,
 189); MV 2, 7, 5 (190, 61); dear
 LL 4, 3, 82 (149, 274); swear LL
 5, 2, 173 (155, 357); wear MN 2,
 2, 13 (167, 70); spear R² 1, 1, 24
 (357', 170); tear s. H² prol. (592,
 5); gear TC 3, 2, 54 (637', 219);
 where RJ 1, 1, 80 (714, 203); bier
 RJ 3, 2, 9 (727', 59); clear M 5, 3,
 20 (807', 61); deer VA 229 (1005);
 bear dear RL 1290 (1026).

There *rhymes with* bear T 1, 2, 99
 (5', 381); near MN 2, 2, 23 (167',
 135); S 136, 1 (1047'); spear VA
 1112 (1013); RL 1422 (1027); ap-
 pear fear RL 114 (1015'); tear v.

fear RL 737 (1021); tear *s.* RL 1373 (1026').
 Where *rhymes with* sphere MN 2, 1, 2 (164, 6); clear S 84, 10 (1041); sere CE 4, 2, 13 (103, 19); near S 61, 13 (1035'); were beer Oth 2, 1, 57 (887, 159).
 Wear *rhymes with* dear LL 5, 2, 45 (152', 130); deer AY 4, 2, 6 (223, 11); bear VA 163 (1004'); year 506 (1007'); fear 1081 (1013); bear S 77, 1 (1040').
 Year *rhymes with* peer WT 4, 3, 1 (318, 1); R² 1, 3, 18 (359', 93); cheer dear there 2 H⁴ 5, 3, 6 (435', 18); deer KL 3, 4, 34 (864', 144); wear KL 1, 4, 68, song (853, 181); forbear VA 524 (1008).
 Dear *rhymes with* wear ware WT 4, 4, 92 (322, 324); peer R² 5, 5, 3 (380', 67); there S 110, 1 (1044'); year KJ 1, 1, 38 (333', 152').
 Tear *s. rhymes with* hair CE 3, 2, 2 (100', 46); VA 49 (1003'); 191 (1005); her MN 2, 2, 18 (167, 92); wear LC 289 (1052').
 Appear *rhymes with* bear CE 3, 1, 4 (98', 15); TC 1, 2, 139 (626, 320); bear hair dear near MN 2, 2, 4 (166', 30); here MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 73); R² 5, 6, 2 (381', 9); there KL 1, 4, 62, song (853, 159); wears P 5, 3, *Gower* (999', 93); tear *s.* VA 1175 (1013'); fear RL 456 (1018'); 1434 (1027'); were 631 (1020); pioner 1380 (1026'); where S 102, 2 (1043'); wear dear LC 93 (1050').
 Fear *rhymes with* there MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 30); 3, 2, 2 (170, 31); H 3, 2, 56 (828, 181); VA 320 (1006); RL 307 (1017'); swear TN 5, 1, 61 (301', 173); H⁶ 4, 5, 6 (488, 28); PP 7, 8 (1053', 92); bear M 3, 5, 2 (800', 30); RL 610 (1020); near H 1, 3, 5 (815', 43); forbear AC 1, 3, 8 (914, 11); clear P 1, 1, 15 (978', 141); ear VA 659 (1009); RL 307 (1017'); deer VA 689 (1009'); severe VA 993 (1012); 1153 (1013'); hear cheer RL 261 (1017); there swear 1647 (1029).
 Bear *rhymes with* severe MM 3, 2, 86 (82, 275); fear MN 2, 2, 18 (167', 94); bear MN 5, 1, 2 (176, 21); near Cy 4, 2, 102, song (966, 278); tear *v.* P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 29); hair tear RL 1129 (1024'); were S 13, 6 (1032'); there S 41, 9 (1036).
 clear sphere MN 3, 2, 9 (170, 60).
 swears hairs P 4, 4, *Gower* (993, 27).
 pierce rehearse R² 5, 3, 40 (379', 127).

fierce=*fearce* in quartos H 1, 1, 50 (812', 121).
 weary merry T 4, 1, 29 (16, 135).
 herd beard S 12, 6 (1032'). This favours J. P. Kemble's pronunciation of *beard* as *bird*, *suprà* p. 82, l. 13 and note, and p. 20.
 heard beard LL 2, 1, 74 (141, 202). This is not so favourable to Kemble as the last, because *heard* was often *hard*, *suprà* pp. 20, 964.

AIR.

despair prayer T epil. (20', 15).
 prayer fair RL 344 (1017'). As we have fully recognized *prayer* as a dissyllable, *suprà* p. 951, we must apparently make *r* syllabic in *despair* and *fair*.

IR.

first worst TS 1, 2, 6 (234, 13).
 curst first VA 887 (1011).
 first accurst VA 1118 (1013).
 earth birth MW 5, 5, 17 (65, 84).
 birds herds VA 455 (1007').
 stir spur VA 283 (1005'), *stur*, quartos.
 stir incur RL 1471 (1027').

IRE.

aspire higher MW 5, 5, 25 (65', 101).
 briar fire MN 2, 1, 2 (164, 3).
 fires liars RJ 1, 2, 27 (715', 94).
 aspire higher P 1, 4, 2 (980', 5).
 relier retire RL 639 (1020).

In all these the *r* is evidently syllabic, p. 951.

ORE, OR.

before door MV, 1, 2, 29 (183', 146).
 abhor thee, adore thee PP 12, 9 (1054', 165).
 court sport LL 4, 1, 29 (144', 100).
 short sport H⁴ 1, 3, 54 (387', 301).
 forsworn born LL 1, 1, 38 (136', 150).
 form storm KL 2, 4, 27, song (859, 80); LC 99 (1050').
 force horse S 91, 2 (1042).
 accurst worst TG 5, 4, 18 (40, 71).
 Turk work Oth 2, 1, 40 (886', 115).
 forth worth AW 3, 4, 2 (267', 13); H 4, 4, 17 (835', 65); VA 416 (1007'); S 38, 9 (1035'); S 72, 13 (1040); S 103, 1 (1043').
 Word *rhymes with* Ford MW 5, 5, 76 (66', 258); afford CE 3, 1, 8 (98', 24); S 105, 10 (1044'); 79, 9 (1040'); 85, 5 (1041'); board CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 18); LL 2, 1, 85 (141, 215); lord LL 4, 1, 30 (144', 102); MN 2, 2, 24 (167', 151); P 2, *Gower* (981',

3); RL 1609 (1028'); sword LL 5, 2, 138 (154, 274): MN 2, 2, 19 (167, 106); RL 1420 (1027); ford RL 1329 (1026).

re-worded accorded LC 1 (1050).
afford Lord LL 4, 1, 13 (143', 39).

OUR.

hours flowers LL 4, 3, 99 (150, 379).
power hour Tim 3, 1, 15 (749', 65).
flower devour RL 1254 (1025'). These
are evidently cases of syllabic *r*,
suprà p. 951.

MR. RICHARD GRANT WHITE'S ELIZABETHAN PRONUNCIATION.

The following is an abstract of Mr. White's *Memorandums on English Pronunciation in the Elizabethan Era*, which forms an appendix to the 12th Vol. of his *Shakespeare*, suprà p. 918, n. 1. Passages in inverted commas are nearly in the words of the original; those in brackets, and all palaeotypic symbols, are additions.

A.

A was generally (ee) as in *ale, make, tame*; sometimes (aa) as in *awe, saw, fall*; the Italian (aa) and short (æ) are rarely indicated.

A final was almost always (ee.) This is shewn by the rhymes: say Seneca, Drayton's *Élegies*, 1627, p. 197; Remora delay, *Pastor Fido*, 1647, p. 215; from height of Idey = Ida, Seneca's *Ten Tragedies*, 1581, fol. 115. [See suprà p. 912, under A1. In a note on MV 3, 1, 23 (192, 84), Mr. White observes that both folios and quartos spell *Genowa* or *Genoway*, and thinks this indicates the pronunciation *Geno'a* or *Geno'ay*, a position of the accent now common among the illiterate. But if we remember that the Italian is *Genova*, we may suppose *Gen-o-wa* to have been intended, or apply the suggestion, suprà p. 133, note. According to the Cambridge editors, the quartos and first three folios have *Genowa*, and the fourth *Geneva*, a mistake for *Genova*. None end the word with *ay*. He adds:] "I am convinced that the final *a* of proper names had then almost always the pure sound of the vowel; and the more, because such a pronunciation still pervades New England, where even the best-educated men, who have not had the advantage of early and frequent intercourse with the most polite society of Boston and the other principal cities, say, for instance, Carolinay for Carolina, Augustay for Augusta, and even Savannay for Savannah—the last syllable being rather lightly touched, but being still unmistakeably *ay* (ee) instead of *ah* (aa). If told of this, they would probably be surprised, and perhaps deny it; but it is true; and the pronunciation, although somewhat homely, is merely a

remnant of Shakespearian English." [Say rather of English of the xviith century, and that peculiar, if we may trust orthoepists at all. Compare the observations on German *e* final, suprà p. 119, note, col. 2.]

In *angel, stranger, danger, manger*, *a*=(æ) or (A), shewn by the co-existence of the spellings *an, aum* [no instance of *aungel* is cited].

In *master, plaster, father*, *a*=(ee). In *Pastor Fido*, v. 6, p. 202, ed. 1647, we find the rhyme: father either. Also in *have*, *a*=(ee). "He [the painter West] also pronounced some of his words, in reading, with a puritanical barbarism, such as *haive* for *have*." Leigh Hunt's Autobiography, p. 85, ed. 1860. "My mother, who both read and spoke remarkably well, would say *haive* and *shaul* (for *shall*) when she sang her hymns." *Ibid.* [Both xviith century sounds, (hæv) being the late form of (hææv). The modern (hæv) shortened the vowel, without altering its quality. We have (feedh·i) now as a provincialism, see suprà p. 750, n. 8.]

CH

had more frequently than now the sound *k*. [The instances cited—*beseke, belk, stinch, roches*, for *beseech, belch, stink, rocks*,—are only cases of old *k* not changed into (tsh). The *ch* can hardly be supposed to represent *k*; yet Mr. White observes that *chaste* is *cast* in the first and second folios of WT 3, 2, 19 (315, 133), which might have been a misprint, and suggests that we should read, "he hath bought a pair of *chaste* lips of Diana, for "*cast* lips," in AY 3, 4, 10 (219', 16), which would spoil the joke of comparing Dian's lips to cast-off clothes. It cannot be supposed that there was any

variation between (tsh) and (k) in this and similar words. In LL 5, 1, 10 (150', 35), he supposes *chirrah* to represent *shirrah*.]

E.

The *-ed* was "rigorously pronounced," unless the contraction was indicated. Thus *purpled*, *shuffled*, were *purp-l-ed*, *shuff-l-ed*. [See *suprà* p. 952.]

EA.

Generally *ea* = *ee*. [Here Mr. White recants a hasty opinion that *ea* = (ii), made in a note on LL 4, 1, 60 (145', 148), on finding that Mr. Collier's folio supplied *declare* as a rhyme to *swear* in that passage, thus:

To see him kiss his hand! and how
most sweetly 'a will swear,
Looking babies in her eyes, his passion to declare.]

But in *threed*, *instead*, *ea* was (ii), as inferred from the very frequent misspellings *threed*, *threde*, *insteed*, *instede*. [The inference is unsafe, because the spelling *ea* was not well fixed, see *suprà* p. 77.] In *heart*, *heard*, *earth*, *dearth*, *hearth*, *ea* appears to have had "the broad sound of *a*." [this "broad sound" should mean (aa), but (aa) is probably intended, as he spells *hart*, *hard*, *arth*, etc. "The first and last are still preserved, and the others linger among the uncultivated. But *heard* and *earth* were conformed to analogy by some speakers and writers, and pronounced *haird* and *airth*; and this usage is not yet extinct in New England. *Beard* appears to have had four sounds, *beerd* (rarely), *baird* (the most usual), *bard* and *burd*—the sound of the same letters in *heard* at this day." In *creature*, *e-a* were two sounds [*suprà* p. 947]. See the rhyme: began ocean, Milton's *Hymn on the Nativity*, st. 5, and: ocean run; Browne's *Pastorals*, 1, 25, ed. 1772. [See: ocean motion, *suprà* p. 954, col. 1, and: physician incision, *suprà* p. 949, col. 2.] *Ea* was short (e) in *leap'd*, *heap't*.

EAU.

[In a note on H⁴ 1, 2, 7 (383', 28), Mr. White conceives that "squires of the night's body" and "thieves of the day's beauty," contained a pun on *body*, *beauty*, by giving the latter its modern French sound *beauté*. But *eau* in the English pronunciation of that time was not the French, as we have seen, *suprà*

p. 138, and the French sound of that time was not the modern one, *suprà* p. 822 and p. 922.]

EI

was probably always (*ee*).

EW

was often (*oo*), as it is now in *shew*, *strew*, as shewn by rhymes, and spelling *shrow* = shrew, *Albion's England*, 1602, p. 41; *tew* = tow, *Ib.* p. 144; *shewres* = showers, *Ib.* p. 193, [*suprà* p. 960, col. 2, under the rhymes to *So.*] But *ew* was also (*uu*), "and even *shew*, the preterite, had that pronunciation, which it still preserves in New England." In *sue*, *rue*, *true*, *Louis*, *ew* was "very commonly used" for (*uu*).

GH

was more frequently *f* than at present. Compare the rhymes: daughter after, *Pastor Fido*, 1647, p. 150, *Romeus and Juliet*, ed. Collier, p. 65; taught soft, Browne's *Pastorals*, 1, 68; and the spelling: *raught* = rafter, Lilly's *Galathea*, act 1, sc. 4. But *gh* was also silent. The following rhymes are cited from *Collier*, *Coleridge*, and *Shakespeare*, 1860: oft naught, *Passionate Pilgrim*; taught aloft, Surrey's *Forsaken Lover*; shaft caught, Chapman's *Hero and Leander*; aloft thought, Chapman's *Hesiod*; after manslaughter, Barclay's *Eclogue II.* [See Shakspeare's rhymes, *suprà* p. 963, col. 2.]

H.

Probably more often dropped than at present.

I

had the sound (ii) in monosyllables and many other places, as shewn by the misspellings in the folio 1623: the world to *weet* (= wit) AC 1, 1, 11 (911', 39); *spleets* (= splits) what it speaks AC 2, 7, 67 (924', 129); the *breeze* (= brize) upon her AC 3, 10, 6 (928', 14); a kind of *weeke* (= wick) or snuffe H 4, 7, 29 (839', 116), quarto 1604; At whose abuse our *fyring* (= fleeing) world can winke, Churchyard's *Charity*, 1595; Doth neither church, *queer* (= quire, choir), court, nor country spare, *Ibid*; In David's Psalms true *miter* (= metre) flows, Churchyard's *Praise of Poetry*, 1595. The spelling *spreet* for *spirit*, *sprite*, or *spright*, is very common. "Which the *High* goat (= he-goat) as one

seeing, yet reserving revenge, etc.," Braithwaite's *Survey of History*, 1638, p. 342. [See *Wheeson*, *suprà* p. 930.]

IE

was generally (ii), but *pierce*, *fierce*, were "very generally pronounced *purse* and *furse*" [meaning (p*as*, f*is*), or (p*ear*s, f*ear*s), but the xviith century sounds were professedly, (pers, fers)].

L

was more often silent than now, as shewn by the spellings *fautes* = faults, *haulty* = haughty, *Ralph*, *Rafe* = Ralph; but was heard in *could*, *should*, *would*, down to past the middle of xviith century. [In a note on LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 22), Mr. White mentions that *l* in *could*, *would*, is heard in the old pronunciation of the eastern United States, see *suprà* p. 871, col. 2, and p. 961, col. 2, under OO.] The spelling *jelious* (*Albion's England*, c. 84, p. 349, ed. 1606) may indicate the sound still retained in *rebellious*, *stallion*.

O, OA.

There was great irregularity in the spelling. "Some well-educated old-country folk (Mrs. Kemble for instance) pronounce *toad* with a broad dissyllabic utterance of both vowels, the first long, the second short—tō-ăd. The same pronunciation obtains in a less degree with regard to *throat*, *road*, *load*, and other like words." But Shakspeare used "the simple sound of *o*" [meaning perhaps (oo), but see *suprà* p. 94]. *One* was the same as *own*. The modern prefixed *w* is like the Dorsetshire *whot*, *wold*, *whome*, *dwont*, *pwint*, *cwot* = hot, old, home, don't, point, coat.

OI

was simple *i* in *join*, *point*, *boil*, etc., down to Pope's time, *suprà* p. 134.

OO.

Early in the Elizabethan era *oo* expressed "those sounds of *u*—as in *cud* and *blood*, *intrude* and *brood*—for which it now stands," that is (ə, uu?). The use of *o-e*, was meant perhaps to indicate the old sound (oo). "Although we often find *room* spelled *rome*, we never find *Rome* spelled *Room*, or either word *rum* or *rum*." The sound (Ruum) was one "of the many affectations" of the xviiith century. *Moon*, frequently spelled *mone*, rhymes with

Birone LL 4, 3, 70 (148', 230), and probably had the long *o* sound. [In a note on the passage, he repudiates the notion that *Birone* should be read (Biruun-), apparently because the name here rhymes with *moon*, or because Mr. C. J. Fox said *Touloon* in the House of Commons; but see *suprà* p. 961. In a note on MN 5, 1, 28 (177', 139), the rhyme: know woo, makes him suppose that *woo* and *woe* had the same sound. But see rhymes to *woo*, *suprà* p. 961, and Salesbury, p. 785. And on KJ 5, 7, 1 (354', 2), reading '*poor* brain,' instead of '*pure* brain,' he observes: "The original has *pore*, the commonest spelling of '*poor*' in the folio, and in other books of the time, representing the old pronunciation of that word, which is still preserved in some parts of the United States." The Cambridge editors say that in all the copies known to them the reading is *pure*, and not *pore*.]

OU

had either the sound (əu) or (uu).

QU

was (k) in **banquet*, *quality*, *quantity*, **quay*, *quern*, *quintain*, **quoif*, *quod*, **quoit*, **quote*, and perhaps *quart*, and *quit*. [Those words marked * are still frequently so pronounced.] LL 5, 2, 142 (154, 279), perhaps contained the pun *qualm*, *calm*; as also 2H⁴ 2, 4, 11 (419, 40), where the Hostess has *calm*, meaning *qualm*, and Falstaff takes the word as *calm*. [Price, 1668, gives "*qualm* sudden fit, *calm* still quiet," among his list of differences between words of like sound.]

S

"before a vowel had often the sound of *sh*, as it has now in *sugar* and *sure*. Such was its sound in *sue*, *suit*, and its compounds, and I believe in *super* and its compounds, and in *supine* and *supreme*. *Sewer* was pronounced *shore* in the Elizabethan era. Hence, too, *shekels* was spelled *sickels*" in the fo. MM 2, 2, 64 (74', 149). [The Cambridge editors quote from *Notes and Queries*, vol. 5, p. 325, the observation that *shekels* is spelled *sickles* in Wycliffe's Bible. This is not an instance of *s* and *sh* interchanging in sound, but of different transcriptions of a Hebrew word (shex'el) which Jerome Latinized into *siclus*, of course the im-

mediate origin of Wycliffe's spelling, and hence probably of the folio reading. Referring to LL 4, 1, 37 (144', 109), see *supra* p. 215, note, he says that in LL 3, 1, 77 (143, 191), *sue* is printed *shue*. It is not so in the fo. 1623, and the Cambridge editors do not note the form.]

TH

probably more frequently had the sound of (t) than at present. Compare the common spellings: *nostrils* *nosethrills*, *apotecary* *apothecary*, *authority* *authorite*, *t'one* the one, *t'other* the other [*t'one*, *t'other*, are thought to have been *that one*, *that other* = *'t one* *'t other*], *trill* *thrill*, *swarty* *swarthi*, *fift* *fifth*, *sixt* *sixth*, *eight* *eighth* [the last three are quite modern spellings and sounds], *Sathan* *Satan*, *stalworth* *stalwart*, *quot*, *quote*, *quod*, *quoth*. Less usual examples: *whats* *tys* *this*, twice in *Wyt and Science*, Shak. Soc. ed. p. 21 [compare the change of *ð* to *t* after *d*, *t* in *Orrmin*, *supra* p. 490, l. 22, and p. 444, n. 2, but here *tys* may be simply a misprint]; a pytheous *piteous* crye, *Robert the Deyyll*, p. 6; in golden trone *throne*, Seneca's *Ten Tragedies*, 1581, p. 124 [compare *Salesbury*, *supra* p. 760, n. 3]; *th'* one autentique *authentic*, Daniel's *Rosamond*, 1599, sig. Ce 2; *dept* *depth* of art, Browne's *Pastorals*, 2, 52; Be as cauterizing *caterizing*, Tim 5, 1, 48 (761', 136), ed. 1623 [it is really misprinted as a *Cantherizing* in that folio, the other three folios read as a *catherizing*, *caterizing* was Pope's conjecture, other editors read *cancerizing*, the instance is therefore worthless]; the Thuskan *Tuscan* poet, Drayton's *Nymphidia*, 1627, p. 120; with amatists *amethysts*, *Arcadia*, 1605, p. 143; call you this gamouth *gamut*, four times, TS 3, 1, 24 (240', 71), ed. 1623 [the other folios have *gamoth*, the derivation is obscure]. Observe the interchange of *t*, *th*, in Japhet, Batseba, Hithite, Galathians, Loth, Pathmos, Swethen, Goteham, Gotes, Athalanta, Protheus, Antony, Anthenor, "throughout our early literature." See also in Sir Balthazar Gerbier's *Interpreter of the Academie for Forraign Languages and all Noble Sciences and Exercises*, 1648, 4to., where the writer, a Fleming, whose "associations were with the highest-bred English people of his day, . . . intended to ex-

press with great particularity the English pronunciation of the day, and it specially became him to give the best." Thus he spells *leftenant*, *Nassow*. "In this singular book, which is printed with remarkable accuracy, we find words spelled with *th* in which we know there was only the sound of *t*, and, what is of equal importance, words written with *t* which were then, as now, according to received usage, spelled with *th*, and which have been hitherto supposed to have been pronounced with the *θ* (th) sound." The examples are *With Sundayes* = *Whit Sundays*, may *seth* = *set*, will *theach* = *teach*, *strenckt* = *strength*, *yought* = *youth*, *anathomie* = *anatomy*, *fourthy* = *forty*, *seventhy* = *seventy*, *seuentheen* = *seventeen*, *dept* = *depth*, *hight* = *height*, *sigth*, *sighthed* = *sight*, *sighted*, *rethorike* = *rhetoric*, *brought* = *broth*, the French is *potage*.

To this refer the puns "that most capricious [punning on *caper* = a goat] poet Ovid among the *Goths*," AY 3, 3, 3 (218', 9); and "Note, notes, forsooth, and *nothing*," MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 59). Compare "no hearing, no feeling, but my sir's song, and admiring the *nothing* of it," WT 4, 4, 164 (324', 625). Let the reader "discover if he can what this means, if *nothing* was not pronounced *noting*. Let him explain too, if he can, the following passage (which no one has hitherto attempted to explain), '*Armado*.—But to have a love of that colour, methinks Samson had small reason for it. He surely affected her for her wit. *Moth*.—It was so, sir, for she had a green wit,' LL 1, 2, 51 (138', 91), except on the theory that the *th* was pronounced as *t*, and that the Page puns, and alludes to the green withes which Dalilah vainly used as bonds for Samson. And here compare Gerbier's [here misspelled *Bergier*'s in the original work] spelling '*With-Sundayes*,' and conversely the frequent spelling of the preposition '*with*' *wit* in writings of an earlier date." Notice *d* for *th*, and conversely, in *murder*, *further*, *fathom*, *hundred*, *tether*, *quoth*. "I believe that in the Elizabethan era, and, measurably, down to the middle of the seventeenth century, *d*, *th*, and *t*, were indiscriminately used to express a hardened and perhaps not uniform modification of the Anglo-Saxon *ð*, a sound like which we now hear in the French pronunciation of

meurtre, and which has survived, with other pronunciations of the same period, in the Irish pronunciations of *murder*, *further*, *after*, *water*, in all of which the sound is neither *d*, *th*, nor *t*.¹ [He alludes to the very dental *t*, *d* = (t, d) common on the Continent, still heard in some combinations in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and the Peak of Derbyshire, and probably much more widely; the Irish seems to be complicated with a post-aspiration (tʰ, dʰ). In Yorkshire *water* is sometimes (waa'tʰer) and almost (waa'tʰer), and Southerners, in trying to imitate it, call it (waa'tʰr). In the following notes, Mr. White pursues this subject further.] LL 1, 2, enter Moth (137'). "I have not the least doubt that the name of *Armado's* Page is not *Moth*, but *Mote*—a 'congruent epitheton' [LL 1, 2, 9 (138, 14)] to one whose extremely diminutive person is frequently alluded to in the play by phrases which seem applicable only to Tom Thumb. That 'mote' was spelled *moth* we have evidence twice in one line of this play [LL 4, 3, 39 (148, 161)], which stands in the original [in the quartos and folios]: 'You found his *Moth*, the King your *Moth* did see;' also in the following from KJ 4, 1, 29 (346', 92): 'O heaven, that there were but a *moth* in yours;' and, in fact, in every case in which the word appears in the first folio, as well as in all the quartos. Wicliff wrote in Matthew vi.: 'were rust and mought distriyeth' [in Forshall and Madden's ed., Matt. vi. 19, older version, "wher rust and mouȝthe distriyeth," later version, "where ruste and mouȝte destrieth," where we have the very same diversity of *th* and *t*]. Indeed, it seems far from improbable that the two words were originally one, and that 'mote' is not, as Richardson supposes, from 'mite.' For both 'mite' and 'mot[e]' are found in Anglo-Saxon, in which language 'moth' is *moghte* [mogðe, mohðe, or moððe, according to Ettmüller, p. 232, who refers the word to the root *mûgan*, *mûhan*, to be able, to cover, to heap up; this accounts for the *z* so often found in old writings, and the two sounds (moot, mooth) are similar to the two sounds (draat, drauth), see *suprà* p. 963; *mite*, ags. *mîte*, from *mîtan*, to eat; *mote*, ags. *mot*, is of very uncertain origin]. But whether the name is *Moth* or *Mote*, it is plain

that the pronunciation was *mote*." In a note on the fairy's name, Moth, MN 3, 1, 49 (169, 165), Mr. White notes that the Moth of the old editions means *mote*, and quotes from Withal's *Shorte Dictionarie for Young Beginners*. London, 4to., 1568. "A moth or motte that eateth clothes, *tinea*. A barell or great bolle, *Tina*, *næ*. *Sed tinea, cum e, vermiculus est, anglicè, A mought;*" and from Lodge's *Wits Miserie, or the World's Madnesse*, "They are in the aire like *atomi* in *sole*, mothes in the sun." On TS 2, 1, 16 (237, 43), he remarks that 'Katharina,' had the *th* sounded as *t*, as shewn by the abbreviation Kate. [So also Jones, *suprà* p. 219.] On *pother*, KL 3, 2, 9 (862', 50), he remarks: "This word was spelled *powther*, *pother*, *podther*, and *pudder*. In the first three cases it seems to have been pronounced with the *th* hard; and I believe it to be no more nor less than the word 'potter,' which is used in this, but not, I believe, in the mother country." [But the modern (pəðr) favours an old (puðr), which, with the interchange of (d) and (dh), explains everything,] *Bermoothes*, T 1, 2, 53 (4, 229), is the same as *Bermudas*. In the introduction to MA, vol. 3, p. 227, Mr. White very ingeniously shews that if we read *Nothing* as *Noting*, the title becomes intelligible, "for the much ado is produced entirely by noting. It begins with the noting of the Prince and *Claudio*, first by *Antonio's* man [overheard MA 1, 2, 4 (113', 9)], and then by *Borachio*, who reveals their conference to *John* [heard MA 1, 3, 19 (114', 64)]; it goes on with *Benedick* noting the Prince, *Leonato*, and *Claudio* in the garden [the fowl sits MA 2, 3, 26 (119, 95)]; and again with *Beatrice* noting *Margaret* and *Ursula* in the same place [Beatrice runs to hear MA 3, 1, 3 (120', 25)]; the incident upon which its action turns is the noting of *Borachio's* interview with *Margaret* by the Prince and *Claudio* [see me MA 2, 2, 14 (118, 43); you shall see MA 3, 2, 51 (122, 116); saw MA 3, 3, 57 (123', 160); did see MA 4, 1, 41 (126, 91)]; and finally the incident which unravels the plot is the noting of *Borachio* and *Conrad* by the Watch [act 3, sc. 3]. That this sense, 'to observe,' 'to watch,' was one in which 'note' was commonly used, it is quite needless to shew by reference to the literature and lexicographers of Shake-

speare's day; it is hardly obsolete; and even of the many instances in Shakespeare's works, I will quote only one, 'slink by and note him,' from AY 3, 2, 77 (217, 267)." [Compare also LL 3, 1, 6 (142, 25), "make them men of note—do you note me?" Mr. White then quotes the *assonance*, which he regards as a rhyme: doting nothing S 20, 10 (1033'), see *suprà* p. 955].

[The whole of this ingenious dissertation apparently arose from the passage:—

"*Balthazar*. Note this before my notes;

There's not a note of mine that's worth the noting.

D. Pedro. Why, these are very crotchets that he speaks;

Note, notes, forsooth, and nothing."—MA 2, 3, 15 (118', 57).

This is the reading of the Quarto and Folios, for which Theobald proposed *noting*, a correction which seems indubitable. *Nothing* is given as (noth'iq) with a short vowel, the precursor of our (nath'iq), by both Bullokar and Gill, and although the shortness of the vowel did not stand in the way of Shakspeare's assonance, just quoted, nor would have stood in the way of such distant allusions as those among which it is classed, *suprà* p. 922, yet it is opposed to its confusion with (noot'iq). Still I have heard a Russian call *nothing* (noot'iq), with the identical (oo) in place of (oo) as well as (t) for (th). Acting upon this presumed pun, *noting*, *nothing*, Mr. White inquires whether the title of the play may not have been really "Much ado about *noting*," and seeks to establish this by a wonderfully prosaic summary of instances, all the while forgetting the antithesis of *much* and *nothing*, on which the title is founded, with an allusion to the great confusion occasioned by a slight mistake—of Ursula for Hero—which was a mere nothing in itself. The Germans in translating it, *Viel Lärm um Nichts*, certainly never felt Mr. White's difficulty. It seems more reasonable to conclude that in MA 2, 3, 16 (118', 59), and WT 4, 4, 164 (324', 625), *nothing* was originally a misprint for *noting*, which was followed by subsequent editors. It is the only word which makes sense. In the first instance, it is required as the echo of the preceding words; in the second, Autolycus says: "My clown . . . grew

so in love with the wenches' song that he would not stir his pettitoes till he had both *tune* and *words*; which so drew the rest of the herd to me, that all their other senses stuck in ears; . . . no hearing, no feeling, but my sir's *song*, and admiring the *noting* of it;" where *song* and *noting* correspond to *words* and *tune*; and this serves to explain the joke in MA, where Balthazar, by saying that "there's not a note of his that's worth the noting," having already punned on *note* = observe, and musical sound, puns again on *noting* = observing and putting into music; and in D. Pedro's remark, the only pun is on *crotchets*, i.e., either the musical notes or the puns which Balthazar is uttering. The joke on *noting*, and *nothing*, supposing the jingle to answer, is inappreciable in both cases. But dismissing all reference to *nothing* and *noting* as perfectly untenable, there is no doubt that Mr. White has proved *Moth* in LL to mean *Mote* or *Atomy*, RJ 1, 4, 23 (717, 57), and in all modernized editions the name should be so spelled, as well as in the other passages where *moth* means *mote*. Again, in the passage LL 1, 2, 52 (138', 94), there can be no doubt that *green wit* alludes to Dalilah's green withe. This interpretation is also accepted by the Cambridge editors. But how should *wit* and *withe* be confused? Have we not the key in that false pronunciation of the Latin final *-t* and *-d* as *-th*, that is, either (th) or (dh), which we find reprobated by both Palsgrave and Salesbury (*suprà* p. 844, under D and T, and p. 759, note 4)? There is no reason to suppose that *wit* was even occasionally called (with); we have only to suppose that *Mote*—who is a boy that probably knew Latin, at least in school jokes, witness "I will whip about your Infamie Vnum cita," LL 5, 1, 30 (150', 72) [the Latin in this play is vilely printed, by-the-bye, and this *vnum cita* is sufficiently unintelligible; Theobald reads *circum circa*; another conjecture is *manu cita*; perhaps *intra extra* may have been meant, compare Liv. 1, 26, "*verbera, vel intra pomœrium . . . vel extra pomœrium*," but it was, no doubt, some well-known school urchin's allusion to a method of flogging]—would not scruple, if it suited his purpose, to alter the termination of a word in the Latin school fashion, and make (*wit*) into (with) or (widh) or to merely add

on the sound of (th), thus (witth), as we now do in the word *eighth* = (*etth*). We find him doing the very same thing, when, for the sake of a pun, he alters *wittoll*, as the word is spelled in the fo. MW 2, 2, 83 (51', 313), into *wit-old*, LL 5, 1, 26 (150', 66). But the word *withe*, ags. *wiðig*, with a long vowel, is otherwise remarkable. It is now called (*with*) by most orthoepists, Perry giving (*widh*) and Smart (*woidh*). The long ags. *i* would make us expect (*ai*), but it is one of the words which has remained unchanged. Even Smart gives (*widh-i*), which is the complete word, though Worcester writes (*with-i*). These varieties are due to its being a word which orthoepists are probably not in the habit of hearing and using. The Scotch say (*wid-i*, *wod-i*). Could *withe* have ever been called (*wit*)? It is possible, just as *fift*, *sixt*, cited by Mr. White, had (t) in ags. and as late as Gill, but have now (th). That *th*, *t*, were used in a very haphazard way in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew words in the xvth and even xvith century is well known (suprà p. 219), and probably there was great uncertainty of pronunciation in such words, partly through ignorance, and partly perhaps, because, notwithstanding what Bullokar says, suprà p. 842, l. 19, *th* in Latin and Latinized words may have been by a large section of scholars called (t). To this category may be referred the pronunciation of *Goth* as (*goot*), AY 3, 3, 3 (218', 9), which is certainly intended. The usages of the Fleming Gerbier are not entitled to much weight. He probably could not pronounce (th), and identifying it with his own (tþ), which was also his pronunciation of (t), became hopelessly confused. In his own Flemish, *th* and *t* had the single sound (tþ). His *With-Sunday* may be a mere printer's transposition of letters for *Whit-Sunday*. There does not appear to be any reason for concluding that the genuine English *th* ever had the sound of (t), although some final *t*'s have fallen into (th).—As regards the alternate use of *d* and *th* in such words as *murther*, *further*, *father*, etc., there seems reason to suppose that both sounds existed, as they still exist, dialectically, vulgarly, and obsolescently. But we must remember that (b, d, g) between vowels have a great tendency in different languages to run into (bh, dh, gh). Thus in German, *aber*,

schreiben, become dialectically (*aa'bher* *shrai'bhen*). See examples in Pennsylvania German, suprà p. 557. In Danish *d* medial and final is generally (dh), though not distinguished in writing, and similarly *g* in the greater part of Germany becomes (gh, gjh) in the same positions. In Hebrew the pairs (b bh, d dh, g gh) had only one letter a piece. Hence (d, dh) forms no analogy for (t, th). The upshot of Mr. White's researches seems, therefore, to be that writers of the xvth and xvith centuries were very loose in using *t*, *th*, in non-Saxon words. That this looseness of writing sometimes affected pronunciation, we know by the familiar example *author* and its derivatives. Thus Mätzner notes, *Eng. Gram.* 1, 132: "In words derived from ancient languages," observe the limitation, "*th* often replaces *t*: *Anthony* (*Antonius*), *author* (*autor*), *prothonotary* (*protonotarius*); we also find *lanthorn* as well as *lantern* (*lanterne*, lat. *laterna*, *lanterna*)."¹ Could this last spelling have arisen from a false etymology, arising from the common employment of transparent horn in old lanterns? The *h* does not appear to have ever been sounded. "Old English often writes *t* in this way: *rethor* (*rheter*), *Sathanas* (*Satanas*), *Ptholomee*, etc. The modern English *anthem*, old English *antem*, ags. *antifon*, arose from *antiphona*."]

U.

"*U*, when not followed by *e*, had very commonly that sound (very unfitly indicated by *oo*) which it has in *rude*, *crude*, and the compounds of *lude*, and of which the 'furnitoor, literatoor, matoor,' of old-fashioned, though not illiterate, New-England folk is a remnant. Such phonographic spellings as the following, of which I have numerous memorandums, leave no doubt on this point: ugly *ougly*, gun *goon*, run *roon*, clung *cloong*, spun *spoon*, curl *coorle*, and conversely poop *pup*, gloom *glum*, gloomy *glumy*." [In all but the last two instances the sound was (*u*), and they are corroborations of the statement that short *u* was (*u*) or (*u*) in the xvth century. See suprà p. 167. In a note on *Puck*, MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 18), vol. 4, p. 101, Mr. White says that previously to Shakspeare it was always spelled *powke*, *pooke*, or *pouke*; and in vol. 5,

p. 143, in a note on "muddled in Fortune's mood," AW 5, 2, 1 (276, 4), he notices the pun, *mood*, *mud* (see *suprà* p. 926), spoiled by Theobald's correction into *moat*, adopted by Warburton. Probably we have the same pun, or error spelling, 2H⁴ 2, 4, 13 (419, 43), where "muddy rascal" is probably a joke on "moody rascal."]

URE.

"That *ure* final was generally, if not universally, pronounced *er* among even the most polite and literate of our Elizabethan ancestors, no observant reader of the books of their day, or even those of the latter part of the seventeenth century, need be told." [The usage was not general, or con-

firmed till the xviith century. The transition was (-tyyr, -tuur, -tær), compare Mr. White's remarks on U.] Compare the spellings *venter* venture, Milton's *Comus*, v. 228, ed. 1673, also in other books, *nurter* nurture, *futer* future, *tortor* torture, *vulter* vulture; *joynter* jointure TS 2, 1, 127 (239', 372) in fo. 1623; *rounder* roundure KJ 2, 1, 52 (337, 259), in fo. 1623, *wafter* wafture JC 2, 1, 63 (771', 246) in fo. 1623; also *monsture* monster, *Albion's England*, ed. 1602, p. 162. [See *suprà* p. 200, l. 11, and the rhymes: departure shorter, enter venture, *suprà* p. 954. Thomas Gray, 1716-42, in his *Long Story*, rhymes: satire nature, ventured enter'd.]

Mr. White adds: "Some readers may shrink from the conclusions to which the foregoing memorandums lead, because of the strangeness, and, as they will think, the uncouthness, of the pronunciation which they will involve. They will imagine *Hamlet* exclaiming:—

—'A *baste* that wants *discourse* of *rayson*

Would *haive* *moorn'd* longer!'

'O, me prophetic *sowl*! me *oonole*!'

'A broken voice, and his whole *foonction* shooting

Wit forms to his *consayt*, and all for *noting*!'

and, overcome by the astonishing effect of the passages thus spoken, they will refuse to believe that they were ever thus pronounced out of Ireland. But let them suppose that such was the pronunciation of Shakespeare's day, and they must see that our orthoepy would have sounded as strange and laughable to our forefathers, as theirs does to us." Of these pronunciations we have no authority for *haive*, *me*, *shooting*, *wit*, *noting*, as representatives of *have*, *my*, *suiting*, *with*, *nothing*, — (haav) or (hææv), (mæi) or (mî), (sytt'iq, with, noth'iq), being the only pronunciations which external authorities will justify. The example is, however, quoted, as the first attempt which I have seen to give complete sentences in Shaksperian pronunciation, the un-Italicized words being supposed to have their present sounds.

SUMMARY OF THE CONJECTURED PRONUNCIATION OF SHAKSPERE.

It now remains from these indications to draw up a scheme of Shaksperian pronunciation, sufficiently precise to exhibit specimens in palaeotype. Shakspeare was born in 1564, became joint proprietor of Blackfriars Theatre¹ in 1589, and died in 1616. He was a

¹ This is the usual belief. Mr. Halliwell, in a letter in the *Athenæum* of 13 Aug., 1870, p. 212, col. 3, says that he had recently discovered a series of documents concerning the establishment

of the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, which dissipate a mass of conjecture and throw much light on the history of the Elizabethan stage. "It is now certain," he says, "that Shakspeare,

Warwickshire man, and our chief authority for the pronunciation of the time, Dr. Gill, a Lincolnshire man; but such local and personal peculiarities must be disregarded. What we want to assign is the pronunciation in which his plays were acted, during the last decade of the xvith and the first of the xviith century. This pronunciation may be fairly assumed to be that determined by the preceding quarter of a century, during which the actors must have acquired it, and, judging from stage habits in the xixth century, it will probably have been archaic.

CONSONANTS do not present the slightest difficulty, except in respect to syllabic R (p. 951) and L (p. 952), the guttural or mute GH, and S, T. Although we have much reason to suspect a use of vocal R (= r) similar to that now in vogue (p. 196), especially from the influence of final *r* on the pronunciation of the preceding letters, as in the rhymes pp. 964-6, yet we have absolutely no authority for such a conclusion. Even Cooper's words (p. 200), which seem to convey the distinctest intimation, are not decisive. Hence no attempt will be made to distinguish R into (r, r), but the modern Scotch (r) will be assumed in all cases. Syllabic R and L will, therefore, be written (er, el). Thus—

Juu sent mi dep'pyti for Eierland H³ 3, 2, 73 (610, 260).

Az feier dreivz out feier, so pít'i pít'i JC 3, 1, 65 (775', 171).

Az ei remem'ber Hen'eri dhe Síst R³ 4, 2, 45 (580', 98).

But whuu iz man dhat iz not aq'geri? Tim 3, 5, 9 (752', 57).

Faarwel, komend' mi tu jur mis'teres RJ 2, 4, 81 (723', 204).

Juu, dhe greet too ov dhis asem'beli C 1, 1, 45 (655', 159).

Wheil shii did kaal mi ras'kal fid'eler TS 2, 1, 45 (238, 158).

Dhan Bul'iqbruks return' tu Eq'geland R³ 4, 1, 4 (375, 17).

As respects GH, there seems to be no doubt that it was still indicated in speech. The interpretation of Salesbury's words, cited on p. 210, was slightly modified by Dr. Davies in revising p. 779, and it is evident that we must assume the (kh) to have been very lightly touched. All those who are familiar with the various local pronunciations of German, know well that there are extreme differences in the force with which the breath is expelled when pronouncing (kh). Shakspeare certainly did not find his utterance of this sound sufficiently strong to debar him from disregarding it altogether in rhymes (p. 963), which however does not shew that it was not pronounced; compare the analogous rhymes (oo, oou), p. 961, and the assonances, p. 955. But we should probably be more justified in following the example of Smith and Hart, who wrote (H) or (H'), p. 210, than that of Gill, who identified the sound with the Greek χ

who is more than once alluded to by name, was never a proprietor in either theatre. His sole interest in them consisted in a participation, as an actor, in the receipts of 'what is called the house.'" And in the *Athenæum* of 24 Sept., 1870, p. 398, col. 1, he explains that "this does not mean what is now implied by the ordinary expression of an actor sharing in the receipts of the

house. In Shakspeare's time, the proprietors took absolutely the entire receipts of certain portions of the theatre. 'The house' was, therefore, some other part or parts of the theatre, the receipts of which were divided amongst Shakspeare and other actors, and in which a proprietor had no share, unless, of course, he was an actor as well as a proprietor."

=(kh), *ibid.* Hence (h) will be adopted in the examples.¹ See also *suprà* p. 477, and note 1.

The S was apparently often (z) under the same circumstances as at present. T, S, were also often (s) where they are now so pronounced in French. The numerous examples of "resolutions," pp. 947-950, must be held to prove conclusively that in these cases the modern (sh) sound was unknown or at least unrecognized. See the remarks on *fashion*, p. 949, col. 2, last entry, and p. 955, and on *resolution*, *imagination*, p. 953.²

Initial K, G, in *kn*, *gn*, was certainly pronounced, and initial WR was probably (rw), but may have been (w'r). There is, however, no internal authority for this conclusion, but on the other hand no puns such as: *knave nave*, *write rite*, against it.³

VOWELS present greater difficulties, and must be considered more in detail.

A was certainly either (aa, a) or (aah, ah). It could not have passed into (ææ, æ), and still less into (ee, e). The puns with A, p. 923, and the rhymes on A, p. 955, independently of external testimony, can leave no reasonable doubt on this point.⁴

AI, AY, present much ground for hesitation. They must now be distinguished from *ei*, *ey*, with which Salesbury confounds them, while Smith makes the difference slight. After Gill's denunciation of Hart's pronunciation of *ai*, *ay*, as (ee), p. 122, we cannot admit that sound as general in Shakspeare's time, notwithstanding the presumption in favour of Sir Philip Sidney's use of (ee), p. 872, and the obscurity of Mulcaster, p. 912. Wallis and Wilkins, who are both later, and both apparently said (æi), confirm this opinion. We see by puns that the pronunciation (ee) was well known to Shakspeare, but we cannot fix it in more than two or three cases. The remarks on p. 924 justify the retention of (ai) for general purposes, that is, the acceptance of Gill's practice.⁵ See also *suprà* p. 474, note, col. 2.

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce (*suprà* p. 917, n. 1) say, "The sound of this guttural must have been atonic and faint, for Baret, Smith and Jonson make it equivalent to *h* . . . Its sound must have been disappearing in Shakspeare's time, for in 1653 it was a provincialism (Wallis, p. 31). . . It is probable that *f* was frequently substituted for *gh*." See *suprà* pp. 963, 967.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce "conclude,—1st that *-tion*, *-sion*, are dissyllabic, but could be contracted to one syllable; and, 2nd, that they had nearly, if not quite, the modern French sound."—See Gill's remarks on synæresis, *suprà* p. 937, and n. 3.

³ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say "*k* before *n*, and *w* before *h*, would seem to have been invariably sounded."

⁴ The short *a* is considered to have been (æ) by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, who, relying principally on Wallis, say that "in this case, it is a defect in Gill's system, that it does not distinguish between the *a* in 'cat,' and that in 'cart.'" But as regards *a* long, they consider it had "a sound nearly like *ale*," and then stating that this *a*, "as now sounded, ends with a very short *i* sound," conclude that this was not the case then, and seem, on the authority of Wallis, to make it (ææ). The case of long *a*=(AA) they consider under AU, see the next note but one.

⁵ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce conclude that "*ai* was a true diphthong, more resembling our *a* long than our *i* long," meaning probably (ææi), which would not be quite the same as our *a* long, which they consider to be (eet).

AU, AW, ought to be (au) if *ai*=(ai). But the usage of language is independent of such analogies, and changes may be complete in one case, but not in the other. Hart finds no difficulty in pairing (ee, au), and Gill, though he wrote (au), apparently meant (AA), p. 145. But he evidently hesitated at times between (au) or (AU) and (AA), for he says, referring to "HALL Henriculus, HALE trahere, et HALL aula," that "exilius est *a* in duabus vocibus prioribus, in tertiâ *fere* est diphthongus." Compare a similar expression respecting the undoubtedly diphthongal long *i*, *suprà* p. 114, l. 10 from bottom. The (au, au, au) have the true archaic stage twang, and each of them may be occasionally heard, at least before (l), from modern declaimers. Still as I have felt constrained to accept (AA) as the most probable representative of Dr. Gill's use, and as Ben Jonson, the friend and contemporary of Shakspeare, seems to have had no notion of any diphthongal sound (*suprà* p. 146), I have adopted (AA) in Shakspeare. There is at least one rhyme, *la ! flaw*, p. 957, which favours this supposition, though it would be quite inadequate to establish it. Puns give no results, p. 923.¹

E, followed the rule of (ee, ii, e) given *suprà* pp. 225, 227. There was, however, occasionally a tendency to mince it into (*i*) when short, compare the puns: *clept clipt, civil Seville*, p. 925, and the rhymes p. 958. This mincing became very prevalent in the xviith and xviiith centuries, but is inadmissible as an acknowledged pronunciation in stately verse.²

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, after a long investigation, say: "We must endeavour to explain our facts on the presumption that its sound [that of *au*] underwent no change. Now this can only be done by supposing that the French *a*, from 1620 to 1690, represented such a sound as might at once be described as 'daunt' and be made equivalent to 'dawn.' Such a sound is, perhaps, given to 'balm' in Georgia and Alabama." By *daunt*, *dawn*, I suppose these writers mean (aa, AA); by the last-mentioned sound of *balm*, they possibly mean (aa). They proceed thus: "Soon after 1690 it took another step in the same direction as that which was taken after the wars of the Huguenots, perhaps, and now bore no resemblance to the *a* in *father*. It appears, however, that this change had not struck completely into the provinces; for, as the Revolution gradually passed off, this orthoëpy also died out, and left the pronunciation as it was during the reign of Francis I. If we accept this theory, our conclusion respecting the English *aw* will be that it was always pronounced as at present," that is (AA). They incidentally

call the pronunciation of *dance* as (dæns), which is thought refined by many English speakers, "a prevalent vulgarism" in America. On the sound of French *a*, see *suprà* p. 820, and on the English conception of the sound so late as the end of the xviiith century, see Sir William Jones's English spelling of French, *suprà* p. 835. At present there is a great tendency in French to make the sound very thin. The use of (aa) is disliked, and the short sound has dwindled from (a) to (ah), on its road, apparently, to (æ), precisely as in older English. See Tito Pagliardini's *Essays on the Analogy of Language*, 1864, p. 6.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say that *e* short "has undergone no perceptible change." And of the sound of *e* long, as in *Eve*, *dæx*, they say: "There can be no doubt that this sound was heard in almost all the words where it now occurs, including 'people' and 'shire' in combination, for Gill gives to all these words the long sound of the short *i*. The principal exceptions were words in *ea*, several in *ei*, *Cæsar*, *cedar*, *equal*, *fierce*, *Grecian*, *interfere*, *these*, etc., which had the peculiar sound of *ea*," explained in the next note.

EA was mostly long (ee) and occasionally short (e). We must here accept the external testimonies, which are clear and distinct. The rhymes, p. 957, are singularly inconclusive as respects the length of the vowel. The rhymes of *ea* with *ee*, pp. 957-8, are all clearly false. A few words had the sound of (ii), p. 81. The vocabulary must be consulted for the authorities. All such usages were clearly orthographical mistakes or disputes, the appropriation of *ea* to long (ee) at the close of the xviith century not having been universally recognized. In *heart*, *heard*, the sound of (a) prevailed, see the puns p. 925, but see also the rhymes p. 964, col. 1, and p. 965, col. 2. For the interchange of the sounds (iir, eer) in the terminations *-ear*, *-ere*, see the rhymes p. 964, col. 2. In these cases there is no choice but to follow external authorities.¹

EE must be regarded as always intentionally (ii).²

EI, EY, ought to have followed the fortunes of *ai*, *ay*, with which we have seen they were once interchangeable. Gill is not consistent. He marks *prey* as (prai), *suprà* p. 900, but in *they* he uses (ei, eei), and in *receive*, *conceive* simple (ee). The rule that where *ei* is now (ii) it was then (ee), and where it is now (ee, eei) it was then (eei), will not be far wrong. Neither rhymes nor puns help us here. Hart's ordinary orthography, as shewn by his own MS., *suprà* p. 794, note, proves that *ei* was to him identical with (ee).³

EO had become (ii) in *people*, and perhaps in *yeoman*, of which the modern sound (joo'mæn) is clearly erroneous. We find *leopard* trissyllabic, H^e 1, 5, 5 (475, 31), *suprà* p. 947. The combination is very rare, and there is nothing to be gleaned from rhymes or puns.

EU, EW, if we believe external testimony, were clearly (eu) or (yy), and this view will be adopted. See the observations on the rhymes which apparently militate against this conclusion, p. 962.⁴

I, Y, long will be assumed as (ei). Smith and Shakspeare identify *I*, *eye*, *aye*, pp. 112, 926, 963. For Gill's sound Wallis's (oi) has been adopted, but the more indeterminate (ei) has been retained in Shakspeare. The short I was of course (i). But rhymes present difficulties. We have a few cases of long I and short I rhyming in closed syllables, pp. 958-9, some of which must be esteemed false, but in

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say that "Mr. Marsh, looking at the grammars, at once discovered that it [the sound of *ea*] was neither the one [long *a*] nor the other [double *ee*], but an intermediate sound, like *e* in *met* prolonged. [This gives (ee) exactly.] . . . When *ea* is found rhymed with *ai*, it is owing to a common mispronunciation of the latter diphthong noticed by Gill." Shakspeare's rhymes of *ea* with *ai*, are so rare as to be quite valueless, coming under the category of consciously imperfect rhymes, *suprà* p. 956. Even Sidney's, were not frequent, p. 872.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not

treat this combination independently of long *e*.

³ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say, "the *ei* in *receive*, *deceive*, etc., was a diphthong in Gill's time,"—these two words are, however, exceptionally pronounced with monophthongal (ee) by Gill,—"it was used interchangeably with *ai*, as both Smith and Mulcaster observe." See *suprà* p. 120 for Smith, and p. 912 for Mulcaster.

⁴ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say that "*eu* differed from *u* in 'use' apparently in beginning with the vowel 'end' instead of the consonant *y*." See below p. 980, n. 2.

others there may have been a variety of pronunciation. The termination *-ind* seems to have been generally (eind), corresponding to the modern pronunciation. The final *-Y*, however, offers the same varieties of rhyme as in Spenser, p. 869, and in modern verse, p. 861. There are occasional rhymes with *(-ii)*, p. 959, col. 2, but many more numerous examples of rhymes with *(-ei)*, p. 959, col. 1, without any reference to the origin from French *-é, -ie*, or Anglo-saxon *-iz*. As Gill constantly adopts the pronunciation *(-ei)* in such cases, I shall follow his lead. Compare the puns on *noddy*, *marry*, p. 926.¹

IE, when not final, was probably *(ii)*, according to the external authorities. When medial, it was still a rare form, and had not regularly replaced *ee*, p. 104; *friend*, *fiend*, were probably (*frend*, *fend*), see the rhymes, p. 958. When final, it was generally *(ei)* accented, and *(i)* unaccented, see Mulcaster's remarks, *suprà* p. 913, col. 2.

O long and short must be generally assumed as (*oo*, *o*), compare the rhymes, pp. 959, 960, and the puns, p. 925. Before *l*, long *o* becomes (*ouu*), according to Gill. Shakspeare in his rhymes disregards the difference (*oo*, *ouu*), p. 960. We must, therefore, follow external authorities. Long *O* was also occasionally (*uu*), compare the puns,

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say of *i* in *in*, that "words to which we now give this sound had in general the same pronunciation in Shakspeare's day." On the long *i*, they first remark on the gliding characteristic of diphthongs, referring to Mr. J. Jennison in *Hillard's Reader*: "None of our diphthongs are combinations of two vowels, but run from the first sound to the last through an infinite number of gradations. '*Ice*,' according to this view, instead of being *ah-ee*, is more nearly *ah*, *up*, *err*, *end*, *in*, *eve*," that is, instead of (*ai*), is more nearly (*aæœi*). "But it is not to be supposed that any abrupt change was made from the Saxon *i* long to this very complex combination. It is more rational to suppose that the sound grew up by insensible gradations somewhat in this manner," translating the symbols, they become (1. *i*, 2. *ï*, 3. *œi*, 4. *æœi*, 5. *æœi*, 6. *aæœi*). Then quoting Palsgrave as *suprà* pp. 109, 110, they say: "The unmistakable drift of these citations is to the effect that '*ice*' was pronounced like *i* in '*wind*,' or perhaps '*end-in-eve*,'" that is, as (*i*)? or (*œi*)? Further on they say, "the Palsgravian pronunciation of '*ice*' in words where the *i* is now sounded long, appears to have been confined with Mulcaster to a few words ending in *nd*. '*Wind*, *frind*, *bind*,' he laconically re-

marks, 'and with the qualifying *e*, kinde, finde,' etc. (*Elementarie*, p. 133). [*Suprà* p. 913.] So Coote, who, however, like Gill, preferred the longer pronunciation in all words of this class, not excepting '*wind*.' 'And some pronounce these words *blind*, *find*, *behind*, short: others *blinde*, *finde*, *behinde*, with *e*, long,' (Coote, p. 19)." They adopt (*œi*) as Gill's *j* or long *i*. These conclusions are not sensibly different from mine. In this relation, the following observation of Ben Jonson, alluded to by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, shewing apparently that he recognized both sounds (*mæs mees*; *lois lees*), is noteworthy: "Many words ending in *Diphthongs*, or *Vowells*, take neither *z*. nor *s*. [in the plural,] but only change their *Diphthongs* or *Vowells*, retaining their last *Consonant*: as *Mouse*. *Mice*, or *Meece*. *Louse*. *Lyce*, or *Leece*. *Goose*. *Geece*. *Foot*. *Feet*. *Tooth*. *Teeth*." B. Jonson, *Gram.* Chap. xiii. But from the same writer conjugating "Pr. *Lye*. Pa. *lay*. Par. pa. *lyne* or *layne*," we cannot conclude that *layne* was pronounced by any one like *lyne*, but that *lyne* was a form which he preferred, as one may see from his conjugating: "Pr. *Fly*. Pa. *flew*. Par. pa. *flyne* or *flowne*," where *flyne* could never have been the pronunciation of *flowne*. B. Jonson, *Gram.* Chap. xix.

p. 925, and the rhymes in *-ove*, and of long *o* with *oo*, both on p. 961. On the other hand, short *o* often rhymed with (*u*), and was frequently so pronounced (compare the puns, p. 926), though some of the rhymes, especially those in *-ong* (p. 962), are undoubtedly false.¹

OA seems to have been regularly (*oo*).

OE is only (*oo*).

OI, OY will be taken as (*oi*) or (*uii*), according to Dr. Gill's usage. When there is no immediate authority, the pronunciation (*ui*) or (*oi*) in the XVIIth or XVIIIth century, may be held to imply a XVIth century (*ui*) or (*uii*), *suprà* p. 134, l. 1, and p. 473, note, col. 2, and *infra* p. 992, note 2, and p. 995, note 3. The rhymes, p. 963, are not at all conclusive, but seem to indicate an unsettled pronunciation.²

OO was regularly (*uu*), but there are a few rhymes with long *u*, see p. 963.

OU, OW, had of course the two sounds (*ou*, *ouu*), but Shakspeare quite disregarded the difference between these two diphthongs in rhyme, p. 961, and also the difference between (*oo*, *ouu*), p. 960. In a few instances he has even rhymed (*oo*, *ou*), p. 961. It would of course be wrong to conclude from these rhymes that he did not differentiate the sounds (*oo*, *ou*), which have been so carefully distinguished in speech down to the present day; and even, though (*oo*) and (*ou*) are now beginning to coincide, in an unrecognized pronunciation of long *o*, the cases of (*oo*, *ou*) are kept apart as (*ouu*, *ou*) or (*ou*, *au*). Hence I shall here follow my external authorities.³

¹ Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not seem to be acquainted with the common English provincial and Scotch sounds (*oo*, *o*), although they know (*oo*, *o*), the short (*o*) being the "Yankee pronunciation of 'whole' and 'coat'." Finding that in Wallis the pronunciation of short *o* was (*ʌ*) or nearly (*ə*), they leave the point in doubt whether Gill may not really have paired (*oo*, *ʌ*) in error, and have meant those sounds by his *ö*, *o*. The long *o* they take without any after-sound or "vanish," that is, as (*oo*) not (*ouu*). But the diphthongal *o* before *l*, and *ou*, *ow*, which are now professedly (*oo*), they assume "must have been the same with which the Irish now pronounce the word *bold*." I have not had an opportunity of strictly analyzing the Irish sound, but it appears to me to be rather (*ou*), or (*ou*), with a short first element, than (*ouu*), or (*ouu*), with a long first element. It is probably the same sound as orthoepists in the XVIIIth century analyzed as (*au*, *ou*), *suprà* p. 160. But if so, it is more nearly the closed sound of *ou* than the open sound, that is, nearer (*ou*) than (*ouu*). Messrs.

Noyes and Peirce do not seem to notice the (*uu*, *u*) sounds of *o*.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce recognize the double sound of *oi*, and quote the passage from Mulcaster, *suprà* p. 915.

³ These distinctions are recognized by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, who, however, infer from the passages quoted from Mulcaster, *suprà* p. 914, that he agreed with Bullokar and Palsgrave in pronouncing *ou* as (*uu*), where most writers gave (*ou*), just as when *i* preceded *nd* he at least occasionally pronounced (*i*), and not (*ei*, *oi*), *suprà* p. 913. They also imagine that Shakspeare may have occasionally played on the pronunciation of *fowl* as *fool*. Mr. Noyes, in a private letter, thinks that the reading *foule* found in three quartos in H¹ 4, 2, 7 (402, 21), which is *foole* or *fool* in all the other authorities, arose from this source, and that *fool* is the better reading. The words would then thus run: "such as fear the report of a caliver worse than a struck fool or a hurt wild duck," where this sound would create an obvious pun. But we have no examples of indisputable puns of this sort.

U long must be taken on external authority as (yy). See remarks on the pun *you, u*, p. 926, and on the rhymes, p. 962. There is of course just the chance of an (iu) pronunciation, which we know existed, not only from Holyband's express assertion (suprà p. 228, note, col. 1, and p. 838), but from the impossibility of otherwise accounting for Wilkins's ignorance of (yy), p. 176. Still the testimony of Gill and Wallis is so distinct that we should not be justified in assuming any but (yy) to be the received pronunciation.¹ But U short was either (u) or (u). The puns or allusions *moody, muddy*, p. 926, strongly confirm this. None of the rhymes, p. 962, are convincing.²

UI receives no light from the rhyme *voice juice*, even when supplemented by Hodges's confusion noted on p. 963, col. 1, and the conclusions of p. 136 will be adopted.

¹ The possibility of Wallis's (yy) and Wilkins's (iu) coexisting, without either noticing the difference of pronunciation in the other, though both were in frequent communication, is established by the following fact. In Norfolk *two, do*, are constantly called (tyy, dyy), as I know from personal experience, and much concurrent information. The gentleman who supplied Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte with a specimen of the dialect, repudiated this sound, and only allowed the existence of (tiu, diu), sounds of which I am ignorant. But I have noticed a confusion between (yy, æ) here as elsewhere. Again, it is generally asserted that in Devonshire they call *moon* (myyn); but Dr. Weymouth, a Devonshire man, denies the fact, and his pronunciation is (mæən), as nearly as I could judge. The sounds (æ, yy) are constantly confused. See remarks on the Devonshire pronunciation of *oo*, suprà p. 636, note. Kenrick, in his Dictionary, 1773, p. 39, identifies a quickly spoken *u* with the French sound. Even as late as 1775, Joshua Steele heard French *u* or (yy) in *superfluous, tune, supreme, credulity*, though he states it to be "very rare in English," and "seldom or never sounded . . . except in the more refined tone of the court, where it begins to obtain in a few words." *Prosodia Rationalis*, pp. x. and xii. See below Chap. X. I heard (yy) pronounced in *purify* in 1870, from the pulpit. Attention should also be paid to an extremely difficult provincial diphthong, common in the Peak of Derbyshire, Westmoreland, and Cum-

berland, and probably in many parts of the north of England, which replaces long *u*. At first a Southerner takes it for (iu), then he is apt to consider it simply (yy) or (æ) or (uu), according to his familiarity with these sounds. I have not yet been able to analyze it satisfactorily, but it appears to me to partake of such characters as (yu, yu, uu). The first element of diphthongs is notoriously difficult to seize, even when the diphthongs are extremely familiar (suprà p. 108), and hence the uncertainty of this sound, which may perhaps be provisionally received as (yu). Yet Mr. Thomas Hallam (suprà p. 473, n. 1, col. 2), from whose pronunciation I endeavoured to analyze the sound, himself analyzed it as (wu), which did not satisfy my ear, although the corresponding diphthong (ii) for (ii) seemed, after much observation, sufficiently established. It is possibly to some such intermediate diphthong that all the confusion between (yy) and (iu) is to be traced.

² Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say: "the pronunciation of 'use' is described with some unanimity as that of the French *u*, as indeed it may well have been once; but that certainly was not its sound in Shakespeare's day, for Baret describes it in terms of more than ordinary clearness as being a diphthong compounded of *e* and *u*." But see the passage quoted and remarks on it, suprà p. 168. The short *u* Messrs. Noyes and Peirce fully recognize as (u) or (u), which of course they do not distinguish.

These considerations give the following results:—

A=(aa a).	-Y final, generally=(ei).
AI=(ai), and rarely=(ee).	IE medial=(ii), final=(ei) or (i).
AU=(AA).	O long, generally=(oo), occasionally=(uu).
E long=(ee), rarely=(ii).	O short generally=(o), occasionally=(u) or (u).
E short=(e).	OA=(oo).
EA generally=(ee), rarely=(ii), and more rarely=(a), occasionally=(e).	OE=(oo).
EE=(ii).	OI=(oi), but occasionally=(ui).
EI=(ei) or=(ee), rarely=(ai).	OO=(uu).
EO=(ii) or (ee).	OU=(ou, ou).
EU=(eu) or (yy).	U long=(yy).
I long=(ei).	U short=(u) or=(u).
I short=(i).	

Any deviations from these customs must have special external authority; and when any combination has two values, either the same authority must be sought, or its place supplied by analogy, derived from observing the direction of change in similar words (pp. 225-240). The usual variations in the orthography of the xvth and early part of the xvth century must of course be allowed for. We have no specimens of Shakspeare's own orthography except his own signature, and no reason to suppose that it would have been more systematic or regular than that of the other literary men of his time.¹

¹ For the printed orthography of Shakspeare's works, the remarks of Salesbury (suprà p. 752 and note 3) should be borne in mind. We have seen that Sir John Cheke attempted a systematic orthography in MS. (suprà p. 877, note). Mr. Francis Fry, F.S.A., author of an elaborate *Description of the Great Bible of 1539, &c., &c.*, and editor of a fac-simile reproduction of Tyndale's first edition of the New Testament, 1525 or 1526, and other works, has recently called special attention to a curious and very rare edition of Tyndale's New Testament, of which a mutilated copy will be found in the British Museum (press-mark C. 36. a, described in the Catalogue of Bibles, part 13, fo. 1384), and a nearly perfect copy at Cambridge, of which the second title (the first is wanting) runs thus, according to Mr. Fry: "THE NEWE TESTAMENT, dyligently corrected and compared with the Greke by WILLYAM TYNDALE: and fynessed in the yere of oure Lorde God A.M.D. and .XXXV." While this sheet was passing through the press, I received Mr. Fry's printed alphabetical list of nearly 300 words in

this edition, whose orthography differs so materially from that used for the same words in the edition of 1534, that Anderson (according to Mr. Fry), in his *Annals of the English Bibles*, 1, 456, says, it is supposed to be Gloucestershire dialect, and that the Testament was intended by Tyndale (who was born in Gloucestershire, about 1477), for the ploughboys of that county, whom he said, about 1520, he would make to know the Scriptures better than the priests. On examining the list of words furnished by Mr. Fry, and comparing the spelling with the older pronunciations in the preceding Vocabulary (pp. 881-910), we find the following results, neglecting a few doubtful cases.

AE=(aa) in: aeges, baebes, braeke, caege, caeke, caese, chaest, desolaet, faere, faese faece, faether, gaesinge, gaeve, graece, haest haestily, haet, haeth, haeve, haeven, laede, laeke, laeme, laetely, maede, maeke, mackinge, naked, naeme, parttaeker, plaece, plaetes, raege, raeted, rather, saefe, saeke, saeme, saeved, saeveour, scaepe, shaeke, shaeme, shaepe, spaece, spaeke, taecte, taeme, taest, awacke, waere, waest, waested.

AEL=(aul) in: caelinge, faele, faelsly, shaell, taelked, waelke.

AE=(a) in: accompaenyinge, aengell, maed, maesters, paert, rewærde, saete,

The pronunciation founded on these conclusions, and realized in the following examples, may at first hearing appear rude and provincial. But I have tried the effect of reading some of these passages

taecklynge, vyneyaerde, waetch, wraeth (all probably errors).

AEY = (ai) in : abstaeyne, afraeyde, agaeyne, captaeyne, certaeyne, chaene (an error for *chaeyne*), clacy, complaeyners, consaeytes (possibly an error for *conseates*), contaeyned, daey, dekaeyne, faeyle (an error for *faeyle*), faeynt (also by error *faeont*), faeyr, faeyth, fountaeyne, gaeye, haeye, laey, laeyde, laeye, maeyntayne, maeyste, marvaeyle, mountaeyne, naeye, obtaeyned, paeyed, paeyer, paeyne, paeynted, plaeyne, praeyed, praeyer, praeyse, raeyne (an error for *raeygne*), raeylinge, raeyment, raeyne, raeyse, sae (an error for *saey*), saeyde, saeyinge, saeyled, saeyntes, straeyte, taeyles, trevaeyle, unfaeyned, vaele (an error for *vaeyle*), vitaeyles, waele (an error for *waeyle*), waeyght, waeyte.

AE = (ee) or (e) is probably an error for EA in : aete, conceaved, decaevable, decaeve, hear (= *her*), naedeth, paerle, percaeve, swaerdes, ware (= *where*, an error for *wear* ?), waepens.

EE, EA, present no peculiarities, but EAE = (ee) is used, perhaps by error, in : greaet, and EY in agreymnt may be an error. IE, YE, are rarely, probably by error, = (ei) in : abyede, bliend.

OE, sometimes alternating with OO, OA, = (oo) in : abode, abroed, accorde, almoest, aloene aloone, aroese, cloeke, attoement, boet, boethe boothe, cloethe, coele, coete cootes, doear (= *door* ?), hoeme hoome, hoepe (*moane* is probably an error for *moene*, *moone*), noene noane, oethe, poele, roebe, roese, smoete, soelyke, spoken, stoene stoone, thosee those, toekens, troede, whoem whoom, wroete.

OEL = (ooul) in : behoelde, boeldely booldly, coelde, foere, hoeld.

OE, sometimes alternating with OU, = (uu, u) in : anoether, boeke, broekes, broether, doeth, doeying, foede, foelishness, foerth, foete, loeke louke, moeche, moene, moerninge, moether, mouny, oether, roete, shoeld, shoes, stooble, stoede, stoele, toeke, touth, woeld (= *would*), woerd (*woere* = *where*, is probably an error).

OEY = (uui, ui) in : anoeynte, apoeynted, and = (oi) in voeyoe.

UE = (yy) in : cruses, ruele, ruelers, truethe.

Now the first inspection of such a list leads to the notion that a systematic spelling was attempted (failing of course occasionally), by which long *a, e, i, o, u* were to be expressed by *ae, ee, ie, oe, ue*, exactly in accordance with Mr. E. Jones's most recent attempt at improving English spelling (*suprà* pp. 590-1 and notes), and hence that Tyndale's and Cheke's spellings should be placed in the same category. There could have been no attempt at exhibiting rustic pronunciation, because of the close agreement with the accepted literary pronunciation of the time. But an

inspection of the book itself leads to a very different conclusion. Had the author had any systematic orthography in view, it would certainly have predominated, and examples of the ordinary orthography would have appeared as misprints. But the book presents just the opposite appearance. The curious orthographies do not strike the eye on reading a page or two, except as occasional *errata*, and Mr. Fry's list is the result of a laborious search. The word *maester* is said to be nearly the only one which is used with tolerable uniformity, and this might have been used for *maister*, a common form (p. 996, n.). But the systematic character of the spelling, which is clear from the above arrangement, renders it impossible to consider these spellings as merely accidental errors of the press. That they are errors which had been only occasionally committed, and had probably been very frequently corrected in the first proofs, is palpable, but there must have been some special reason for the compositor's committing them. Now the book was most probably printed at Antwerp, and Tyndale was then a prisoner in Flanders. One of the compositors employed on this particular edition may have been a Fleming, with a good knowledge of English, but apt not seldom to adopt his own orthography in place of the English, to represent his own English pronunciation. This supposition would be sufficient to account for his frequently using the Flemish *ae, oe, oo, ue*, for (*aa, uu, oo, yy*). That he occasionally used *oe* for (*oo*), notwithstanding its Flemish use for (*uu*), may have been due to erroneous pronunciation, to which also must also be ascribed the use of *ae* for (*a*) and of *ael, oel*, for (*aul, ooul*). We must suppose that his errors were generally seen and corrected at press, but were not unfrequently overlooked, as they might be by the best press readers, and were sure to have been by such careless ones as those in the xvth century. This hypothesis seems sufficient to account for the phenomenon, though its establishment would require a more laborious examination of the printed text than it seems to be worth.

to many persons, including well-known elocutionists, and the general result has been an expression of satisfaction, shewing that the poetry was not burlesqued or in any way impaired by this change, but, on the contrary, seemed to gain in power and impressiveness. Yet, though every real lover of Shakspeare will be glad to know how the grand words may have sounded to Shakspeare's audience, how he himself may have conceived their music, how he himself may have meant them to be uttered and win their way to the hearts of his audience, it is, of course, not to be thought of that Shakspeare's plays should now be publicly read or performed in this pronunciation. The language of the xvth century stands in this respect on a totally different footing from that of the xivth. Chaucer's verse and rhyme are quite unintelligible, if he is read with our modern pronunciation.¹ Hence the various "translations" or rather "transformations" of Chaucer perpetrated by Dryden, Pope, Lipscombe, Boyce, Ogle, Betterton, Cobb, etc., and more recent attempts at a "transfusion of Chaucer into modern English," in which the words of the original are preserved so far as the exigencies of rhyme and metre, according to xixth century notions, permit.² But even then the effect of the new patches on old garments is painfully

The one point of importance to the present investigation is that the orthographies were not due to Tyndale's, or any English system. As due to a Fleming's involuntary system, they would, so far as they go, confirm contemporary English authorities, and hence are so far useful to us.

¹ Mr. Payne, in his paper on "The Norman Element in the Spoken and Written English of the xiith, xiiith, and xivth Centuries, and in our Provincial Dialects," just published in the Transactions of the Philological Society, has many criticisms on the theories of pronunciation here adopted, which have been partly noted, *suprà* pp. 581-588, and will have to be further considered in Chap. XII.; but as he has given a specimen of the pronunciation of Chaucer which results from his researches, it is convenient to reproduce it here, without comment, for comparison with that on p. 681, and Rapp's on p. 676. The original is also in palaeotype. Mr. Payne has obligingly revised and corrected the proof of this copy.

whan dhat apríl | with -is shuures swoot
dhe druut of marth | hath pers'ed tē dheroot
and baadh'ed ev'ri veen | in swith líkuur
of whitsh vertuur | endzhen'dred is dhe fluur
whan zefiruous | eek with -is sweet'e breeth
enspiur'ed hath | in ev'riholt and neeth
dhe ten'der krop'es | and dhe juq'e sun
hath in dhe ram | -is half'e kuurs irun'
and smaal'e fuul'es | maak'en mel'od'i'
dhat sleep'en al dhe nít | with oop'en ii
soo prik'eth -em nœtuur | in hœr keraadzh'es
dhan loq'en folk | tē goon on pílgriimaadzh'es

and pal'mes | for tē seek'en straaevndzh'es
strond'es
to fern'e hal'uus | kuuth in sun'dri lond'es
and spes'ialií | from ev'ri shíir-us end
of Eng'elond | to Kan'tarber'i | dhe wend
dhe hoo'li blis'ful mar'ter | for tē seek
dhat hem nath holp'en | whan dhat dhe
wer seek.

² The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer modernized, London (Whitaker), 1841, 8vo. pp. cxlvii, 331.—The modernizers are various. The Prologue, Reve's and Franklin's Tales by R. H. Horne, the Cuckoo and Nightingale and part of Troilus and Cresida by Wm. Wordsworth, Complaint of Mars and Venus by Rob. Bell, Queen Annelida and the false Arcite by Elizabeth B. Barrett, the Manciple's, Friar's, and Squire's Tales by Leigh Hunt, etc.

The initial lines of the Prologue are thus rendered by Mr. R. H. Horne, the italicized words being introduced for the sake of "modernization," see the revised text, *suprà* p. 680.

When that *sweet* April showers with down-
ward shoot

The drought of March have pierc'd unto the
root,

And bathed every vein with *liquid power*,
Whose virtue *rare* engendereth the flower;
When Zephyrus *also* with his *fragrant*
breath

Inspiréd hath in every *grove* and heath
The tender shoots of *green*, and the young
sun

Hath in the Ram one half his *journey* run,
And small birds in the *trees* make melody,
That sleep and dream all night with open
eye;

So nature *stirs all energies and ages*
That folks are bent to go on pilgrimages,

apparent. The best of them breathe a modern spirit into the dead giant, and by a crucial instance shew the vanity of attempting to represent the thoughts of one age in the language of another.

Shakspere's metre only rarely halts in our present utterance,—although it does halt occasionally from not attending to “resolutions” (see remarks on *banished*, *suprà* p. 948, col. 1),—and his rhymes are so far from being perfect, as we have seen, that the slightly greater degree of imperfection introduced by modern utterance is not felt. His language, although archaic enough in structure to render the attempts of imitators ludicrous, is yet so familiar to us from the constant habit of reading his plays, and the contemporary authorized version of the Bible, that it does not require a special study or a special method of reading, by which silent letters are resuscitated. As essentially our household poet, Shakspere will, and must, in each age of the English language, be read and spoken in the current pronunciation of the time, and any marked departure from it (except occasional and familiar “resolutions,” sounding the final *-ed*, and shifting the position of the accent, which are accepted archaisms consecrated by usage,) would withdraw the attention of a mixed audience or of the habitual reader from the thought to the word,

And palmers for to wander thro' strange
strands,
To sing the holy mass in sundry lands;
And more especially, from each shire's end
Of England, they to Canterbury wend,
The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
Who hath upheld them when that they were
weak.

Mr. Horne's introduction gives an account, with specimens, of former paraphrases, and an “examination of the versification and rhythm adopted by Chaucer,” (pp. xxxvii–xci) written by a man who has evidently a fine sense of rhythm and a sacred horror of mere scansionists. It is well worth perusal, as antidotal to Mr. Abbott's theories, *suprà* pp. 940, 944. Thus on Prologue v. 184–5 (*suprà* p. 690) he remarks: “The words ‘study and’ are thus to be pronounced as two syllables instead of three; and the four syllables of ‘cloister alway’ are to be given in the time of three syllables. Yet, be it again observed, this contraction is not to be harshly given; but all the words of what we may term the *appoggiatura* [a most happy expression, giving to a musician the whole theory of the usage,] fairly and clearly enunciated, though in a more rapid manner. One of the best general rules for reading such passages, especially when of such vigour as the foregoing, is to read with an unhesitating and thorough-going purpose, to the utter defiance of old metrical misgivings, and that thrumming of fingers' ends, which is utterly de-

structive of all harmonies not comprised in the common chord. This rational boldness will furnish the best key to the impulse which directed the poet in writing such lines,” p. lxxxiii.

The following examples of trissyllabic measures in modern heroic verse are borrowed from this introduction, such measures being italicized.

From *Wordsworth*.

By the unexpected transports of our age
Carried so high, that every thought, which
looked

Beyond the temporal destiny of the kind,
To many seem'd superfluous: as no cause,
&c.—

Now seek upon the heights of Time the
source

Of a Holy River, on whose banks are found,
&c.—

His prominent feature like an eagle's beak—
Which the chaste *Votaries* seek beyond the
grave—

Slowly the cormorant aims her heavy
flight—

Ah, when the Body, round which in love we
clung.

From *Keats*.

Charm'd magic casements, opening on the
foam

Of perilous seas, in faëry lands forlorn—
Bastion'd with pyramids of glowing gold—
Were pent in regions of laborious breath—
Blazing Hyperion on his orb'd fire.

From *Tennyson*.

Smiling a god-like smile, the innocent light—
Reign thou above the storms of sorrow and
ruth—

Full many a wondrous grot and secret cell—
And showering down the glory of lightsome
day.

would cross old associations, would jar upon cherished memories, and would be therefore generally unacceptable. Hence all recent editions of the English Bible of 1611 and of Shakspeare's Plays and Poems (when not avowedly facsimiles), adopt the current orthography of the time, into which has slipped the change of *whan*, *than*, *then* into *when*, *then*, *than*. A similar attempt has been recently made with Chaucer,¹ but it is not so easy, many of the words having no modern spelling (suprà p. 403, note), and the necessity for adding on and sounding final *e*'s, and shifting the place of the accent, for no apparent purpose but to make the lines scan, has a trailly weakening effect, which maligns the fine old rhythms.

¹ The Riches of Chaucer; in which his Impurities have been Expunged, his Spelling Modernized, his Rhythm Accentuated, and his Terms Explained. Also have been added Explanatory Notes and a New Memoir of the Poet. By Charles Cowden Clarke, crown 8vo., pp. xvi, 625, London (Lockwood), 2nd edition, 1870. The difficulty arising from words having no modern form is evaded by retaining the old form, and giving an explanation in footnotes. The spelling is occasionally not modernized at all. The Prologue commences thus: Whenné that April, with his showrés sote,¹ The drouth of March hath piercéd to the rote,² And bathéd every vein in such licóur, Of which virtúe engendred is the flow'r; When Zephirus eké, with his sote¹ breath Inspiréd hath in every holt³ and heath The tender croppe; and the younge sun Hath in the Ram his halfé course yrun, And smallé fowles maken melody, That sleepen allé night with open eye, So pricketh them nature in their couráges,⁴ Then longen folk to go on pilgrimages, And palmers for to seeken strange strands, To servé hallowes⁵ couth⁶ in sundry lands; And 'specially from every shíre's end Of Engleland to Canterbury they wend,⁷ The holy blissful martyr for to seek That them hath holpen when that they were sick.

¹ Sote—sweet. ² Rote—root. ³ Holt—grove, forest. ⁴ Courages—hearts, spirits. ⁵ Hallowes—holiness. ⁶ Couth—known. ⁷ Wend—go, make way.

As part of his justification for changing Chaucer's spelling (or rather that of the numerous scribes) into a modern form, Mr. Clarke says that Chaucer "would even, upon occasion, give a different termination to them [his words], to make them rhyme to the ear in the first instance. An example of this, among others, occurs in the *Clerk's Tale*, line 1039" of his version, Tyrwhitt's and Wright's editions, v. 8915, "where the personal pronoun *me* is altered into *mo*, that it may rhyme with *also*," p. v. This charge is taken from

Tyrwhitt's note, and is absurd on the face of it, for those who have dabbled in rhyme know that the first word in a rhyme is generally chosen to rhyme with the second, and not conversely. In the present case the weak *also*, which is not in the Latin original, was evidently inserted for this reason. On reading the context, every one will see that Griseldis, though she meant herself, was careful not to name herself, and hence used *moo* = *more*, *many*, *others*, as an indefinite. The passage, as contained in the Univ. Camb. MS. Dd. 4 24, runs as follows, with Petrarch's Latin annexed, in which also an indefinite *alteram* is used, and not *me*, although there was no stress of rhyme. O thyng byseke I þow | and warne also That þe ne pryke | with no turmentyng This tendre Mayde | as þe han don moo.

Latin—

Vnum bona fide precor ac moneo ne hanc illis aculeis agites quibus alteram agitasti.

So much importance had to be attributed to Chaucer's rhymes in this work, that it was necessary to point out the error of Tyrwhitt and Clarke in this instance. The limits of Chaucer's habits of varying forms for the sake of rhyme are given, suprà p. 254.

The objections to modernizing the spelling do not apply to prose works, such as Sir Edward Strachey's Globe edition of "Morte D'Arthur," 1870, because there is no occasion to insert the final *e*, or change the position of the accent, and there is no rhyme to be murdered. It was also possible in this case to insert a more usual for a less usual word, without sacrificing the metre. This book is a favourable specimen of what can be done to modernize the appearance without modernizing the spirit of an old prose writer, and bring him into many hands which would have never taken up the original.

SPECIMENS OF THE CONJECTURED PRONUNCIATION OF SHAKSPERE, BEING EXTRACTS FROM HIS PLAYS, FOLLOWING THE WORDS OF THE FOLIO EDITION OF 1623, WITH MODERN PUNCTUATION AND ARRANGEMENT.

I.—Martshaunt ov Ven'is.

Akt 4, Seen 1, Spiitsh 50. Komredeiz, p. 179.

50. Porsia.

Dhe kwal'iti of mer'si iz not straind,
It drop'eth az dhe dzhen't'l rain from hev'n
Upon dhe plaas beneedh'. It iz tweis blest,
It bles'eth him dhat giivz and him dhat taaks.
-T iz meih'tiest¹ in dhe meih'tiest. It bikumz
Dhe throon'ed² mon'ark bet'er dhan hiz kroun.
Hiz sep'ter shoouz³ dhe foors of temporaal pou'er,⁴
Dhe at'ribyyt tu aal and madzh'estei,⁵
Wheerin' duth sit dhe dread and feer of kiz.
But mer'si iz abuv' dhis sep'terd swai,
It iz enthroon'ed in dhe harts of kiz,
It iz an at'ribyyt tu God himself;
And eerth-lei pouer duth dhen shoou leik'est Godz,
When mer'si see'z'nz dzhust'is. Dheer'foor,⁶ Dzheu,⁷
Dhoouh dzhust'is bii dhei plee, konsid'er dhis,
Dhat in dhe kuurs of dzhust'is, noon of us
Shuuld sii salvaa'siun. Wii duu prai for mer'si,
And dhat saam prai'er duth teetsh us aal tu render
Dhe diidz of mer'si.

II.—Az juu leik it.

Akt 2, Seen 7, Spiitsh 31. Komredeiz, p. 194.

31. Dzhaakez.

:Aal dhe world -z a staadzh,
And aal dhe men and wim'en miir'lei plai'erz.
Dheei haav dheeir ek'sits and dheeir en'traansez
And oon man in hiz teim plai'z man'i parts,

¹ Gill's pronunciation of *igh* as (eikh) is adopted, so far as the vowel is concerned, in place of Salesbury's (ikh), on account of the rhymes *light bite*, *right spite*, *might spite*, etc., *supra* p. 963. For the same reason, the (kh) has been reduced to (x), *supra* p. 975.

² Gill's (throon) is accepted in place of Salesbury's more archaic form (truun).

³ (Shoouz) is preferred to the older (sheuz) on account of the rhymes *shew so*, *woe shew*, *suppose shews*, p. 960, under *So*.

⁴ (Temporaal) is due to the rhymes *fall general*, etc., p. 956. (Pou'er) is written to shew the syllabic *r*, p. 951.

⁵ (Madzh'estei) after Gill, and on account of the frequent rhymes of -y with

(ei), p. 959.

⁶ Cheke and all modern orthoepists write a long vowel in the second syllable. Bullokar's short vowel is probably due to a mistaken etymology. The word is not ags., (*supra* p. 394.) Orrmin always writes it with a long vowel, -fore, and forr with a short vowel. Mätzner, *Eng. Gram.*, 2², 370, quotes it frequently in the divided form, *per foren*, meaning evidently, *that being before*, i.e. *in consequence of that*. The old *forpi* split up into the two modern forms *because*, and *therefore*.

⁷ This is conjectural. Smith apparently said (Dzhyyz), but there is unfortunately a misprint in his book where the word is cited.

Hiz akts bii'iq sev'n aadzhez. At ferst, dhe in'faant
 Myy'liq and pyy'kiq in dhe nur'sez armz :
 Dhen,¹ dhe whein'iq skuul'bwai with hiz satsh'el .
 And shein'iq morn'iq faas, kriip'iq leik snail
 Unwil'iglei tu skuul. And dhen dhe luv'er,
 Seih'iq leik fur'nas, with a woo'ful bal'ad
 Maad tu hiz mis'tres ei'brou. Dhen, a sooul'dier
 Ful of straindz hodhz, and berd'ed leik dhe pard,
 Dzhee'lus in on'ur, sud'ain, and kwik in kwar'el,
 Siik'iq dhe bub'l repytas'siun
 Ii'v'n in dhe kan'unz mouth. And dhen, dhe dzhust'is,
 In fair round bel'i, with guud kaap'n leind,
 With eiz seveer, and berd of formaal kut,
 Ful of weiz saauz, and mod'ern in'staansez,
 And soo hii plaiz hiz part. Dhe sikt aadzh shifts
 Intu dhe leen and slip'erd pan'taluun,
 With spek'tak'lz on nooz, and poutsh on seid,
 Hiz juuth'ful hooz wel saavd, a world tuu weid
 For hiz shruqk shaqk, and hiz big man'lei vois,
 Turn'iq again' tou'd tsheild'ish treb'l, peips
 And whis't'lz in hiz sound. Last seen of aal
 Dhat endz dhis straindz event'ful his'torei,
 Iz sek'und tsheild'ishnes, and miir oblii'v'ün,
 SAANZ tiith, SAANZ eiz, SAANZ taast, SAANZ ev'rei thiq.

III.—Dhe Sek'und Part of Kiq Hen'erei dhe Foourth.

Akt 3, Seen 1, Spiitsh 1. His'toreiz, p. 85.

1. K i q.

Hou man'i thou'zand of mei puur'est sub'dzhekts
 Aar at dhis ou'er asliip? Oo Sliip, oo dzhen't'l Sliip,
 Naa'tyyrz soft nurs, hou naav' ei freint'ed dhii,
 Dhat dhou noo moor wilt wain² mei ei'lidz down,
 And stiip mei sens'ez in forget'fulnes?
 Whei raadhrer, Sliip, leist dhou in smook'i kr'ibz,
 Upon' uneez'i pal'adz³ stretsh'iq dhii,
 And huisht⁴ with buz'iq neint'fleiz tu dhei slum'ber,
 Dhen in dhe per'fyymd tsham'berz of dhe greet,
 Un'der dhe kan'opeiz of kost'lei staat,
 And luld with soundz of swiit'est mel'odei?
 Oo dhou dul God! Whei leist dhou with dhe veil
 In looth'sum bedz, and leevst dhe kiq'lei kuutsh
 A watsh-kaas, or a kom'on lar'um-bel?
 Wilt dhou, upon' dhe hein and gid i mast,

¹ Deficient first measure, see *suprà* p. 927, and p. 928, n. 2.

² Gill always uses (ai), but as he writes (waiz, waikht) for *weighs, weight*, he is not certain of the guttural.

³ *Pallads* may have been the old form and not a misprint. *Pallets* is modern.

⁴ *Huish* in the folio may have been intentional. Compare *whist* = *huisht*, = *hushed*, T 1, 2, 99 (5', 379).

Seel up dhe ship·bwoiz eiz, and rok hīz brainz
 In kraad·l of dhe rryd imper·iūs surdzh,
 And in dhe vizitaa·siun of dhe weindz,
 Whuu taak dhe ruf·ian bil·oouz bei dhe top,
 Kurl·iq dheeir mon·strus hedz, and haq·iq dhem
 With deef·niq klaam·urz in dhe slīp·ri kloudz,
 Dhat, with dhe hurl·ei, Deeth itself· awaaks? [?]
 Kanst dhou, oo parsial Sliip, giiv dhei repooz·
 Tu dhe wet see·bwoi in an ou·er soo rryd:
 And in dhe kaalm·est and moost stil·est neint,
 With aal aplei·aanses and meenz tu buut,
 Denei· it tu a kiq? Dhen, hap·i Loou, lei down!
 Uneez·i leiz dhe hed dhat weerz a kroun.

IV.—Dhe Faa·mus Historei of dhe Leif of Kiq
 Hen·eri dhe Eeiht.

Akt 3, Seen 2, Spiitsh·ez 92-111. Historeiz, p. 222.

92. Norfolk.

Soo faar juu wel, mei lit·l gud lord kar·di·naal.

[Eks·e, unt aal but Wul·zei.

93. Wul·zei.

Soo faar·wel· tu dhe lit·l gud juu beer mii.
 Faarwel? A loq faarwel· tu aal mei greet·nes!
 Dhis iz dhe staat of man; tudai· nii puts foorth
 Dhe ten·der leevz of noops, tumor·oou blos·umz,
 And beerz hīz blush·iq on·urz thi·k upon· him:
 Dhe thīrd dai kumz a frost, a kil·iq frost,
 And when nii thi·qs, gud eez·i man, ful syyr·lei¹
 Hīz greet·nes iz a reip·niq, nīps hīz ruut,
 And dhen nii faalz, az ei du. Ei haav ven·terd,²
 Leik lit·l wan·tun bwoiz dhat swim on blad·erz,
 Dhis man·i sum·erz in a see of gloo·ri,
 But far bi·jond· mei depth: mei hein·blooun preid
 At leqth brook un·der mii, and nou haz left mii
 Wee·ri and oould with serv·is, tu dhe mer·si
 Of a rryd streem, dhat must for ev·er heid mii.
 Vain pumps and gloo·ri of this world, ei haat jii!
 Ei fiil mei hart nyy oop·nd! Oo, hou rwetsh·ed
 Iz dhat pu·er man dhat haqz on prin·sez faa·vurz!
 Dheer iz bitwiin· dhat smeil wii wud aspei·er tu,
 Dhat swiit aspekt of prin·sez, and dheeir rry·in,
 Moor paqz and feerz, dhen warz or wim·en haav!
 And when nii faalz, nii faalz leik Lyy·sifer,
 Nev·er tu hoop again·.

[Enter Krum·wel stand·iq amaazd·.

Whei hou nou, Krum·wel?

¹ See *suprà* p. 760, note 6.

² See the rhyme: enter venture, *suprà* p. 954, col. 2, and p. 973.

94. Krum·wel.

Ei haav noo pou'er tu speak, sir.

95. Kar·d'in AAL.

What? Amaazd·

At mei misfor·tyynz? Kan dhei spir·it wun·der

A greet man shuld deklein? Nai, an juu wiip,

Ei -m faal'n indiid·

96. Krum·wel.

Hou duuz jur graas?

97. Kar·d'in AAL.

Whei, wel.

Nev·er so tryy·lei nap·i, mei gud Krum·wel.

Ei knoou meiself· nou, and ei fiil w·ith·in· mii

A pees abuv· AAL eerth·lei dig·niteiz,

A st·il and kwei·et kon·siens.¹ Dhe kiq haz kyyrd mii,

Ei um·blei thaqk hiz graas, and from dheez shoould·erz,

Dheez ryy·ind pil·arz, out of pit·i, taak·n

A lood, wuuld siqk a naa·vi, 'tuu mutsh on·ur.

Oo -t iz a burd·en, Krum·wel, -t iz a burd·en

'Tuu hev·i for a man, dhat hoops for hev·n.

98. Krum·wel.

Ei -m glad jur graas haz maad dhat reint yys of it·

99. Kar·d'in AAL.

Ei hoop ei haav. Ei -m aa·bl nou, mithiqks·,

Out of a for·tityyd of sooul ei fiil,

Tu endyyr· moor miz·ereiz and greet·er far

Dhen mei week·hart·ed en·emeiz daar of·er.

What nyyz abroad?

100. Krum·wel.

Dhe hev·iest and dhe wurst

Iz juur displeez·yyr with dhe kiq.

101. Kar·d'in AAL.

God bles him!

102. Krum·wel.

Dhe nekst iz, dhat Sir Tom·as Muur iz tshooz·n

Lord TshAAr·selur, in juur plaas.

103. Kar·d'in AAL.

Dhat -s sum·what sud·ain.

But hii -z a leern·ed man.² Mai hii kontin·yy

Loq in hiz Hein·nes faa·vur, and duu dzhust·is

¹ An Alexandrine from resolution (p. 952), unless (kon·siens) be contracted to (kon·yens), (see Gill, *supra* p. 937), which would give a trissyllabic measure, produced also by the modern (kon·shens).

² Gill gives both (lern) and (leern). Possibly (leern) was intended for *teach*, as a form of ags. laeren, and (lern) for *learn*, as a form of ags. leornigan. Hence (leern·ed) is here adopted for *doctus*.

For tryyths saak and *hiz* kon'siens, dhat *hiz* boonz,
 When *hii* haz run *hiz* kuurs and sliips in bles'iqz,
 Mai *haav* a tuumb of or'fanz teerz wept on *him*.
 What moor?

104. Krum·wel.

Dhat Kran·mer *iz* returnd· with wel·kum,
Instaald· lord artsh·bishop of Kan·terberi.

105. Kar·dinaal.

Dhat's nyyz *indiid·*.

106. Krum·wel.

Last, dhat dhe laa'di An,
 Whuum dhe *kiq* hath in see·kresi loq married,
 Dhis dai was vyyd in oop'n az *hiz* kwiin
 Goo·iq tu tshap·el, and dhe vois *iz* nou
 Oon·lei abuut· her koronaa'siun.

107. Kar·dinaal.

Dheer waz dhe waint dhat puld me doun. Oo Krum·wel,
 Dhe *kiq* haz gon biyond· mii. :Aal mei gloo·riz
In dhat oon wum·an ei hav lost for ever.
 Noo sun shal ever ush·er foorth mein on·urz,
 Or gild again· dhe noob·l truups dhat wait·ed¹
 Upon· mei smeilz. Goo, get dhii from mii, Krum·wel!
 Ei am a puur faaln man, unwurth·ei nou
 Tu bii dhei lord and mast·er. Siik dhe *kiq*!
 Dhat sun ei prai mai nev·er set! Ei -v toould *him*
 What, and hou tryy dhou art; *hii* wil advaans· dhii
 Sum lit·l mem·orei of mii, wil stir *him*—
 Ei knoo *hiz* noob·l naa·tyyr—not to let
 Dhei hoop·ful serv·is per·ish, tuu. Gud Krum·wel
 Neglekt· *him* not; maak yys nou, and provide·
 For dhein ooun fyy·tyyr² saaf·ti.

108. Krum·wel.

Oo mei lord,
 Must ei dhen leev dhii? Must ei niidz forgoo·
 Soo gud, soo noob·l, and soo tryy a mast·er?
 Beer wit·nes, aal dhat *haav* not harts of ei·ern,
 With what a sorroou Krum·wel leevz *hiz* lord.
 Dhe *kiq* shaal *haav* mei serv·is, but mei prai·erz
 For ever and for ever, shaal bii juurz!

109. Kar·dinaal.

Krum·wel, ei did not thiik tu shed a teer
In aal mei miz·ereiz; but dhou hast foorst mii,
 Out of dhei on·est tryyth, tu plai dhe wum·an.

¹ The folio prints *weighted*, shewing the confusion then existing between *wait*, *weight*, *supra* p. 987, n. 2.
² Or (fyy·ter).

Let -s drei our eiz ; and dhus far heer mii, Krum·wel,
 And when ei am forgot'n, az ei shal bii,
 And sliip in dul koould mar·b'l, wheer noo men·siun
 Of mii moor must bii hard of : sai, ei tAAHT dhii ;
 Sai, Wul·zei, dhat oons trood dhe waiz of gloo·ri
 And sound·ed AAL dhe depths and shoolz of on·ur,
 Found dhii a wai, out of H'iz rwak, tu reiz in,
 A syyr and saaf oon, dhoo·un, dhe mast·er mist it.
 Mark but mei fAAL, and dhat dhat ryy·ind mii.
 Krum·wel, ei tshardzh dhii fiiq awai ambis·iun !
 Bei dhat sin fel dhe an·dzhelz : hou kan man dhen,
 Dhe im·aadzh of H'iz maak·er, hoop tu win bei -t ?
 Luv dheiself last, tsher·ish dhooz harts dhat haat dhii.
 Korup·siun winz not moor dhan on·estei.
 Stil, in dhei reint hand, kar·i dzhen·t'l pees
 Tu sei·lens en·vius tuqz. Bii dzhust and feer not ;
 Let AAL dhe endz dhou eemst¹ at, bii dhei kun·treiz,
 Dhei Godz, and Tryyths. Dhen if dhou fAALst, oo Krum·wel,
 Dhou fAALst a bles·ed mart·er. Serv dhe k'iq,
 And—pridh·ii leed mii in—
 Dheer—taak an in·ventri² of AAL ei haav,
 Tu dhe last pen·i ; -t iz dhe k'iqz ; mei roob,
 And mei integr·itei tu hev·n, iz AAL
 Ei daar nou kAAL mei ooun. Oo Krum·wel, Krum·wel !
 Had ei but servd mei God with hAAf dhe zeel
 Ei servd mei k'iq, hii wuuld not in mein aadz
 Haav left mii naak·ed tu mein en·emeiz !

110. Krum·wel.

Gud sir, haav paa·siens.

111. Kar·din AAL.

Soo ei haav. Faarwel·

Dhe hoops of kuurt, mei hoops in hev·n du dwel.

V.—Dhe Tradzh·edi of Ham·let, Prins of Denmark.

Akt 3, Seen 2, Spiitsh·ez 1-5. Tradzh·edeiz, p. 266.

1. Ham·let.

Speek dhe spiitsh, ei prai juu, az ei pronounst it tu juu, trip·iqlei on dhe tuq. But if juu moudh it, az man·i of juur plai·erz duu, ei had az liiv dhe toun·krei·er had spook mei leinz. Nor duu not sAAu dhe aair tuu mutsh with juur hand, dhus, but yyz AAL dzhent·lei. For in dhe ver·i tor·ent, tem·pest, and, az ei mai sai,

¹ For this word there is no external authority ; I have adopted (eemz) for the reasons on p. 451, note, col. 2, l. 18.

² The contraction is harsh, but the full pronunciation would be harsher,

and the position of the accent seems established by : Forsooth an inventory, thus importing H^s 3, 2, 49 (609, 124) ; would testify, to enrich mine inventory Cy 2, 2, 6 (952, 30).

dhe wherl-weind of pas'iun, juu must akwei'er and biget a tem-peraans dhat mai giiv it smuudh'nes. Oo! it ofendz mi tu dhe sooul, tu sii a robus'tius per'wig¹-paated fel'ouu teer a pas'iun tu taterz, tu ver'i ragz, tu split dhe eerz of dhe ground'liqz, whuu, for dhe moost part, aar kaapab'l of noth'iq, but ineks'pl'ikab'l dum shoouz, and nuiz.² Ei kud naav sutch a fel'ouu whipt for oorduu'iq Termagaunt; it out-her'odz Her'od: prai juu, avoid it.

2. First Player.

Ei war'aant juur on'ur.

3. Hamlet.

Bii not 'tuu taam needh'er; but let juur ooun diskres'iun bii juur tyy'tur. Syyt dhe ak'siun tu dhe wurd, dhe wurd tu dhe ak'siun, with dhis spes'iaal obzer'vaans, dhat juu oorstep not dhe mod'estei of naa'tyyr. For an'i thi'q soo overdun iz from dhe purpus of plai'iq, whuuz end booth at dhe first and nou, waz and iz, tu hoould az tweer dhe m'r'ur up tu naa'tyyr; tu shoou ver'tyy her ooun fee'tyyr, skorn her ooun im'aadz, and dhe ver'i aadz and bod'i of dhe teim, hiz form and pres'yyr. Nou, dhis overdun, or kum tar'di 'of, dhooun it maak dhe unsk'l'ful laan kan'ot but maak dhe dzhyydis'ius griiv, dhe sen'syyr of whitsh oon, must in juur alou'ans oorwain a hool thee'ater³ of udh'erz. Oo, dheer bii plai'erz dhat ei naav siin plai, and hard udh'erz praiz, and dhat hein'lei,—not tu speek it profaan'lei—dhat needh'er naav'iq dhe ak'sent of krist'ianz, nor dhe gaat of krist'ian, paa'gan, or Norman,⁴ naav soo strut'ed and bel'ood, dhat ei naav thoount sum of naa'tyyrz dzhur'neimen had maad men, and not maad dhem wel, dheei im'itaated nyuman'iti soo abhom'inablei.⁵

¹ This is adopted, in place of the modern *periwig*, because the quartos generally read *perwig*, and Miège, 1688, gives the pronunciation (pær-wig), which shews that the *i* in the *periwig* of the quarto of 1676 was not pronounced. The first and second folios have *pery-wig*, the third and fourth have *perriwig*. The pronunciation (per'iig) given by Jones, 1700, seems, however, to be really still older, as compared with French *perruque*, and the orthography *peruke*. The order of evolution seems to have been (per'yyk, per'iig, per'wig, per'iwig, wig); compare modern *buis* from *omnibus*, and the older *drake*, Old Norse *andriki*, Mätzner, 1, 165; Stratmann, 158.

² Price seems to give (næiz), *suprà* p. 134, a xviith century pronunciation confirmed by a xixth century vulgarism, and indicating a xvith century (nuiz), which is therefore adopted in the absence of direct authority (p. 979).

³ Notwithstanding the vulgar (thee'ta), which would imply an older

position of the accent, this place is settled by Shakspeare himself, see AY 2, 7, 30 (214', 137), KJ 2, 1, 83 (338, 374), R² 5, 2, 6 (377', 23).

⁴ All the folios read *or Norman*, but the quartos have *nor man*, which is adopted by the Cambridge editors. Both are manifestly erroneous. As Denmark in this play is at war with Norway, it is possible that Hamlet may have meant to put his enemies into the position of being neither Christian nor pagan, and that the right reading may have been *or Norwéyan*, a Shaksperian word, see M 1, 2, 5 (788', 31); 1, 2, 13 (789, 49); 1, 3, 35 (790, 95), and easily confused by a compositor with the better known word *Norman*, which however occurs in its usual sense in this same play, H 4, 7, 20 (839, 91).

⁵ On the insertion of the aspirate in this word, see *suprà* p. 220. There is evidently a play on *humanity* and the old false derivation *ab-homine*, so that *abominably* = *inhumanly*.

4. First Plai'er.

Ei hoop wii haav reformd' dhat indifferentlei with us, sir.

5. Ham·let.

Oo, reform *it* aaltugedh'er. And let dhooz dhat plai juur klounz, speek noo moor dhen *iz* set doun for dhem. For dheer bii of dhem, dhat wil dhemselvz' laaH, tu set on sum kwan·titi of bar'en spektaa·turz tu laaH ·tuu, dhoouH in dhe meen teim sum nes'esari kwes·tiun of dhe plai bii dhen tu bii konsid'erd. Dhat -s vi·lanus, and shoouz a most pit'iful ambis·iun in dhe fuul dhat yyz'ez *it*. Goo maak juu red·i.

VI.—Dhe Taam·iq of dhe Shroou.¹

Akt 4, Seen 1, Spiitsh'ez 1-47. Kom·redeiz, p. 220.

1. Gruu·mio.

Fei, fei on aal tei'erd dzhaadz, on aal mad mast'ertz, and aal foul waiz! Waz ev'er man soo beet'n! Waz ev'er man soo rai'ed! Waz ev'er man soo wee·ri! Ei am sent bifoor' tu maak a fei'er, and dheei ar kum·iq after tu warm dhem. Nou, weer ei not a lit'l pot, and suun hot, mei ver·i lips meint friiz tu mei tiith, mei tuq tu dhe ruuf of mei mouth, mei hart in mei bel·i, eer ei shuuld kum bei a fei'er tu thoou² mii; but ei with bloou·iq dhe fei'er shal warm meiself: for konsid'eriq dhe wedh'er, a taal'er man dhen ei wil taak koould. Holaa! Hoo'aa! Kur'tis!

2. Kur'tis.

Whuu *iz* dhat kaalz soo koould·lei?

3. Gruu·mio.

A piis of eis. If dhou dout *it*, dhou maist sleid from mei shoould'er tu mei hiil, with noo greet'er a run but mei hed and nek. A fei'er, gud Kur'tis!

4. Kur'tis.

Iz mei mast'er and hiz weif kum·iq, Gruu·mio?

5. Gruu·mio.

Oo, ei, Kur'tis, ei, and dheerfoor fei'er! fei'er! kast on noo waat'er.

6. Kur'tis.

Iz shii soo hot a shroou az shii -z repoort'ed?

7. Gruu·mio.

Shii waz, gud Kur'tis, bifoor' dhis frost. But dhou knooust wint'er taamz man, wum'an, and beest; for *it* hath taamd mei oould mast'er, and mei nyy mis·tris, and meiself, fel'ouu Kur'tis.

¹ Constantly spelled *shrow* in the first folio, and compare the rhymes, p. 960, under *So*.

² This is Smith's pronunciation, the only authority I have found. It is a

legitimate form, from ags. *pawan*, comparable to (knoou), from ags. *enawan*. The modern (thaa) implies an older (thaaH, thau), which, however, is more strictly a northern form.

8. *Kurtis*.

Awai! juu thrii-insh fuul! Ei am noo beest.

9. *Gruumio*.

Am ei but thrii insh'ez? Whei dhei horn iz a fuut, and soo loq am ei at dhe leest. But wilt dhou maak a feier? or shaal ei komplain on dhii tu our mis'tris, whuuz hand, shii bii'iq nou at hand, dhou shalt suun fiil, tu dhei koould kum'furt, for bii'iq sloou in dhei hot of'is?

10. *Kurtis*.

Ei pridh'ii, gud Gruumio, tel mii, hou gooz dhe world?

11. *Gruumio*.

A koould world, Kurtis, in ev'erei of'is but dhein, and dheer-foor, feier! Duu dhei dyy'ti, and haav dhei dyy'ti, for mei mast'er and mis'tris aar aal'moost frooz'n tu deeth.

12. *Kurtis*.

Dheer-z feier red'i! and dheer-foor, gud Gruumio, dhe nyyz!

13. *Gruumio*.

Whei—Dzhak bwoi, hoo bwoi!—and az mutsh nyyz az dhou wilt.

14. *Kurtis*.

Kum, juu are soo ful of kun'ikatsh'iq!

15. *Gruumio*.

Whei, dheer-foor, feier! for ei haav kAAHT ekstreem koould. Wheer-z dhe kuuk? iz super red'i, dhe hous trind, rush'ez strooud, kobwebz swept, dhe serv'iqmen in dheir nyy fust'ian, dhe wheit stok'iqz, and ev'erei of'iser hiz wed'iq garment on? Bii dhe Dzhaks fairer with'in, dhe Dzhilz fairer without,¹ dhe karpets laid, and ev'erei thi'q in order?

16. *Kurtis*.

:Aal red'i, and dheer-foor, ei prai dhii, nyyz!

17. *Gruumio*.

Fir'st knoou, mei hors iz teierd, mei mast'er and mis'tris faaln out.

18. *Kurtis*.

Hou?

19. *Gruumio*.

Out of dheir sad'lz in'tu dhe durt; and dheerbei haqz a taal.

¹ Hanmer transposes *within* and *without*, but the result is not very intelligible. All will be clear if we suppose Grumio to have been struck by an unsavoury pun as soon as he uttered *Jacks fair*, thinking of *a jakes*, so notoriously foul '*within*.' The similarity of pronunciation is gua-

ranteed by Sir John Harrington's "New Discourse on a stale subject, called the Metamorphosis of *Ajax*," meaning *a jakes*, 1596. The *Jacks* and *Gills* came pat, compare *The Babes Book* of the Early English Text Society, p. 22, v. 90, "and iangylle nether with Iak ne Iylle," A.D. 1480.

20. Kurtis.

Let -s naa -t, gud Gruum'io.

21. Gruumio.

Lend dhein eer.

22. Kurtis.

Heer.¹

23. Gruumio.

Dheer!

24. Kurtis.

Dhis iz tu fiil a taal, not tu heer a taal.

25. Gruumio.

And dheer'foor -t iz kaald a sen'sibl taal. And dhis kuf waz but tu knok at juur eer, and biseetsh² a list'niq. Nou ei bigin. Im-prei'mis, wii kaam doun a foul hîl, mei mas'ter reid'iq bineind mei mis'tris.

26. Kurtis.

Booth of oon hors?

27. Gruumio.

What -s dhat tu dhii?

28. Kurtis.

Whei—a hors.

29. Gruumio.

Tel dhou dhe taal! But hadst dhou not krost mii, dhou shuuldst haav hard hou her hors fel, and shii un'der her hors: dhou shuuldst haav hard in hou mei'erei a plaas; hou shii was bimuild³: hou hii left her with dhe hors upon her; hou hii beet mii bikaaz her hors stum'b'ld; hou shii waad'ed thruun dhe durt tu pluk him 'of mii; hou hii swoor; hou shii praid, dhat nev'er praid bifoer; hou ei kreid; hou dhe hors'ez ran awai'; hou her brei'd'l waz burst; hou ei lost mei kruper—with man'i thiqz of wur'dhei mem'orei, whitsh nou shaal dei in oblii-viun, and dhou return unekspeer'ienst tu dhe graav.

30. Kurtis.

Bei dhis rek'niq hii iz moor shroou dhan shii.

31. Gruumio.

Ei, and dhat dhou and dhe proud'est of juu aal shaal feind when hii kumz hoom. But what taak ei of dhis? Kaal foorth Nathan'iel, Dzhoo'sef, Nik'olaas, Fil'ip, Waal'ter, Syyg'ersop, and dhe rest. Let dheer hedz bii slik'lei koombd, dheer blyy koots brusht, and dheer garterz of an indif'erent knît; let dhem kurt'si with dheer left legz, and not prezyym tu tutsh a heer of mei mas'terz hors-tail, tîl dheei kis dheer handz. Aar dheei aal red'i?

¹ Here is pronounced (heer) for the play of sound in ear, here, there, hear. Compare the pun here, heir, suprâ p. 80, note, and p. 924, col 2.

² See suprâ p. 957, col. 2, at bottom.

³ Compare Smith's (tor'muil) = tur-moil, and Cooper's (maîl) = moil, becoming (maîl) in Jones, suprâ p. 134.

32. Kurtis.

Dheei aar.

33. Gruumio.

Kaal dhem foorth.

34. Kurtis.

Duu ju heer, hoo! Juu must miit mei mais'ter¹ tu koun'tenaans mei mis'tris!

35. Gruumio.

Whei, shii hath a faas of her ooun.

36. Kurtis.

Whuu knoous not dhat.

37. Gruumio.

Dhou, it siimz, dhat kaalz for kum'panei tu koun'tenaans her.

38. Kurtis.

Ei kaal dhem fuurth tu kred'it her.

[Enter four or feiv serv'iqmen.

39. Gruumio.

Whei, shii kumz tu bor'ou noth'iq of dhem.

40. Nathaniel.

Wel·kum hoom, Gruumio!

41. Filip.

Hou nou, Gruumio!

42. Dzhoosef.

What, Gruumio!

43. N'kolaas.

Fel'ou Gruumio!

44. Nathaniel.

Hou nou, oould lad?

45. Gruumio.

Wel·kum, juu; hou nou, juu; what, juu; fel'ou, juu; and dhus mutsh for griit'iq. Nou mei spryys kumpan'iunz, iz aal red'i, and aal thi'qz neet?

46. Nathaniel.

Aal thi'qz iz red'i. Hou niir iz our mas'ter?

47. Gruumio.

In at hand, aleint'ed bei dhis, and dheer·foor bii not—koks pas'iun! sei·lens! ei heer mei mas'ter.

¹ Spelled *maister* in the folio. Two pronunciations (mais'ter, mas'ter) may have prevailed then, as (meest·t) is still heard in the provinces, (p. 982, n. c. 2).

ON
EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON
PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY, PRECEDED BY A SYSTEMATIC
NOTATION OF ALL SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE
ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING

A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF
CHAUCER AND GOWER, REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESBURY ON
ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521,
ABSTRACTS OF SCHMELLER'S TREATISE ON BAVARIAN DIALECTS, AND
WINKLER'S LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON, AND
PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL AND CONSONANT LISTS.

BY

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PART IV.

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LEDIARD, BONAPARTE, SCHMELLER, WINKLER.

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No. 6. Dialectal Vowel Relations, pp. 1265-1323.

i. J. Grimm's Views of the Vowel Relations in the Teutonic Languages, pp. 1265-1270.

ii. On Vowel Quantity in Living Speech, pp. 1270-1275.

iii. On Vowel Quality and its Gradations, pp. 1275-1307.

Prof. Helmholtz's Vowel Theory, p. 1277.

Vowel Gradations, p. 1281.

- Vowel Series and Triangles, by A. J. Ellis, Lepsius, Brücke, Prof. Haldeman, and Prince L. L. Bonaparte, with Note by Mr. H. Sweet on Dutch Vowels, pp. 1285-1292.
- Distribution of Vowels in European Languages, pp. 1293-1298, collected from
- Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's Extended Vowel Triangle. List of Vowels, and Vowel Identifications in 45 European Languages, pp. 1298-1307.
- iv. On Vowel Fractures and Junctures, pp. 1307-1317.
- v. Bearings of Modern Dialectal Vowel Relations on the Investigation of Older Pronunciation, pp. 1317-1323.
- No. 7. Dialectal Consonant Relations, pp. 1324-1357.
- A. J. Ellis's Analysis of Speech Sounds, pp. 1333-1335.
- Sanscrit arrangement of the Alphabet, as deduced from the Rules of Indian Phonologists, with the Rules in the Original and Prof. Whitney's Translation, pp. 1336-1338.
- Prof. Whitney's Unitary Alphabet, p. 1339.
- Consonants of Lepsius's General Alphabet, p. 1339.
- Brücke's Consonantal Scheme, p. 1340.
- Mr. Melville Bell's Classification of Consonants, pp. 1341-1344.
- Prof. Haldeman's Classification of Consonants, pp. 1345-1349.
- Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's Classification of Consonants, pp. 1350-1357.
- No. 8. German Dialectal Changes, pp. 1357-1431.
- i. Schmeller on Bavarian Dialectal Changes, 1821 (abstract), pp. 1357-1368.
- ii. Winkler on Low German and Friesian Dialects, pp. 1369-1431.
- Introduction, pp. 1369-1378.
- Abstract of Winkler's Universal Low German and Friesian Dialecticon, 1873, pp. 1378-1428.
- Alphabetical List of the Places from which Specimens are given in the preceding Abstract, pp. 1428-1431.
- Transition to English Dialects, p. 1432.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

In addition to those already given on the backs of notices to Parts I. and II. and back of title to Part III., containing all the errors hitherto observed that could cause the slightest difficulty to the reader.

* This star is prefixed to the *Addenda*. The additions promised for Part IV. at the back of the title to Part III., in the belief that Part IV. would conclude the work, are necessarily postponed to Part VI. The additions here given are all of small extent.

In PART I. pp. 1—416.

- pp. 3–10, the symbols of palaeotype have been much extended, and occasionally corrected. See the subsequent list of *Additional Palaeotypic Symbols*, p. xii.
- p. 11, lines 19, 22, in the Caffir words, for (u i) read (u t).
- *p. 29, table, col. xvii, for niñ't read niñ't; and add to table: "(u) is put for (u) in the old pronunciations, owing to uncertainty."
- p. 32, against 1547, read 38 Henry VIII.
- p. 33, l. 13 from bottom, read Jean Pillot.
- p. 41, l. 14 from bottom, for Ripon, read Chester.
- p. 50, col. of Sovereigns, between Edw. VI. and Elizabeth, insert 1553 Mary.
- p. 57, lines 15, 6, and 3 from bottom, read get, mare, (mee'x).
- p. 67, l. 11 from bottom of text, for Mr. M. Bell's French nasals, read (ea, oha, oha, əa).
- p. 80, l. 7, and p. 111, l. 16, read dee' (dee-éi).
- p. 93, col. 4, line 5, read endev'x.
- p. 95, l. 2, read stoo'rri.
- p. 99, l. 5, read HOPE hope (hoop).
- *p. 111, l. 6, at end of sentence, add: "(see p. 817, note)."
- p. 116, l. 1, omit and as it probably was in the xiv th century.
- p. 131, l. 8 from bottom of text, read dzhoit.
- p. 134, l. 9 from bottom of text, read vœ'idzh.
- *p. 145, l. 11 from bottom of text, add: "See p. 976, l. 6."
- p. 153, lines 9, 10, 11 from bottom, omit which.
- p. 158, l. 9, read molten.
- p. 159, l. 9, read át, nât, brât, bât.
- *p. 173, l. 9 from bottom of second col. of note, for (æ, œ), read (æ, əh). At end of that note add: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte heard M. Féline use (œ) for e muet; all references to his pronunciation must be corrected accordingly."
- *p. 189, l. 7, read (bun, bun'e); and at end of paragraph add: "M. Paul Meyer told me (30 April, 1871) that he suspected Palsgrave to allude to the Provençal method of using -o, for what in northern French is -e mute, and to have pronounced this o either as (-o) or (-oh)."
- p. 190, last line of text, read (or'eindzhiz).
- p. 192, last line, read ².
- p. 196, l. 12 from bottom of text, read differing nearly as (e, x).
- p. 198, lines 10 and 11, for uī, jūī, read uhi, juhi.
- *p. 201, l. 6 from bottom, add as a footnote: "Mr. F. G. Fleay says he knows two certain instances of Londoners saying (draar)."
- *p. 204, note 1, add: "The passages adduced by F. L. K. Weigand (*Woerterbuch der Deutschen Synonymen*, No. 1068) seem to leave no doubt as to the historic origin of church from the Greek, through the canons of the Greek churches."
- p. 215, l. 2, read (kondis-iun).

- *p. 218, *add at end of first column of footnote*: "See also p. 922, col. 2, under *sutor*, and p. 968, col. 2, under *S*."
- p. 220, l. 11, italicise *humble*.
- p. 223, note 1, l. 1, *read* Lehrgebäude.
- p. 226, note 1, l. 1, *after* treatise, *add*: "(reprinted below, p. 815)."
- p. 236, l. 4, *read* myyv.
- p. 240, l. 2, *read* but.
- *p. 247, l. 18, *add as footnote*: "See the investigation below, pp. 453-462, and pp. 820, 822, under *ai*, *ei*."
- p. 264, l. 7, *read* saunz.
- *p. 265, note 1, *add*: "See p. 473, n. 1, and p. 1315."
- p. 268, l. 3, *read* 5322¹.
- p. 269, note, col. 1, l. 6, *read* mouiller.
- p. 271, l. 13, *read* confuses.
- *p. 281, l. 31, *for*: "The words do not occur in Gill, but *lady* does occur," *read and add*: "The words *lady*, *worthy*, occur in Gill, who writes (laa'di, ladii'), see p. 935, l. 13, below, and (wurdh'i), see p. 909, col. 2, below; and *lady* also occurs. . . ."
- *p. 282, l. 5 from bottom, *add*: "See p. 817, note."
- p. 283, l. 8, *read* melodye.
- p. 284, l. 29, *read* Die = (dai'e, dii'e).
- p. 286, lines 6 and 11, *read* (tū'e, pi'ne).
- p. 287, l. 13, *omit* it.
- p. 288, note 1, line 4, *read* effect is.
- p. 294, line last of text, *read* but (*ee*, *oo*).
- p. 295, line last but one of text, *read* were.
- p. 301, l. 10, *read* words in *ew*.
- p. 307, l. 22, *for* (Eu), *read* (au).
- *p. 316, note 1, line 5, *read an* and *en*; *and at the end of note 1 add*: "see below, pp. 509, 825-828, and p. 828, note 1."
- p. 319, last line of text, *read* world.
- p. 321, l. 2, *omit one* Heerde.
- „ l. 7, *read* Herts'ogh.
- „ l. last of text, *read* fēe'terlikhe.
- p. 323, l. 25, *read* graas.
- „ l. 36, *read* nekhten.
- p. 325, l. last but one of text, *read* lorsque.
- *p. 327, throughout the French transcription of M. Féline's pronunciation interchange (ə) and (œ), according to the correction of the meaning of M. Féline's symbols given me by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who heard him speak; thus v. 1, *read* (kœ læ siel kœlœ zhur), and v. 8 *read* (miə kœ), etc. See p. 173 in this list.
- p. 327, note, last line, *omit* which.
- p. 328, l. 7 from bottom of text, *read* sautē.
- p. 330, l. 13 from bottom of text, *for* be aware, *read* beware.
- p. 331, l. 17 from bottom of text, *read* désirs.
- p. 336, commence note with ¹.
- p. 337, l. 9 from bottom, *read* kouth'.
- p. 342, l. 10, *read* hadd'.
- p. 343, note 3, line 2, *read* ē an *e*.
- p. 345, l. 9 from bottom of text, *read* restored.
- p. 346, art. 14, ex., col. 2, l. 11, *read* æt ham.
- p. 351, line 5, *read* fæder.
- „ art. 35, l. 4, *read* Past.
- „ art. 38, line 4, *read* more, better.
- p. 354, art. 51, ex., col. 2, line 7, *read* he let.
- p. 357, l. 10 from bottom, *read* Tale.
- p. 358, art. 65, under SCHAL, line 2, *read* (dialectic).
- *p. 363, art. 82, ex., *insert after* v. 388: "[See note on v. 386, p. 700, below.]"
- p. 366, l. 5, *for* new fr., *read* old fr.
- p. 367, art. 92, l. 13, *read* then, and l. 14, *read* tyme.

- p. 370, note 1, citation iii. 357, read *This toucheþ*.
 p. 374, art. 108, ex., col. 2, line 1, read *æt-æfter*.
 p. 385, col. 2, under, *hevenriche*, read *heofonrice*.
 p. 386, col. 1, under *ill*, read *ylle*.
 p. 388, col. 1, under *lore*, read *lore*.
 „ „ under *-lȝ*, line 6, read *sodeinliche*.
 p. 392, col. 2, under ** *Sleeve*, read 16 *sleeve* 13152', *slefi* 213'.
 pp. 398-402, tables of probable sounds, etc., for (i, u), read (i, u) in several places; and also often to end of p. 415.
 p. 400, under *TH*, read in two sounds.
 p. 413, col. 2, l. 1, read *Paa'ter*.
 „ in *Kree·doo*, l. 1, read *in·e*.
 p. 415, v. 489, read *Dīisen·tees Ee. vel Aa*.

In PART II. pp. 417-632.

- *p. 439, note 5, add: "The text of the *Bestiary* has been again printed from the Arundel MS. 292, in Dr. Morris's *Old English Miscellany*, published by the Early English Text Society in 1872, vol. 49, pp. 1-25. The references to the numbers of the verses (not to those of the pages) given in the present book, pp. 439-441, hold good for this edition."
- p. 441, l. 13, and p. 445, l. 10 from bottom of text, for n. 4, read n. 1.
- *pp. 442-3, add as footnote: "For corrections of some quantities, see p. 1270, note 1."
- p. 462, quotation, v. 2, read *Richard*.
- *p. 465, l. 35, add as footnote: "On the confusion of long f and ƿ, see note in Madden's *Lajamon*, vol. 3, p. 437, which will be further treated in Part VI."
- p. 468, translation, col. 2, v. 4, read *hill*.
- p. 473, note 1, col. 1, l. 8 from bottom, for § 3, read § 1, p. 1171;—col. 2, l. 1, for p. 446, read p. 447;—l. 14, for § 4, read § 2 (the reference is to the notice which will appear in Part V.);—l. 18, read *May* (the month);—and for the pronunciations in lines 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, read: (*mee, dee, ewee, pee, shiip, slāp, mī, shē'ip, slē'ip, mē'ī, ē'ī, dzhe'ist, dzhe'int, be'id, pe'int, E'intment*).
- *p. 474, l. 22, to the words "*dede* never appears as *deide*," add the footnote (?): "In the Cotton text of the *Cursor Mundi*, v. 1619, p. 100 of Dr. Morris's edition published by the Early English Text Society, we find *deid* rhyming to *red*; but the word is here the substantive *deed*, not the verb *did*, which is written *did* on v. 1608 above, rhyming to *kydd*. This *deid* is a mere clerical error for *ded*; the Fairfax, Göttingen, and Trinity MSS. have all *dede*, and the Cotton has *ded*, v. 1952."
- *p. 475, note 1, add to this note: "In *Cursor Mundi*, Cotton text, v. 1629, we have
 þe first was Sem, cham was the toþeir,
 And Iaphet hight þat yonges broþer,
 where Dr. Morris writes 'yonges[t],' but this is unnecessary, see p. 1400, Halifax version, v. 12. Here we have a spelling *toþeir*, which would have apparently rhymed to *eir* in *Havelok*. But it is a mere clerical error, not found in the other MSS., any more than the singular errors in v. 1973-4,
 I fel agh naman do til oþer
 For ilkan agh be oþier broþer,
 where *oþer*, *oþier*, occur in consecutive lines, and *broþer* is a similar error; *oþer* is the usual spelling in the Cotton MS., as in v. 1979, but we have *broþer*, *toþer*, v. 2031, with *broþer* v. 2043, etc. Nothing phonetic can be distinctly concluded from such vagaries."
- p. 475, lines 3 and 4 from bottom of text, see note 4 on p. 1404, col. 2, v. 26.
- p. 476, l. 1-19, see the remarks on p. 1310.
- *p. 477, note 2, l. 3, omit more. Add to note: "On this dental *t*, better written (*þ*), see p. 1096, col. 1, and p. 1137, col. 2, l. 16 from bottom."
- p. 478, note 2, l. 5, read from giving.
- *p. 484, note 1, add: "Another copy of the *Moral Ode* will be found in Dr. Morris's *Old English Miscellany* (E. E. T. S. 1872), p. 58, and again another in the *Old English Homilies*, second series (E. E. T. S. 1873),

- p. 220. On p. 255 of this last is given a hymn to the Virgin, of which the first verse with the musical notes, and the second verse without them, are photolithographed opposite p. 261, with a translation of the music first by Dr. Rimbault, p. 260, and secondly by myself, p. 261, of which the latter will appear in Part VI. of this book. To my translation I have added annotations, pp. 262-271, explaining the reasons which influenced me, and the bearings of this music (which is comparable to that of the *Cuckoo Song*, and *Prisoner's Prayer*, *suprà* pp. 426, 432) on the pronunciation of final E, etc., the pith of which will also appear in Part VI."
- *p. 487, l. 9, *for* attributes *read* seems to attribute. *Add to note 1*: "Was *yate* in line 16 of this note a misprint for *yete*? Did Thorpe mean that *zet* in Orrmin would have been (*set*)? or (*jiit*)? If (*jiit*), then Thorpe consistently attributes modern habits to Orrmin; if (*set*), he makes one remarkable exception. There is nothing in his remarks which will decide this point, and hence I alter my expression in the text."
- p. 490, l. 24, *read* further;—note 1, last line, *read* Orrmin's.
- p. 495, col. 3, *braghe*, remove †, for this word is not oblique in v. 3475.
- *p. 515, note, *add at the end*: "p. 541, and see especially note 2 to that page."
- *p. 516, *add to note 3*: "More particulars respecting this MS., which has been re-examined for me by Mr. Sweet, will be given in Part VI. There is little doubt that it is wrongly taken to be Anglosaxon on pp. 518-522, but is rather Celtic. However, it certainly shews the correspondence of the sounds of Latin and Greek letters in this country at that time, and hence indirectly bears on Anglosaxon usage. The MS. has a Paschal table from A.D. 817 to 832, which places it in the ixth century."
- *518, note, col. 2, l. 8, *after* "teeth," *insert*: "see p. 1103, col. 1, and p. 1337, col. 2, on i. 25."—Both refer to the Sanscrit v.
- *p. 531. The following explanation of the words here quoted from Wace will appear as a note in Part VI.; it is taken from a letter of Mr. Skeat, date 1 Jan. 1872: "The cup was passed round. If a man drank too much, he was cautioned, '*Drink half*' (only); if he kept the cup *too long*, the men two or three places off him sang out—'*Let it come, where is the cup?*' '*Drink hindweard*' is drink backwards, *i.e.* pass the cup the wrong way; though it would commonly take the form: '*Ne drinke ge hindweard*,' *i.e.* 'don't drink backward, none of your passing the cup the wrong way round.' I have heard '*Let it come*' in a college hall; it is a most natural exclamation. I have said it myself! So instead of meaning 'may you have what you want' [as suggested *suprà* p. 532, line 1], it is: 'may I have what I want,' which is human nature all over."
- p. 534, conjectured pronunciation, v. 12, l. 3, and v. 13, l. 5, *read* ææht'e.
- *p. 541, note 2, l. 4, *add*: "printed in an enlarged form in Appendix I. to Mr. Sweet's edition of *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, printed for the E. E. T. S., Part II., 1872, pp. 496-504; in the Preface to this Part, pp. xxi-xxxiii, Mr. Sweet enters on the Phonology of Anglosaxon."
- p. 543, l. 8, *read* (gwh, wh, w).
- p. 547, l. 13, for "(s) final," *read* "s final."
- p. 592, note, col. 2, line 2, *read* minimum.
- *p. 600, col. 1, line 12, *after hue*, *insert hew*.
- p. 601, col. 2, (O o), line 3, *read* heard in the.
- p. 628, l. 3, *read* exist?—

In PART III. pp. 633-996.

- *p. 637, l. 16, *after* "usual," *add as a footnote*: "Frequent instances of the interchange of (ii, ee, ai) will be found in the specimens from Winkler's *Dialecticon*, see below p. 1375, l. 21."
- *p. 638, note, at end of note continued from p. 637, *add*: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte informs me that the real Portuguese sound of a is (æ), which is also nasalised (æA), see p. 1303, No. 23, vowels 8 and 9. Final and unaccented, this a is nearly (e)."

- *p. 639, note 1, col. 2, l. 11, *add*: "Mr. (now Dr.) Murray collated this MS. in Edinburgh in 1871, and informs me that the MS. has *deye*, and not *dethe*, or *depe*, which is a gross blunder of D. Laing's, as the *y* of the MS. is always dotted, and the *p* never is. He says that D. Laing's Abbotsford text has above 50 misreadings per page."
- *p. 649, lines 7 and foll. The Alexandrines in Chaucer will be reconsidered in Part VI.;—line 12, after MSS., *insert*: "in retaining of hem";—line 20, after "unanimous," *add*: "in inserting *pourre*";—line 25, after MSS., *insert as a footnote*: "except the Cambridge, which reads—
 With a threadbare kope as is a scholar,
 where the *is*, which appears also in the Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS., but not in the others, is an evident error."
- p. 663, note 38, l. 13, *read* of (*ee*) for (*ai*).
- pp. 680–725, in Chaucer's Prologue, make the following corrections, in addition to those pointed out in the footnote p. 724, they ~~are~~ mostly quite unimportant. In the TEXT, v. 2, *perced'*; v. 3, *lycour*; v. 8, *yronne*; v. 13, *palmeer's*; v. 20, *Tabbard*; vv. 21, 78, *pilgrimage*; v. 24, *weel*; v. 25, *yfalle*; v. 29, *weel*; v. 49, *Christendoom*; v. 57, *Palmirye*; vv. 64, 85, *been*; v. 72 *gentel*; v. 73, *array*; v. 85, *chyvachye*; v. 99, *servysabel*; v. 104, *pocok*; v. 107, *feth'res*; v. 123, *nose*; v. 138, *amiabl'*; v. 141, *dygn'*; v. 157, *clook'*, as; v. 169, *brydel*; v. 170, *clere*; v. 186, *laboure*; v. 189, *prykasour*; v. 202, *stemed'*; v. 209, *lymytour*; v. 224, *pytawnce*; v. 226, *sygne*; v. 241, *ev'rych*; v. 245 *syke*; v. 248, *vytaylor*; v. 255, *eer*; v. 282, *chevysawnce*; v. 308, *lern'*, and; v. 326, *wryting'*.—In the PRONUNCIATION, v. 41, *add* comma; v. 76, *add* period; v. 144, *saukwh* (wrongly corrected *sakwh* in footnote to p. 724); v. 152 *add semicolon after* *strait*; *glas*;—in the Note on v. 260, p. 693, for "So all MSS. except Ca." *read* "All MSS. insert *pore* except Ca."
- p. 756, note, col. 2, lines 25 and 26, *read* "(lhh, *zh*h, *lj*hh, *zj*hh) occur in the Sardinian dialect of Sassari, and (*zh*h) in the dialect of the Isle of Man." Observe that (lhh) does *not* occur in the dialect of the Isle of Man, as it is incorrectly stated to do in the note as printed.
- *p. 763, note 2, *add*: "*Winge* is given for *whine* from Rothbury, see the comparative specimen in Chap. XI. § 2. No. 12. below. This was more probably the word alluded to."
- *p. 768, *add note to title* of § 2: "This work was first seen by me in the British Museum on 14 Feb. 1859, from which day, therefore, the present researches should be dated."
- p. 789, col. 1, *art.* bold, *read* (booud).
- *p. 799, note 1, col. 1, lines 17 to 20. This is not a perfectly correct representation of the Prince's opinion, see reference on p. 1299, under (*uh*) No. 54; see also the additional note, given in this table of *Errata*, to p. 1296, line 1.
- p. 800, note, col. 1, the Prince wishes to omit 2) and 3), lines 4 to 8;—col. 2, the notations (*sh* f, *qsh*), etc., are now (*sh*), and (*qs*), etc., is now (*s*), etc.
- *p. 802, note, col. 1, line last, for Madrid, *read* Spain, although heard in Spanish America.—*Add at end of note*: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers that no buzzed consonant is found in Spanish, and hence that it is an error to suppose that (*dh*) or (*z*) occur in it. He thinks *b* or *v* Spanish is (*b*) after a consonant, or when standing for Latin *bb*, and (*bh*), which he does not reckon as a buzz, after a vowel or when initial. The Spanish strong *r*, initial and after *n*, and *rr* between vowels, he regards as a Basque sound (*r*), p. 1354, col. 2, No. 203. In Basque the only ordinary *r* (*r*) is a euphonic insertion, as our cockney *law(r)* of the land, *draw(r)*ing room. The Castilian *s* he considers to be the Basque *s*, and it sounded to me as a forward dental *s* with a half lisp, possibly (*th*) of p. 1353, No. 143, or (*s*§) of p. 1105, col. 1, l. 24 from bottom. These fine varieties are very difficult to appreciate by persons who cannot hear them constantly in the spoken language, from many different speakers."
- *p. 803, last words of Hart, *add as note*: "This was Lord Eldon's favourite motto."
- *p. 834, l. 25, *add footnote*: "The subject of *modern*, as distinct from *ancient*, French accent, has been considered in my paper on *Accent and Emphasis*,

Trans. of Philological Society for 1873-4, pp. 138-139, and by Prof. Charles Cassal, a Frenchman, *ibid.*, pp. 260-276; but the views we have taken are disputed and stated to be entirely incorrect by most French authorities, and even by Prince L. L. Bonaparte, whose Italian education makes him familiar with the meaning of accent. The part played by Latin accent in French is the subject of an *Étude sur le Rôle de l'Accent Latin dans la langue Française* by M. Gaston Paris (1862), who also holds that M. Cassal and I are wrong in our views, but whose pronunciation, when tested by myself and Mr. Nicol, bore out what M. Cassal and myself meant to imply, so that there must be a radical difference of the feeling, rather than of the conception, conveyed by the word 'accent.' Hence the need of scientific researches, suggested in other parts of my paper on Accent and Emphasis. An advance towards a mechanical registration of the force of uttered breath in speech has been made by Mr. W. H. Barlow, F.R.S., in his *Logograph*, described in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. 22, pp. 277-286, and less fully in a note to my Third Annual Address to the Philological Society (Trans. Ph. S. 1873-4, p. 389). The nature of Latin accent itself, whence, as seen through a Celto-Frankish medium, French accent arose, has been carefully considered and practically illustrated in my *Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin* (Macmillan & Co., 1874). The strange difference in the whole character of French, Italian, and Spanish pronunciation, and especially in the nature of accent and quantity in these languages, although all derived very directly from Latin, and although Spain and Gaul were celebrated for the purity of their Latin, next of course to Rome, shews that the whole question requires re-investigation."

p. 866, note, col. 2, l. 4, *read* mead. In lines 7, 8, 9, a line has been dropped.

The complete passage is printed on p. 1061, note, col. 1, line 10.

p. 918, line 15, *read* Shakspeare was a South Warwickshire man.

p. 921, example of puns, "dam damn," l. 2, *read* (191', 33).

*923, col. 2, *add to the example* "foot, gown:" "We have an echo of none as gown, that is (nun) as (guun, gun) in TS 4, 3, 31 (247, 85), where *Katerine* says: 'I like the cap, And it I will have, or I will have none,' which *Petruchio* chooses to hear as *gown*, for he says: 'Thy gowne, why I; come, Tailor, let vs see't.'"

*p. 923, to the examples of puns under A, *add*: "cate Kate TS 2, 1, 50 (238, 189-90). Observe that *th* in *Katharina*, as the name is spelled in the Globe edition, was simple (t). The folio has *Katerina*, and that *Katerine* was either (Kat'rin), or more probably (Kaa'triin), whence (Kaat) was the natural diminutive."

*pp. 925-6, *add to example of puns under OA, O, OO*: "on one TG, 2, 1, 2 (24', 2); 'Speed. Sir, your Gloue.—Valen. Not mine; my Gloues are on.—Sp. Why then this may be yours: for this is but one.' This is conclusive for the absence of an initial (w) in the sound of one."

*p. 938, note 1, *add at end*: "See also Chap. XI. § 2. No. 11. for Derbyshire usage."

*p. 942, col. 1, before the last entry under Fourth Measure Trissyllabic, *insert*: To be suspected: framed to make women false. Oth. 1, 3, 86 (885', 404).

*p. 946, col. 2, *add to the examples of well-marked Alexandrines in Othello*: That came a-wooing with you, and so many a time. Oth. 3, 3, 31 (893, 71). Not that I love you not. But that you do not love me. Oth. 3, 3, 90 (899, 196).

Since guiltiness I know not; but yet I feel I fear. Oth. 5, 2, 16 (907, 39).

*p. 953, just before the heading *Shakspeare's Rhymes*, *insert as a new paragraph*: "Since the above examples were collected and printed, the subject of Shakspeare's metrical usages has received great attention. See the Transactions of the New Shakspeare Society, 1874-5. See also Mr. Furnivall's essay on *The Succession of Shakspeare's Works and the use of Metrical Tests in Settling it*, being the introduction to Miss Bunnett's translation of Gervinus's *Commentaries on Shakspeare* (1874)."

p. 963, col. 2, under "caught her," l. 8, omit first).

- p. 980, note, col. 1, line 18. The Devonshire *oo* will be fully considered in Chap. XI. § 2. No. 11.
 p. 986, l. 10 of Portia's speech, read "mer'si."

In PART IV. pp. 997-1432.

- p. 1085, note, col. 2, l. 4 from bottom, *after* "below," *add*: p. 1310.
 p. 1086, l. 16, *read* my (ə) in the xviith may have been (æ, ʌ).
 p. 1114, col. 1, line 5 from bottom, *read* being, *dr*, *rv*.
 p. 1167, col. 2, under *sir*, *read* (jɛ'sɛ).
 p. 1180, col. 2, v. 29, *read* aansering.
 p. 1221, col. 2, l. 19 from bottom, *read* (huen) or (hu'en).
 *p. 1251, *add* to note continued from p. 1250: "Mr. Elworthy, of Wellington, Somerset, says he has never heard *Ise* as a pure nominative, but only *is* standing apparently for *us* and used as *I*. More upon this in § 2. No. 11."
 *p. 1296, l. 1, *after* "in such case," *add* as a footnote: "The following remark of the Prince on this passage in the text was not received till this page had been printed off: 'When the vowels (25e₁, 46o₁) lose their tonic accent in Italian, they do not become quite (29e) and (51o), but the original sounds still influence the vowels in their unaccented state, producing the intermediate sounds (28e) and (49o). This explanation seems to me quite logical, and it is in accordance with the sensations of every fine Tuscan and Roman ear. On the contrary, if the original vowel is (29e) and (51o), it remains unaltered when it loses the accent. Compare the *e* and *o* of *bellina*, *collina* (derived from *bello*, *colle*, which have open vowels), with the *e* and *o* of *stelluccia* and *pollinca* (derived from *stella*, *póllo*, which have close vowels). I had never the least doubt upon this point, but in my previous statements I did not take the present minute gradations of sound into consideration. It would certainly be better to pronounce *bellina*, *collina* with (29e, 51o) than with (25e₁), and (46o₁).—L.L.B.'"
 *p. 1323, note, col. 2, l. 7, *add*: (abstracted below, pp. 1378-1428).
 p. 1376, l. 24, *read* (juu'tər Jot).
 p. 1381, col. 1, l. 5, *read* saanə.
 p. 1393, col. 2, line 8, *read* por'sii, *and see* p. 1428, col. 2, *Note*.

PALAEOTYPE: ADDITIONAL SYMBOLS AND EXPLANATIONS.

The original list of Palaeotypic symbols, pp. 3-12, drawn up at the commencement of this work, has had to be supplemented and improved in many points during its course, and especially during the delicate phonetic investigations of Part IV. Each new point is fully explained in the text as it arises, and although reference is generally made to the place subsequently, it will probably be found convenient in using the book to have all these references collected together, as it is hoped they are in the following list, which follows the order of the pages in the book. The index in Part VI. is intended to refer to each letter and symbol in alphabetical or systematic order.

- p. 419, note, col. 1, line 2, *symbol of diphthongal stress*: an acute accent used to mark the vowel which has the stress in diphthongs, when the position of stress is abnormal, as (eá). This use has been subsequently extended to all cases of diphthongs, and uniformly used to mark diphthongs from p. 1091 onwards, see p. 1100, col. 2.
 p. 419, note, col. 1, l. 16, *symbol of evanescence*: the mark ꞑ, a cut ꞑ, shews that the following vowel is scarcely heard; ꞑ ꞑ shew that all included letters are scarcely heard; excessively slight ꞑ ꞑ see p. 1328 in this list.
 p. 800, note, col. 2, *symbols for advanced s*, *sh* = (ʃs, ʃsh) and *retracted s*, *sh* = (ʃs, ʃsh), subsequently replaced by (s, sh) and (s, sh).
 p. 998, l. 11, *symbol of discontinuity*: the mark ꞑ, a cut ꞑ, used to shew absence of glide; this is rendered nearly unnecessary by an extension of the use of the symbol of diphthongal stress, p. 419 in this list.

- p. 1090, at the end of text, the mode of reference to pages and quarter pages is explained; the two symbols introduced in the summary of contents are referred to *seriatim* below.
- p. 1094, col. 1, l. 33, *symbols of Goodwin's theoretical English ch*, $j = (k_j, g_j)$ where (j) is turned (f), see also p. 1119 in this list.
- p. 1095, col. 2, l. 30, *symbol of advanced contact*, changed from (t) or (·) to (.), as (t, d) (for tt, dt) or (t, d) for the dental t, d.
- p. 1096, col. 1, l. 20, and col. 2, l. 28, the use of (t, d) for t, d, with inverted tongue, supposed to be incorrect for Sanscrit, and use of (r, n) for Indian *mārdhanya* t, d, and (t, d) for English coronal t, d. In the Dravidian languages the inversion of the tongue, so that the under part of the tongue strikes the palate, seems to be more distinct, and (r, t), which seem to be the same to a Bengalee, are apparently distinct as (t, t) to a Madrassite.
- p. 1097, col. 1, under (uu); *symbol of ('u) whispered*, and ('u) hissed vowels, see p. 1128 below in this list.
- p. 1097, col. 2, *symbols for explosions* (tʃu, tʃʃu, tʃʃʃu) and *implosions* ('t), see p. 1128 below in this list.
- p. 1098, col. 1, under (r); *symbol for Bell's untrilled r* = (r_c), the (r_c) being a turned mark of degrees (°). This may be extended to (l_c), which indicates the same position. See p. 1341 below in this list.
- p. 1098, col. 2, *symbols for advanced or dental r* (r) and *retracted r* (r).
- p. 1099, col. 1, under (oor), symbol of indistinct vowel accompanied by *permissive trill* (a), so that (a=a) or (a=ær) at pleasure. Bell's point glide is (ör_c), my (o'), where (') is a "helpless indication of obscure vocality," see p. 1128 in this list.
- p. 1099, col. 2, Donders on *glottal r* (r), where (r) is turned (l).
- p. 1100, col. 2, l. 8 from bottom, symbol of *widening the pharynx*, as (e₂) for (e) with pharynx widened; supposed to be Irish.
- p. 1102, col. 2, Land's *explosive* (p), see p. 1292, col. 2.
- p. 1104, col. 2, l. 3 from bottom; *symbol of advanced s*, sh = (s, sh), replacing (ʃs, ʃsh).
- p. 1105, col. 1, l. 24 from bottom, *divided s* = (sʃ), probably Spanish.
- p. 1105, col. 1, l. 15 from bottom, *retracted s* = (s).
- p. 1107, col. 1, l. 5, *symbols of higher and lower positions of the tongue in uttering vowels* = (e¹, e¹¹; e₁, e₁₁), and of close and open consonants as (ph¹, ph₁);—line 28, *symbol of more hollowness at back of tongue* = (e²), as distinguished from (e₂), see pp. 1100 and 1279 in this list;—line 14 from bottom, *symbol of intermediary of two vowels*, or doubtfulness, with inclination to first = (e⁴).
- p. 1107, col. 2, Scotch close and open (e¹, e¹; e₁, e₁; o¹, o¹; o₁, o₁).
- p. 1107, col. 2, last line; *symbol of (u) with lips as for (o)* = (u_o).
- p. 1111, col. 2, *symbols for glides*, open to close (>), close to open (<), and absence of glide (), see p. 998 in this list.
- p. 1112, col. 1, *glottids*; clear in (e), gradual in (e).
- p. 1114, col. 2, last line; *symbol for rounding by the arches of the palate as in the parrot's* (p⁴u⁴s).
- p. 1116, col. 1, *symbol of medial length of vowels as in (a^a)*, the superior and inferior vowels being the same, and hence distinct from the symbol of intermediaries as in (e⁴), p. 1107 in this list;—scale of quantitative symbols (a, a^a, aa, aa^a, aaa).
- p. 1116, col. 2, *symbol for variety of lip rounding*, as in (A_o) = tongue for (A), lips for (o), see p. 1107 in this list.
- p. 1119, col. 1, l. 2, *symbols for palatal explosives* = (k_j, g_j), see p. 1094 in this list.
- p. 1120, col. 2, distinctions of (x, k, k_j, t_j, t t t, t, t t, t t, p, p).
- p. 1120, col. 1. Mr. Graham Bell's alteration of Mr. Melville Bell's symbols for (s, sh);—col. 2, re-arrangement of palaeotypic symbols of cols. 2 and 3 in Bell's table, p. 14. See p. 1341.
- p. 1124, col. 1, *Goodwin's ng* = (ŋ), possible as original Sanscrit palatal nasal.
- p. 1125, col. 2, to p. 1128, col. 1, Bell's rudimental symbols reconsidered and re-symbolised.

- p. 1128, col. 1, *symbols of inspiration* (‘i), *implosion* (‘h), *click* (‡h), *flatus* (‘h), *whisper* (‘h), *voice* (‘h).
- p. 1129, col. 1, abbreviations of these by the omission of the ‘support’ (h), etc.
- p. 1129, col. 2 to p. 1130, col. 1, *symbols of glottids, clear* (.), *check* (;), *wheezing* (h), *trilled wheeze* (gh), *bleat* (g).
- p. 1130, col. 1 and col. 2, *symbols of degrees of force, evanescent* (l), *weak* (.), *strong* (.), *abrupt* (.), *jerk* (H), and its varieties (H‘h, Hh, [h, H[h).
- p. 1130, col. 1, to 1131, col. 2, *symbols of glides, slurs, and breaks, glide* (>—<), *break* (j), *slur* (—), *relative force and pitch* by inferior figures and superior accented figures.
- p. 1133, col. 1, l. 1, *symbol of short l + trilled r* = (lr), Japanese intermediary.
- p. 1146, col. 1, *relative time* by superior unaccented figures.
- p. 1147, col. 2, *symbol of advanced* (a) = (a).
- p. 1150, col. 2, l. 10, *symbol of Helmholtz’s u* = (Au) = tongue for (A), lips for (u).
- p. 1156, col. 2, table of the relative heights of the tongue for vowels.
- p. 1174, bottom, table of practical glossic.
- p. 1183, table of Pitman and Ellis’s phonotypy, 1846 and 1873.
- pp. 1189–96. Prof. Haldeman’s analysis of English sounds with palaeotype equivalents.
- pp. 1197–1205. Mr. B. H. Smart’s analysis of English sounds with palaeotype equivalents serving to identify the palaeotype signs.
- p. 1232, *Irish rolling r* = (,r), and *bi-dental t, d* = (,t, ,d).
- p. 1255, table of English dialectal vowels and diphthongs.
- pp. 1258–1262, Glossic compared with palaeotypic writing of dialectal sounds.
- p. 1264, suggestions for marking quantity, force, and pitch, in practical writing.
- pp. 1279–80, combination of the signs for primary (e), tongue higher (e¹), tongue lower (e₁), tongue advanced (e), tongue retracted (e); whole back passage widened (e), part in front of palatal arches, only widened (e²), pharynx only widened (e₂); all widened, but more above than below (e²), or more below than above (e₂); height of tongue remaining, aperture of lips contracted to that for (A) in (e_A), to that for (o) in (e_o), and to that for (u) in (e_u); rounding by palatal arches in (e⁴), giving 2916 forms of unnasalised vowels.
- pp. 1298–1307, Seventy-five palaeotypic vowel symbols grouped in families, and supplied with key-words.
- p. 1328, line 12 from bottom of text, the slightest quiver = (llr).
- p. 1333, col. 1, l. 11, *symbol of cheek puffs* = (≡).
- p. 1333, col. 2, *symbol of inspired breath*, oral (‘i), nasal (‘i), orinasal (‘iA) fluttering (‘i₂) and snoring (‘iA₂).
- p. 1334, col. 2, l. 9, *symbol of bleated consonants* (gb, gd, gg).
- p. 1334, note on symbolisation, shewing the intention of palaeotypic as distinct from systematic symbolisation.
- pp. 1341–4, new table of palaeotypic equivalents for Mr. Melville Bell’s Visible Speech symbols, with subsequent explanations.
- pp. 1346–9, new table of palaeotypic equivalents to Prof. Haldeman’s consonants with subsequent explanations.
- pp. 1353–7, table of Prince L. L. Bonaparte’s consonants with palaeotypic equivalents, of which 154 marked * are new combinations of symbols already explained, and in some few cases entirely new symbols.

NOTICE.

When Part III. was published, I hoped to complete this protracted work in Part IV. But as I proceeded, I found it necessary to examine existing English pronunciation, received and dialectal, in so much greater detail than I had contemplated, and to enter upon so much collateral matter of philological interest, that I was soon compelled to divide that Part into two. Even the first of these parts, owing to other literary engagements into which I had entered when much briefer work was anticipated, could not be completed by the close of 1874, as required for the Early English Text Society, and hence a further division has become necessary.

Part IV. now contains the Illustrations of the xviith and xviiith centuries, an account of Received English Pronunciation, and the introductory matter to the new collections of English Dialects which have been made for this work, in order to register dialectal pronunciation with a completeness hitherto unattained and even unattempted, as a necessary basis for understanding the pronunciation underlying our Early English orthography, which was wholly dialectal. These collections themselves, which have been already made to a sufficient and by no means scanty extent, will form Part V., to be published in 1875. That Part will therefore be devoted to English Dialects. After it is completed, I contemplate allowing at least two years to elapse before commencing Part the Sixth and (let us hope) the Last. If I have life and strength (which is always problematical for a man who has turned sixty, and has already many times suffered from overwork), I propose in this last Part to supplement the original investigations, made so many years ago, when the scope of the subject was not sufficiently grasped, the materials were not so ready to hand, and the scientific method and apparatus were not so well understood. The supplementary investigations which have been made by others, especially Mr. Sweet in his *History of English Sounds*, Prof. Payne and Mr. Furnivall on the use of Final E, the late Prof. Hadley on the quantity of English vowels, and Prof. Whitney in the second part of his *Linguistic and Oriental Studies*, and others, with the criticisms friendly (as they mostly are) or hostile (as Dr. Weymouth's) which my book has called forth, will be examined and utilised as far as possible, and by their means I hope to arrive at occasionally more precise and more definite conclusions than before, or at any rate to assign the nature and limits of the uncertainty still left. I have no theory to defend. Many hypotheses have necessarily been started in the course of this work, to represent the facts collected; but my chief endeavour has been, first to put those facts as accurately as possible before the reader in the

words of the original reporters, and secondly to draw the conclusions which they seemed to warrant in connection with the other ascertained laws of phonology. But as, first, the facts are often conveyed in language difficult to understand, and as, secondly, the whole science of phonology is very recent, and the observations and experiments on which it has to be based are still accumulating,—so that for example my own views have had to undergo many changes during the compilation of this work as the materials for forming them increased,—my conclusions may be frequently called in question. Nothing is so satisfactory to myself as to see them overhauled by competent hands and heads, and no one can be more happy than myself to find a guide who can put me right on doubtful points. *Nōn ego, sed rēs mea !*

In the present Part I have endeavoured to make some additions to our phonological knowledge, and I believe that my examinations of aspiration (pp. 1125–1146), and my theory of fractures and junctures (pp. 1307–1317), already briefly communicated to the Philological Society, are real additions, which will be found to affect a very wide philological area. The examinations of living Indian pronunciation (pp. 1136–1140), though merely elementary, together with the account of ancient Indian alphabets as collected, through Prof. Whitney's translation, from the *Atharva Veda Prātiṣākhya* (pp. 1336–1338), may also prove of use in Aryan philology. But one of the most important additions that I have been able to make to our philological knowledge and apparatus consists of those extraordinary identifications of Vowel Sounds in forty-five European languages, each guaranteed by an example (pp. 1298–1307), which, together with an almost exhaustive list of the consonants found in actual use (pp. 1352–1357), I owe to the linguistic knowledge and kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who has worked for me as hard and ungrudgingly as any of my other kind contributors, whose names (*quæ nunc præscribere longum est*) are each given as their contributions occur, and—if ever I reach that *ultima Thule* of authorship, my much-needed, and still more dreaded indices—will be duly chronicled alphabetically and referred each to his own work. The number of helpers—ladies I am glad to think, as well as gentlemen, aye, and men and women labouring with hands as well as with head—who have so kindly and unstintingly helped me in this work, and especially in the collections which will form the staple of Part V., serve to shew not only the unexpected interest which so many feel in the subject, but the vast amount of good fellowship and co-operative feeling by which alone we can hope to build up the gigantic edifice of philology.

As my Table of Contents will shew, the present Part consists of a series of essays bearing upon the history and present state and linguistic relations of our language, which either appear for the first time, or are put into a convenient form for reference from sources not readily accessible to ordinary readers. For the English of the Eighteenth century Lediard's little known book, for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Prof. Payne, gives much interesting

matter (pp. 1040–1049); and Noah Webster's account of American pronunciations nearly a century ago, derived from forgotten essays of that lexicographer (whose dictionary has been so recently imported in revised editions that few think him to be so ancient), make a new link in the chain binding the Seventeenth to the Eighteenth centuries (pp. 1064–1070). The examination of Received Pronunciation, as represented by Mr. B. H. Smart, Mr. Melville Bell, Prof. Haldeman, and Mr. Henry Sweet (pp. 1090–1207), and the actual observations on unstudied pronunciations as noted by myself at the moment of hearing, and contrasted with my own usages (pp. 1208–1214), form a new datum in phonology, because they enable us to estimate the real amount of floating diversity of pronunciation at any time, out of which, though unrecorded by orthography, the pronunciation of a future generation crystallises, only to be again dissolved by a fresh menstruum, and appear in still newer forms. We are thus put into a position to understand those changes which go on among even the educated, and "hear the (linguistic) grass grow." The accounts of existing differences in American and Irish pronunciation (pp. 1217–1243), which are mainly Seventeenth century *survivals* as modified by environment, though necessarily very imperfect, bring still more strongly to light existing diversities where there is appreciable sameness, that is, diversities which interfere so little with intelligibility of speech, that they have been hitherto disregarded, or ridiculed, or scouted by grammarians and linguists, instead of being acknowledged as the real "missing links," which connect the widely separated strata of our exceedingly imperfect philological record. Beyond such initiatory forms of transition, are the past records of dialectal variety verging into species. For English—with the exception of Dr. Gill's most interesting little report on the dialects as known to him in 1621 (pp. 1249–1252)—these are reserved for Part V., but I have in the present Part IV. collected some of the results, and shewn their general philological bearing, as well as their special connection with the Early English Pronunciation, which is the main source and aim of my investigations; and I have also given the phonetic theories necessary to appreciate them more thoroughly (pp. 1252–1357). Thanks to the labours of the great Teutonic linguist Schmeller, I have also been able to shew the variations which interpenetrate one great branch of the High German dialects, the Bavarian (pp. 1357–1368); and, thanks to the extraordinary collection made by Winkler, just published in Dutch, I have been fortunate enough to give English readers a general view of the present state of those Low German and Friesian dialects to which our own Anglosaxon language belongs, as they have developed under merely native influences, without the introduction of any strange element, like Celtic, Norman French, and Old Danish (pp. 1378–1428). These modern dialectal forms are invaluable for a study of our Early English dialectal forms, for, although chronologically contemporaneous with the English of the Nineteenth century, they are linguistically several hundred years older. And

they enable us to appreciate the state of our own English dialects, which are in fact merely a branch of the same, left untouched by Winkler, because, like our own, these Low German dialects (with the exception of modern Dutch, which is a literary form of provincial Hollandish), have developed entirely without the control of the grammarian, the schoolmaster, and the author. To philologists generally, this wild, unkempt development of language is very precious indeed. The theory of vegetable transformation was developed by Goethe from a monstrosity. The theory of linguistic transformation can only be properly studied from monstrosities naturally evolved, not artificially superinduced. And for pronunciation this is still more emphatically true than for construction and vocabulary, for pronunciation is far more sensitive to transforming influences. Hence I consider that my work is under the greatest obligation to Winkler's, and that in devoting so much space to an abstract of his specimens, reduced to the same palaeotypic expression of sound which I have employed throughout, I have been acting most strictly in the interests of Early English Pronunciation itself.

Let me, indeed, particularly emphasise the fact that not even the slightest deviation has been made from the course of my investigation into English pronunciation by taking these dialects into consideration. As Mr. Green well says at the opening of his excellent *Short History of the English People* (which appeared as these pages were passing through the press):—

“For the fatherland of the English race we must look far away from England itself. In the fifth century after the birth of Christ, the one country which bore the name of England was what we now call Sleswick. . . . The dwellers in this district were one out of three tribes, all belonging to the same Low German branch of the Teutonic family, who at the moment when history discovers them were bound together into a confederacy by the ties of a common blood and a common speech. To the north of the English lay the tribe of the Jutes, whose name is still preserved in their district of Jutland. To the south of them the tribe of Saxons wandered over the sand-flats of Holstein, and along the marshes of Friesland and the Elbe. How close was the union of these tribes was shewn by their use of a common name, while the choice of this name points out the tribe which at the moment when we first meet them must have been the strongest and most powerful in the confederacy. Although they were all known as Saxons by the Roman people who touched them only on their southern border where the Saxons dwelt, and who remained ignorant of the very existence of the English or the Jutes, the three tribes bore among themselves the name of the central tribe of their league, the name of Englishmen.”

It is mainly owing to the dialectal differences of these tribes and places of their settlements in Britain (the history of which is given in an excellent epitome by Mr. Green) that the character of our dialects, old and new, was determined. But they did not all come over to Britain. Over the same Sleswick and Holstein, Jutland and Friesland, dwelt and still dwell descendants of the same people. Philologically we all know the great importance of the few ancient monuments which have remained of their speech preserved in monastic or legal literature. But these, as well as the oldest records of English in our own England (which I have hitherto called, and to prevent confusion shall continue to call

Anglosaxon), fail to give us enough foothold for understanding their living sounds. These we can only gradually and laboriously elicit from any and every source that offers us the slightest hope of gain. None appears so likely as a comparison of the sounds now used in speech over the whole region where the English tribes grew up, and where they settled down, that is, the districts so admirably explored by Winkler and those which we shall have before us in Part V. During the whole of this investigation my thoughts have been turned to eastern English for light. The opportune appearance of Winkler just before my own investigations could be published, was a source of intense delight to me, and though I was at the time overloaded with other work, I did not in the slightest degree grudge the great labour of abstracting, transliterating, writing out, and correcting those 50 pages at the end of Part IV., which indicate the nature of this treasure-trove, and I feel sure that all who pursue the subject of this work as a matter of scientific philology, and linguistic history, will be as much delighted as myself at the possession of a store-house of facts, invaluable for the investigation before them, and feel the same gratitude as I do to Winkler for his three years' devotion in collecting, arranging, and publishing his great *Dialecticon*.

Such are the principal divisions of the present Part and their bearing on each other. For some subsidiary investigations I must refer to other books which I have had to pass through the press this year, and which are published almost at the same time as the present pages. Helmholtz's great treatise, *On Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music* (shortly to be published by Longman and Co., from my English version, with notes and additions), contains the acoustical foundations of all phonology, and without studying the first two parts of this book, it is impossible to arrive at a due estimate of the nature of vowel sounds and their gradations (see below, pp. 1275-1281), and hence of the physiological cause of their extraordinary transformations. Although the preparation of my version and edition of Helmholtz's work has robbed me of very many hours which would in natural course have been devoted to the present, every one of those hours has been to me a step forward in the knowledge of sound, as produced by human organs and appreciated by human nerves, and hence in the knowledge of speech sounds and their appreciation by hearers. As such I recommend the work—the outcome of many years' labour by one of the first physiologists, physicists, and mathematicians of the present day—to the most attentive consideration of all scientific phonologists.

The other work is one of much smaller size and very little pretension. It is called *Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin* (published by Macmillan & Co.), and is the recast of a lecture which I delivered to classical teachers last June. It does not compete with Corssen's work in investigating the actual force of the Latin letters (except final M), but it takes up the two important questions of quantity, and musical accent in speech, and

endeavours to give practical exercises for becoming familiar with them, so as to appreciate a rhythm dependent on "length" of syllable and embellished by "pitch-accent," as distinguished from rhythm due to "force-accent" and embellished by "pitch-emphasis." It also contains a delicate investigation of the nature of the final M and the meaning of its disappearance, which may be of assistance in appreciating the disappearance of final N in English, and the disappearance of other letters in English and other languages so far as their natural sounds are concerned, and their simultaneous survival as affecting adjacent sounds. As such I must consider it to be an excursus of the present work, necessarily separated from it by the different linguistic domain to which it belongs.

The materials for Part V. are, as I have mentioned, all collected, some of them are even in type, and others made ready for press, but it was physically impossible to prepare them in time for Part IV., and the nature of the typography, requiring great care in revision, does not allow of the least hurry without endangering the value of all the work, which is nothing if not trustworthy. The extreme pressure of literary work which has lain on me since I began preparing this Part in March, 1873, and which has not allowed me even a week's respite from daily deskwork, must be my excuse if marks of haste occasionally appear in the present pages. It will be evident to any one who turns them over, that the time required for their careful presentment in type was far out of proportion to their superficial area. And a very large part of the time which I have devoted to this work has been bestowed upon the collection of materials, involving long correspondence and many personal interviews and examinations of speakers—which occupy no space in print, while their result, originally intended to appear in the present Part, has been relegated to the next. Hence, with a cry of *mea culpa, aliēna culpa*, I crave indulgence for inevitable shortcomings.

A. J. E.

25, ARGYLL ROAD, KENSINGTON,
Christmas, 1874.

CHAPTER IX.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.§ 1. *John Wilkins's Phonetic Writing.*

DR. WILKINS, while Dean of Ripon (he was subsequently Bishop of Chester),¹ after inventing a phonetic alphabet for the purpose of giving a series of sounds corresponding to his *Real Character*, gives as a specimen of its use the *Lord's Prayer* and *Creed*, "written according to our present pronunciation." This is on p. 373 of his work, but on the occasion of his comparing the Lord's Prayer in 49 languages (which he unfortunately does not represent phonetically) with his own Philosophical Language (erroneously numbered 51 instead of 50 on his p. 435), he adds the phonetic representation of the English version, which differs in a few words from the former copy, no doubt through insufficient revision of the press, and omits the final doxology.

In the present transcription into palaeotype, I assume his vowels on his p. 363 to be (A AA, æ ææ, e ee, i ii, oo, u uu, ə əə), although I believe that he pronounced (ə, i, u) in closed accented syllables rather than (A, i, u).² His diphthongs will be represented as he has done on his p. 363; his so-called diphthongs u, œ, on his p. 364, meaning (yi, wu), will be written (i-i, u-u), to distinguish them from the long vowels (ii, uu). He has no systematic method of representing the long vowels. In the Creed and first version of the Lord's Prayer, he uses a grave accent to express length; in the second version of the Lord's Prayer, he uses an acute accent. Again, the acute accent in the first version and the grave in the second represent the accent on a short vowel in a closed syllable. The o seems to have been considered always long, as no example of short o is given on his p. 363, although it is once marked long in rōf in the Creed. It will be always transliterated by (oo). The consonants were doubled without any special intention. The word *body* towards the end of the Creed he has written *bady*, evidently a mistake for *bad*, as he does not use *y* in any sense, but employs a variation of it for (ə). *Virgin* is evidently an error for *Virdzhin*. All the errors, however, will be given in the following transcript, and the various readings of the second copy of the Lord's Prayer will be added in brackets. Afterwards will be given

¹ See an account of his book *suprà*, p. 41, where he is erroneously called Bishop of *Ripon*, of which he was only Dean. He married the widow Robina

French, sister of Oliver Cromwell.

² For the considerations which have influenced me, see *suprà* pp. 68, 100, 177.

in palaeotype the pronunciation which Wilkins probably intended to symbolize. As this short specimen is the only instance that I have discovered of continuous phonetic writing in the xviith century, it has been thought best to give a minutely accurate copy in the first instance. One point only has not been attended to. Wilkins intended to represent (i) by the Greek ι, and has generally done so in the second version of the Lord's Prayer, but in the first version and Creed i i are commonly used in place of ι. As this is a mere accident of printing, I have replaced ι, i, i by the single letter (i).¹ His diæresis when written *over* a vowel will be replaced by ʃ, made from ʃ, *before* the vowel.

Transcript of Wilkins's Phonetic Orthography.

The Lord's Prayer.

ƒur fæædher huiſh ært in he·ven, hælloojed [hællooed] bi dhœinææm [naam], dhœi ki·qðem [kiqðem] kəm, dhœi uill [uill] bi dən, in erth æz it iz in he·ven, giv əs dhis dæi əur dæili bred, ænd fargi·v [fargiv] əs əur tres·pæsez æz ui fargi·v dhem dhæt tres·pæs ægæinst əs, ænd leed əs nat intu temptæ·sian, bæt deli·ver əs fram ivil [ii·vil], far dhœin iz dhe kiqdim, dhe pəu·er ænd dhe glari, far ever ænd ever, Æmen.

The Creed.

ƒi biliiv in Gad dhe fæædher Almoiti mææker af he·ven ænd erth, ænd in Dzhesəs Kræist niz oonli sən əur Lard, hu·u uæz kanseevəd bæi dhe hooli Goost, barn af dhe Virgin Mææri, səfferəd ənder Pansies Pəilæt, uæz kriusified ded ænd bərijed. Hi dessended intu hel, dhe thærd dæi ni roos ægæin fram dhe ded. Hi æssended intu he·ven, hueer ni sitteth æt dhe rəit hænd af Gad dhe fæædher, fram hueens ni shal kəm tu dzhədzh dhe

Conjectured Meaning of Wilkins's Phonetic Orthography.

The Lord's Prayer.

ƒur fæædher whiſh ært in he·ven, hæll·ooəd bi dhœi nææm, dhœi kiq·dəm kəm, dhœi wil bi dən, in erth æz it iz in he·ven, giv əs dhis dæi əur dæi·li bred, ænd fərgiv əs əur tres·pæsez æz wi fərgiv dhem dhæt tres·pæs ægæinst əs, ænd leed əs nət in·tu temtææ·sion, bæt deli·ver əs frəm ii·vil, fər dhœin iz dhe kiq·dəm, dhə pəu·er ænd dhe gləu·ri, fər ev·er ænd ev·er. Ææ·men.

The Creed.

ƒi biliiv in Gød dhe fæædher Aalmoiti, mææker af he·ven ænd erth, ænd in Dzhee·zəs Kræist niz oon·li sən əur Lard, whuu wæz kənseevəd bæi dhe hoo·li Goost, born of dhe Ver·dzhin Mææ·ri, səfəred ənder Pən·sies Pəilæt, wæz kriusified ded ænd bərijed. Hii desend·əd in·tu hel, dhe thærd dæi ni rooz ægæin frəm dhe ded. Hii æsend·əd in·tu he·ven, wheer hii sit·eth æt dhe rəit hænd of Gød dhe fæædher, frəm whens hii shaal kəm tu

¹ This mark will in future be employed in place of (,), to denote discontinuity or absence of audible glide. The different kinds of continuity and discontinuity will be discussed and more completely symbolised in Chap.

XII. § 1, when considering Mr. Melville Bell's Key Words of modern English pronunciation, under WH. The old (,) will then receive the distinctive sense of the 'clear glottid.'

kuik ænd dhe ded. ȝi biliiv
in dhe hooli Goost, dhe hooli
kæthoolik tshærtsh, dhe kam-
miunian af Sæints, dhe fargiv-
ness af sinz, dhe resærreksioon
af dhe bædi, ænd laif everlæstiq.
Æmen.

dzhədzh dhe kwik ænd dhe ded.
ȝi biliiv in dhe hoo'li Goost,
dhe hoo'li kæth'ol'k tshærtsh,
dhe kœmiun'ion af Sæints, dhe
færgiv'nes af sinz, dhe rezærek-
sion af dhe bød'i, ænd laif
everlæst'iq. Ææ'men.

§ 2. *Noteworthy Pronunciations of the Seventeenth Century.*

The transition period of the xviith century, reaching from the death of Shakspeare to the death of Dryden, presents considerable interest. It is remarkable for the number of "slovenly" pronunciations as they would now be called, which were recognized as in use either by orthoepists or orthographers, the former to correct them, the latter to determine the "proper" spelling from the "abusive" sound. Spelling was in a state of transition also, and many orthographies recommended by the would-be authorities of this period are now discarded. Our sources take therefore two different forms, one determining the sound from the letters, and the other the letters from the sound. To the latter belong especially those lists of Words Like and Unlike, which Butler appears to have commenced (*suprà* p. 876), and which have ever since occupied a prominent place in our spelling-books. Great importance was always attached to the difference of spelling when the sound remained, or was thought to remain, the same, as this difference was—nay, is—thought by many to present perfect means of determining meaning and derivations. It would have been desirable to fuse the two methods into one, but the indications, lax enough in vocabularies, were far too vague in the other lists, and hence they have had to be separated.

1. PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, COLLECTED FROM WALLIS 1653, WILKINS 1668, PRICE 1668, COOPER 1685, ENGLISH SCHOLAR 1687, MIEGE 1688, JONES 1701.

A pronouncing vocabulary of the xviith century, though as much needed as one of the xvith, is much more difficult to compile. For the xvith century we possess a large collection of phonetically written words, which had only to be extracted and arranged, after their notation had been reduced to a single system. For the xviith century I have not been able to discover any systematic phonetic method of writing, except in Wilkins's *Real Character*, where it is applied to a very small collection of English words. The other writers have more or less precise or lax methods of representing individual sounds, but very rarely indeed combine their symbols so as to spell out complete words. Their observations generally tend to shew the pronunciation of some particular groups of letters, principally vowels, in the words cited as examples, and the pronunciation of the rest of the word has to be collected, as well as possible,—which is often very ill,—from similar observations respecting the other groups of letters in the word. This arose from

the authors writing for those who, being well acquainted with the various pronunciations of the words, only required to have one fixed upon for approval, or who knew how to spell the word except in the individual point under consideration. To a learner in the *xix*th century such a course, however, presents great difficulties, and in many cases I have felt in doubt as to the correctness of the pronunciation of the *whole* word, although that of a portion of the word was almost certain. In other cases, especially in the important works of Price and Jones, much difficulty arose from the ambiguity of their symbols. Thus if one were to say that *ie* was sounded as *i* in *lie* and *sieve*, it would be difficult to guess that the first was (l*ei*) and the sound (s*iv*), although (oi, *i*) are two common sounds of *i*. Still the results are very interesting, because in this *xvii*th century the pronunciation of English altered rapidly, and many words were sounded in a style, which, owing to the influence of our orthoepists of the *xviii*th and *xix*th centuries, is now generally condemned, although well known among the less educated classes. It may be doubted whether our language has gained in strength, as it has certainly gained in harshness and in difficulty, by the orthographical system of orthoepy which it has lately been the fashion to insist upon, but as such a system is thoroughly artificial, and results frequently in the production of sounds which never formed an organically developed part of our language, it is rather to be regretted than admired.

The following is not a complete vocabulary, as that would be far too extensive, but it embraces all those words in Wallis, Wilkins, Price, Cooper, English Scholar, Miede and Jones, which struck me as being in some respect noteworthy, because they illustrate some Elizabethan usage or shew a transition from the *xvi*th century, or a peculiar but lost sound, or an early instance of some well-known sound now heard, or give the authority for some pronunciations now well known but considered vulgar or inelegant, or exhibit what were even in the *xvii*th century reprobated as barbarisms or vulgarities.

1) WALLIS does not furnish a long list, but the vowels in the accented syllables which he gives may be depended upon; in some cases of consonants and unaccented vowels I do not feel so secure.

2) WILKINS's list is very short, and has been already given in the example of his writing. In this vocabulary the words are repelled to signify the sounds he probably meant to convey.

3) PRICE is uncertain, sometimes even in the accented syllables, owing to the defects of his notation. His short *o* has been assumed as (o), but throughout this century (A, o) are difficult to distinguish, and perhaps (A) prevailed more widely than at present. Even now *watch*, *want*, are perhaps more often called (wotsh, wönt) than (watsh, want), the latter sounds being rather American than English, which, again, is to some extent evidence of their use in the *xvii*th century.

4) COOPER is very strict but very peculiar in his vowel system, which has been sufficiently considered, *suprà* p. 84.

5) "The complete English Scholar, by a young Schoolmaster," 8th ed. 1687, contains some words re-spelled to shew what the author considers their correct pronunciation, for a list of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Payne. These re-spellings I have generally annexed.

6) MIEGE being a Frenchman, and evidently but imperfectly seizing the English sounds, has to be interpreted by endeavouring to discover (*not* what were the sounds he meant to convey by his notation, *but*) the sounds which were likely to have excited in him the sensations betrayed by his letters. This is of course a difficult and a delicate operation, and I may have often blundered over it, so that I have frequently felt it best to annex either his own notation or the gist of his remark.

7) JONES furnishes the most extensive list, and in every respect the most remarkable part of the vocabulary, because his object was to lead any person who could speak, to spell, and therefore he has chronicled numerous unrecognized or "abusive" pronunciations besides those which were "customary and fashionable." By adding such observations as "abusively, sometimes, often, commonly, sounded by some, better," I have tried to convey a correct impression as to the generality of the pronunciation, so far as Jones's own statements go. I have not always felt perfectly confident of the correctness of my interpretation, owing to his ambiguous notation, and I am not quite clear as to the distinction which he draws between *it*, *bit*, which should be (it, bit)—a distinction of which no other author takes any notice; the first he considers as the short of *ee* (ii), and treats of under *ee*, the second he treats of in conjunction with *i* (oi).

The following abbreviations are employed :

C Cooper, 1685.	P Price, 1668.
E English Scholar, 1687.	W Wallis, 1653.
J Jones, 1701.	Wk Wilkins, 1668.
M Mieke, 1688.	

A hyphen after a combination shews that it is initial; before it, that it is final, as *emp-*, *-our*. Small capitals imply the older spelling used by the next following authority. The alphabetical arrangement follows the present orthography. Words not wholly in Italics are to be read as in palæotypic spelling. The position of the stress is almost always marked from conjecture.

A

A, s'appelle et se prononce ai ææ, æ M
a A ind. art, se prononce en a court M
Aaron Ææron J
ab- b- often as bææt for æbææt: J
abbey æb'e P, æb'i C
abet bet J
abide æboid: C, boid J
abigail æb'igæl æb'igeel J
able ææ-bal etc. P, Eeb-l C
aboard æbuurd: C, J

about æbøut: C, bøut J
above æbøv: P, C, M, bøv J
abroad æbræad: J
abrupt æbrəp: often J
abundance bændæns J
abutt bət J
acc- k- frequently J
accompt ækaunt: J
accoutred ækuut'əd C
account økaunt: J
accountant kəunt'tænt often J
accumulate kiur'miulæt often J

- ach s. ætsh P
 ache v. ææk P
 ached æk'd æækt C
 acorn ææ'kørn C
 acq- k- often J
 acquit kwit J
 acre ææ'kær C
 action = aichon æk'shøn M
 adhere ædheer J
 adieu ædiu P, ædiu C
 adjourn ædzhørn C
 adventure ædventør C
 affairs æfæerz C
 afford æfuurd C, J
 afraid AFFRAID æfeerd', freed J
 again ægen ægeen J
 against ægæinst Wk, ægeenst P,
 gæinst J
 age eedzh C
 agnail æn'eel J
 ai ay = æi, generally P
 air eer C
 air-y eer'-e C
 aid ææd eed J
 al- l- often as loon for æloon J
 alarm lærøm usual J
 Albans : AA'bænz J
 alembic lem'bik usual J
 Algier Ældzheer Ældzhiir J
 all aal W, J
 Alexander Alesæn'dær J
 all aal comme un a François un peu
 long M
 alley æl'e P, æl'i C
 almanack AA'mænæk J
 almond AA'mænd C, J, ææ'møn a-mun E,
 AA'møn J
 almoner æm'nær, AAM'nær J
 almost AM'æst barbarè C, AA'moost J
 alms AAMz J
 am- m- often J
 ambiguous æmbig'æəs sometimes J
 ambs AAMz J
 amendment æmen'ment J
 anatomy næt'æmi often J
 anchor = ennker æq'kær M
 ancient ANTIENT æn'shent C, AUNCIENT
 æn'shent ou comme a simple anglois M
 andiron ændi'ørn J
 Anglescy Æq'g'lsæ P
 anguish æq'g'wish J
 ann- n- often as neel anneal
 annoyance ANOIANCE nôi'æns often,
 nūs'æns sometimes J
 annual æn'æl occasionally J
 anoint ænwi't ænoint C
 anon ænøn ænæn J
 another ænædh'ær, often nædh'ær J
 answer æn sær C, M, J
 anthem ænthæem J
 ancient ANTIENT æn'shent C
- antique æntik C
 ap- p- often, as pok'rifæ apocrypha J
 aposteme impostium J
 apophthegm APOTHEGM æp'othem, may
 be æp'otheg'm J
 apothecary apoth'ikəri, pot'ikəri usually J
 appear æpiir P, J
 appetite ap'eti abusively J
 apprehend æprend J
 apprentice pren'tis usually J
 approve æpræv P
 apricot æp'rikøk J
 apron ææ'pørn C, E, M, J
 ar- r- often, as rith'metik arithmetic J
 -ar -ør C, -er -ør J
 Archibald Ærtsh'baal J
 -ard -erd -ærd J
 are eer C, ær, not eer J
 Armagh Ær'mæ J
 Arnold Ær'nol J
 arrand AAR'ænd J
 arrant AA'rænt J
 arreare æriir C
 arrears reerz J
 arrest rest J
 arrow æru P
 Arthur Ær'thir J
 artichook hærtitshook J
 artificial ærtifish'æl, and in similar
 words ci- = sh C
 -ary -eri J
 as- s- sometimes as støn'ish astonish J
 as az en a court M
 asparagus spær'ægəs J
 aspen æs'pøn J
 assume æshuum J
 asthma æs'mæ J
 assure æshuur J
 atheism ææ'theezm, ææ'thoizm J
 atheist ææ'theest, ææ'thoist J
 att- t- as people are apt to sound teent
 for attaint J
 attorney ætørn'e P, ATTORNEY ætørn'iC
 athwart æthært J
 auburn oo'børn, may be AA'børn J
 auction ook'shøn, may be AAK'shøn J
 audible AU'debl, AA'debl negligenter C
 audience oo'diens may be AA'diens, some-
 times AA'dens J
 audit oo'dit, may be AA'dit J
 audit-or-y AU'det-ær-e, AA'dit-ær-e negli-
 genter C
 augment augment, Aaugment negligenter
 C, oogment, may be Aaugment J
 augury AU'gəri, AA'gəri negligenter C
 aunt = aint ænt M, ænt Aant J
 auricular AU'rik'iulær, AARik'iulær negli-
 genter C
 austere Aasteer J
 authentic AUTHENTICK Authen'tik,
 AATHen'tik negligenter C

author AA'tər J
authority AAthar'ete, AAthar'iti negli-
 genter C, AAthər'iti J
av- v- often as VAAnt *avaunt* J
avantcourier VANTCURIERVæn'kæriir' J
avarice æv'əris J
aver ævər' æveər' ævæər' e se pronounce
 ai M
aviary æv'vəri sometimes J
award æwərd' a *comme en français* M
awl AAL W
azletree eks'tri *facilitatis causa* C
ay æi C
azure æsh'ər J

B

babel bAA'b'l en a long M
backward bæk'ərd J
bacon bæək'n J
bailiff bee'lii J
bain BEEN *balneum* C
bait bæit C
baker bæek'ər C
balderdash bAA'dərdæsh J
baldrick bAA'rik J
balk bAAk P, J
balm bAAm J
balsam bAA'sæm en a long M
Banbury Bæm'bəri J
bane bæən W, BEEən C
banish bæn'esh C
bankrupt bæqkrəp often J
banquet bæq'kwet J
baptism bæp'tizm sometimes J
bar bær W, C
Barbara Bær'bæræ = Bær'bæræ J
bare bæər W, BEEər C
bargain bær'geen P, bær'gen C
barge bæərdzh C
barley bæ'r'li C
baron bæər'an C
barrow bæ'r'u P
basin bæsn' P, BASON BEEsn' C
bastile bæstii' J
bate bææt W
be bii P, BEE C, M, J
be- bii J
beacon beek'n C
beadle biid'l J
bear v.s. BEEF C, P
bear s. = *bair* bæər *un ours* M
beard BEERD C, J, berd P, M, J
beast beest W
bestly bees'li J
beaten beet'n M
beau BEAW biu J
Beaublice Biu'klæər J
Beaufort Biu'fərt J
Beaumaris Biumær'is J
Beaumont Biu'mənt J

beautify biu'tifəi J
beauty beu'ti *rectius, quidam* biu'ti W,
 biu'ti M
because bikææz' bikaAZ' J
been bin J
begin biigrin' W
behaviour bihæv'ər J
behold bihəuld C
bekove bihəv' P, bihuuv C, M
bellows bel'ooz C
bellows bel'ooz, *facilitatis causa* bel'es C
Belus Bee'ləs J
bench bentsh P
beneath bineedh' P
benign binig'en J
Berks Bærks J
besmear bismiir' C, M
besom biis'əm M
besought bisoot' J
betoken bitook'n C
betroth bitroth' P
beyond biyənd' C, biyən' J
bezoar bez'ər J
bible bæib'l C
bier beer biir J
Bilbao Bål'boo, Bål'buu J
bird bərd P, C
bittern BITTOUR bet'ər C
birth bərth C
biscuit bis'ket J
bishop bəsh'əp *barbare* C, = *boshop*
 bəsh'əp *pas du bel usage* M, bush'əp
 sometimes J
blain BLEIN bleen J
blaspheme blæsfeem' J
blast blææst C
blazon blæez'n C
blea blea J
blear-eyed bliir'əid P, C, M
blind bləind C
blithe BLITH bləith C
blomary bləm'əri J
blood BLOUD bləd P, ou = o *court* M, J
blood-i-ly blud'-i-li C
boar buur C
board BOORD buurd *tabula* C, J
boil bəil, bwail (bwail ?) *nonnunquam*
 bəil J
bold boold *nonnunquam* bould W, buuld
 C, boould J
bole boul P
bolster boul'stər P, buul'stər C, booul'-
 stər J
bolt boult booult J
bomb buum J
bombast bambæst' J
bone boon C
book bauk C
boor BOAR buur J
boose BOWZE bæuz C

boot buut C

Bordeaux BOURDEAUX Buurdoo' J

borne buurn *bajulatus* C, = *börne* boorn
porté M

born barn *parturitus* C, = *bårn* baarn
né M

borough = *boro* bær'ə M

borrage bær'ædzh J

borrow bôr'u P, bAA'TAA bôr'AA com J

bosom bəz'əm J

bough bəu, boo J

ourn buurn *rivulus* C

bow boo arcus, buu torqueo C

bowl BOUL bəul *globus* W, C, J, BOWL

bəul *poculum* W, BOLE buul *patera* C,

BOLL booul J

boy boi, bwai (bwai?) *nonnunquam* W,

bu'ai *dissyllabum* C

bought baat C, boot baat *sometimes*

boft J

brain bræin C

brazier BRASIER bræsh'ər, *sometimes*

brææz'ər J

break breck P, breck C

breakfast brek'wæst in *some countries* J

breastplate bres'plæt J

breviary brev'əri *sometimes* J

brew bry W

brewess breu'es P

bridge bredzh J

Bristol Bris'too P, J

broad braad C, oa = á M, J

broil bruil brail C, brail *sometimes* J

brotherhood brodhr'əhod C

brought broot P, J

bruise briuz C, briuz J

bruit briut J

Buckingham Bək'iqəm J

build bild C, biuld J

bull bul M, J

bullion bol'jən C

bumble bee əm'bl bi J

buoy BWOY bui C, boi, buui J

bur bər C

burden bər'dən J

burlesque bərlezg' bərlesk' J

burt BIRT brit J

burthen bər'dhen P

bury ber'i C, ber'i M

busy BUSIE biz'i C, M

business biz'nes C

but bət o court M

C

cabin kæb'en J

Caiaphas Keef'as J

caitiff kæ'tif C

caldron kAA'drən kAA'dərn J

calf kAAf C, J

call kAal W

calm kælm P

campaign kæmpæən' J

can kjan W, kæn C

candle kæn'l J

cane KEEN C

cannot kænt J

canoe CANOO kænuu' J

canonier kænəneer' kænəniir' J

cap, kæp, en ai *bref ou en e ouvert* M

capable KEE'pæbl C, kææ'bebl occ. J

capacity kæpæs'ete C

cape KEEəp C

caper KEE'pər C

capon KEEp'n C, kæəp'n o se *mange* M

car kær C

card kæərd C

care KEEər C, = *caire* kæər M

cared kæərd = *card* C

career CARREIR kæreer' P

carking kærk'iq C

carp kæərp C

carriage kær'ædzh C, kær'edzh occ. J

carrion kær'ən P, kær'en *occasionally* J

case KEEəs C

cashier CASHIRE kæshiir' J

cast kæəst C

casualty kæəz'ælti *sometimes* J

caterer KEE'tərər C

Catharine Kæth'ern E, Kæt'ərn J

catholic kæth'olik Wk

caul kAal W

cause kAAz *comme a français* M

causeway kAA'ze P

cautious kAU'shəs, kAA'shəs *negligenter* C

cavilling kæv'liq J

ce- see- J

celestial selest'jæl, and in *similar words*

-sti = -stj C

censure sens'ər C, sen'shər J

centaury sen'təri sen'tAəri J

century sen'təri C, sen'təri J

certain ser'tən ? ai *comme en certain* M

(*exception*)

chaldron tshAA'drən C, J, tshAA'dərn J

chair tshær tshær J

chalk tshAAk C

chamois SHAMOIS shæm'ii J

chamberlain tshæm'berleen P

Chandois Shæn'dəis *abusively* J

chandler tshæn'ler J

chaplain tshæp'leen P

chaps tshəps *abusively* J

Charles TshAArlz *barbarè* C

charriot CHARIOT tshær'et *occasionally* J

chasten tshæs'n J

cheer CHEAR tshiir P, J

Chelmsford Tshemz'fərd J

cherub tsher'əb W, tshær'əb J

-chester -tsheshər J

cheveron tshæv'ərən J

chew tshiu C, tshoo tshoo, may be tshin,

sometimes tshAA J

chicken tshík'en J
children tshíl'ren J
chimney tshím'ne P
chirp tsherp J
chirurgion = *sardgin* sər'dzhin M
chisel CHESEL tshii'zel J
Chloe CLÖE Kloo'i C
chocolate tshək'olæet J
choir CHÖRE kwair J
Cholmly Tshəm'li J
chorister kwər'ister J
Christ krəist W, Wk
christen kris'n J
Christian krist'jæn W, krist'en some-
 times J
Christmas kris'mæs J
church tshertsh Wk
chuse tshuuz M
-cial, -shæl J
-ciate -shæet J
cinque siqk J
-cious -shəs J
circuit sər'kit C, sər'kiut sər'ket J
Cirencester Sis'etər J
citron sit'ərn C, sit'ərn M
civil siv'əl J
clarion klær'en occ. J
clear kliir P, M, J
clerk klærk J
clew klü J
clift klif J
climb kləim P
cloak CLOKE klook C
clyster glis'tər J
coach kootsh C
coarse kuurs = *course* C
cobiron kəb'ə'ərn kəb'ərn J
cochine kush'ineel J
cockney kək'ne P
codicil kad'isil C
coffee = *caphé* kəf'e M
cognisance kən'isəns, kən'isəns J
cohere kəheer J
cohort kuurt J
coif kaif C, QUOIF koif J
coil kuuil, kail sometimes J, QUOIL kail J
coin koin J
colander kəl'ændər J
cold koold nonnunquam kould W, kould
 P, kuuld C
collier kal'jər and in similar words,
 -ier = jər C
Cologne Kul'en Cul-len E
colonel kəl'nəl J
coltsfoot koolz'fut J
comb kuum J
combat kəm'bæt C
come kəm W, com kəm C
comely COMLY kəm'li C
comfort kəm'fərt J
comfrey kəm'fre P

commandment kəmæn'ment J
committee = *committé* kəmit'e M
companion kəmpən'jən C
company kəm'pəni J
complete = *complète* kəmpleet' M, J
comptroll kəntroul' J
comrad CAMERADE kəm'ræəd J
concede kənsəd' J
conceit kənsēt' P, J
conceive kənsēv' P, CONCEIV kənsēv'
 C, kənsēv' é masculin M, J
concourse kən'kuurs C
condign kəndig'en J
condition kəndis'ion negligentius W
conduit kənd'it P, E, kən'det C, kənd'uit
 kən'det J
coney kən'i P, J
conge kən'dzhe J
conjure kən'dzhər J
conquer kəq'ker P J
conscience kən'shəns J
conspicuous kənsplik'əs J
constable kən'stəbl abusively J
construe kən'stər J
consume kənsuuum' J
contagion kəntæ'dzhen occ. J
contradict kənt'rædikt' C
controul kəntroul' P
contrary kəntreere C
convey kənvai P, kanvee' C
copy kup'i C
coppice kəps J
coral kər'æl C, J
corrupt kərəp' often J
coroner krəun'ər J
costly kəs'li J
couch kuutsh P, J
cough kəf W, P, = *käff* kAAf M
could kould P, kuuld C, kuud J
couldst kuust J
coulter kuul'tər C
countrey kən'tre P, kən'tri C, J
counterfeit kəun'tərfeet J
couple kəp'l C
courage, kər'ædzh C, J, kur'ædzh J
courier kəriir' J
course kuurs W, P, C, koores ou = o un peu
 long M, kuurs J
court kuurt P, C, J
courtesan CURTEZAN kər'tezən C, kər-
 tisən J
courteous kər'tjəs C, J, kuurt'jus J
courtesy kər'təsi P, J
courtier kuurt'ier P, kuurt'jər C
courtship kuurt'ship C
cousin kəz'n P, COUSEN COUSEN kəz'n
 C, kəz'en J
covent (garden) kəv'en J
cow kəu J
cowherd kəu'hærd occasionally J
coy kai C

cozen kəz'n C, kəz'en J
 cradle kreed'l C
 crazy kreek'z C
 credit kree'dit J
 Crete criit J
 crevis kree'vis J
 crimson krim'sin E
 crony CRONE kroo'ni C
 crosier = erōjir kroo'zhər M, krooz'ər
 sometimes J
 crouch kruutsh J
 crucified krii'sifijəd Wk
 cruise kriuz J
 cube kiub C
 cuckoo kukuu' P
 cupboard kəb'ərd J
 Cupid kiu'bid sometimes J
 cure kyyr W, kiur'ər C
 curious kiur'ias C
 curtain kər'teen P
 cushion kush'en, kəsh'en ? *cush-en* E

D

daily dæi'li Wk
 dairy dæe'ri C
 dame dæəm W
 damosel dæm'sel C, dæm'zel J
 damson DAMASIN dæm'zin J
 dance dAANS J
 dandle dæn'l J
 dandriff DANDRUFF dæn'dər *facilitatis*
causa C
 Daniel Dæn'el occasionally J
 Daphne Dæf'ne J
 dart dæərt C
 dash dæsh C
 date dæet C
 daughter dAAftər occasionally J
 daunt dAANT, dænt *melius fortasse* C,
 = daint dænt M, dænt dAANT J
 Daventry Dæən'tri Deen'tri J
 day dæi W, Wk, dæe C
 de-dee- J
 dear diir W, P, C, M, J, der J
 dearth derth C
 debonair debANEER C
 deceit deseet nonnulli desæit W, deseet-
 P, J
 deceive deseev' W, P, DECEIV diseev' C,
 deseev' é masculin M, J
 decoy dikoi' abusively J
 deign dæin P, deen J
 Deitrel Døi'trel J
 deity deeti døiti J
 demesne demeən' dimiin J
 deputy deb'iuti occasionally J
 despair despeER C
 desume døshum J
 deter deteer' detæær' ? *e se prononce*
 ai M

devil dæv'l C, div'l dɪl sometimes del as
 in "del take you" J
 diadem dæi'ædem C
 diamond dæimənd di-mund E
 diaphragm dæi'æfrəm J
 diary deer'i occ. J
 dictionary diks'næri E, diks'næri cus-
 tomary and fashionable J, hence the
 old joke of a servant being sent to
 borrow a Dik Snær'i asking for
 Mis'ter Ritsh'ærd Snær'i
 did dæd barbarə C
 didst dist for speed's sake J
 diphthong DIPHTHONG dip'thoq J
 dirge dər'dzhi C
 distraint DISTREIN dístreen' J
 discrete dískreet' J
 do duu rectius doo W, duu P, doo = doe C,
 duu M, J
 dole dool P
 dolt dault P, dault C
 done dæn W
 door duur' sometimes J
 dost duust J
 doth duuth J
 double dæb'l C
 doublet dæb'let C, J
 dough dowe doo C
 doughty dooti J
 dove dæv W, dæf M, dæv J
 dozen DOSEN DOUZEN dæz'n C, dæz'en J
 drachm dræm C, dræk'am, dræm J
 draught draat C, J
 droll droul C, drøl a *français* M
 drougt = draout drəut M, drəut draat
 droot J
 dumb dæm P
 Dunelm Dæn'em J
 dunghill dæq'il P
 Dunstable Dæn'stəbl abusively J
 dure dyrr W
 Durham Dər'æm J
 dwindle dwin'l J

E

e- ee- J
 ean een C
 ear iir C, J
 earl EERl C
 early EERl'i C
 earn EERN C
 earnest EER'NEST C
 earth ERTH, jərth barbarə C, = yerth
 jərth pas du bel usage M
 earwig iir'wig C
 Eastcheap Ees'tsheep J
 eastward eest'ərd J
 ebullition belish'en often J
 Ecclesfield Eg'lzfiild J
 eclogue eg'løg J
 ecstasy eg'stæsi J

Edward Ed·ərd J
e'er eer J
effectual efek·tæl occ. J
ei never = ii J
eight æit P, æit *vulgariter* C, æit (?) J
eilet øi·let J
either eedh·er P, ædh·ər C, ødh·ər e
feminin M, øidh·ər eedh·ər J
eke eek J
el- l- often J
Eleanor ELLENOR El·nər J
eleven elev·ən ilæv·ən J
em- m- often after 'the' or a vowel, as
mæl'shen emulsion J
'em əm them J
emb- b- often as bəd·i *embody* J
embalm embəlm· P
embolden embould·n P
emp- p- often as peetsh *empeach* J
en- n- often as nəf *enough* J
-en -ən in *eaten*, &c., J
enamel æm·əl J
enamoured æm·ərd J
end- d- as dæm·ædzh *endamage* J
end iind barbarè C
endeavour endee·vər P
England Iiqlænd P, J, Iq·lænd J
English Iiqlish P, J
engorge gərdzh J
engrave grææv J
enhance enhaans J
enough inəf sat *multum* W, P, enəu·
sat multa W. enəf *quantitatem* deno-
tans, enəu· *numerus* denotans C
environ envøi·ərn C
enroll enrəul C
ensue enshu· J
ensure enshuur· J
entrails en·trælz P
enthusiasm enthū·shæzm C, thiū·-
siæssəm J
Epiphany Pif·æni sometimes J
epistle pis·l sometimes J
epitome epitəme M
-er -ər C
ere EER C
err ər C
es- s- often J
escape scææp J
eschew estshiu· P, estshoo· estshoou· may
be estshiu· J
esquire skwair J
-ess, -is, often in words of two syllables
as gud·nis goodness J
essay see J
estates stææts J
eternal iter·naal P
Eton EATON Eet·n J
etymology timol·ədzhi J
ev- v- often as vænd·zhelist *evangelist* J
Evan Iiv·ən Ev·ən J

every ev·əri J
Eve Iiv J
eve iiv M
Eveling Iiv·liq J
even ii·ven P, J
evening iiv·niq P, J
evil iiv·l C, M, J
eue eu P
example ensəm·pl səm·pl J
exasperate æs·perææt J
Exchequer ESCHÉQUER tskek·ər J
experience ekspeər·ens sometimes J
extol ekstool· P
extraordinary eks·tra,ərdinəri P
extreme = extrême ekstrem· M
-ey -e J
eyelet OILET øi·let sometimes J

F

fable fæe·bl C, = *faible* fææ·b'l M
fair FEER C, = *faire* FEER feer see 'fare'
M by his rule, fæər fecər feer J
falchion fAA·shən J
falcon fAAk·n J
falconer fAAk·nər C
fall fAal C
fallow fæl·u P, fæl·AA commonly J
Falmouth FAA·møth J
falter fAA·tər J
fare = *faire* fæər M
farrier fæərər occasionally J
farthing færdiq C
fashion fæsh·n o *comme muet* M, fæsh·-
en J
fasten fæs·n J
father fææ·dhər Wk, fAA·dhər J
favour fææ·vuur fææ·vər J
fealty feel·ti C
fear fiir C
February Febrəri sometimes J
feign fæin P, feen J
felt felt e en ai M
felo fee·lo J
female fee·mææl J
feodary fed·əri C
feoff fef C, fef J
feoffee fef·ii P, J
ferule fee riul J
feud feud P
few feu *rectius*, *quidam* fiu W, feu P,
fAA barbarè C
field fiild C
fieldfare feld·FEER C, fiil·fæər J
fiend fiind W, find J
fight fet = fit C
figure fig·ər C
finger fiq·ər J
fir fər C, fər à *peu près* *comme* e *ouvert* M
first fərst P, C
fire fəi·ər C, fəier *re comme* er M, fəi·ər J

fissure fish'ər J
fivepence fip'ens J
flake flæək C
flash flæʃ C
flasket flæəsk'et C
flaunt flaaŋt P, C, flænt flaaŋt J
flaw = flā flaa M
flea flii W
flood fLOUD fləd P, flud fləd C, fləd J
floor flu'ər sometimes J
flourish flər'ish C
foal FOALE fool C
foil fəil sometimes J
foist fəist sometimes J
fold fould P, fould C
folk fook J
follow fəl'un P, J, faa'laa fəl'aa com. J
folly fal'i C
fondle fən'l J
fondling fən'liq J
fool fuul C
foot fuut P, fut as *distinct* from fot, fət
barbarè C, fət, better fut J
force fuurs C
ford FOORD fuurd P, J
foreign FORRAIN far'en C, fər'en e *fem-*
inin M
forfeit = far'fət C, fər'fət e *feminin* M,
fər'feet J
form fuurm classis C, fārm faarm forme,
 = fōrm foorm bane M
forsooth fərsəth', better fərsuuth' J
forswear fərsweər' C, fərseər J
forswore fərsuər' J
forth FOORTH fuurth C
forward fər'ərd J
four fuur C
fought foot J
fourth fəurth P, fuurth = forth C, J
fracture = fracter fræk'tər avec e *fem-*
inin, *familier* M
frail fræil C
frankincense fræqk'ənsens barbarè C
fraud frood may be fraad J
fraudulent frau'dulent, fraa'deulent
negligenter C
frequent free'kwent J
friend friind W, P, frend C, friind
frind frend J
friendly fren'li J
friendship fren'ship J
froise frəiz sometimes J
frontiers frantiirz' P
frost fraast, fere semper *producitur o*
ante st C
froward frəu'ərd P, froo'ərd J
fruit friut P, friut C
frumenty fər'miti barbarè C, = *formité*
fər'miti M, fər'meti J
Fulks Foouks J
full ful C, ful M, J

funeral feun'ərəl C
fur fər = fir C
furniture fər'nitər C, J
furrier FURIER fər'ər sometimes J
further fər'dər C
fusilier fūsleer' fūsiliir' J
fustian fəst'ien P, fəst'en sometimes J
future flu'tər J

G

gain gæin P
Gabriel Gæb'rel sometimes J
gallery gæl'ri J
gallimaufry gæl'maa'fri J
gallon gæən in Berks J
gallows gæl'əs E
gaol dzhæəl dzheel J
gash gæʃ C
gasp gæəsp C
gastly gæs'li J
gate gæət C
gave gæv gəu barbarè C
gazette GAZET gæzet' C
gear giir C, M, J
general, *dzhener'al* *approche du son de*
notre a M
gentle džen'tl W
geography dzheg'ræfi sometimes J
geometry dzhem'etri J
Georgius Dzhərdzhuus J
gesture dzhest'ər = jester C
get gjet W, git *facilitatis causa* C
gh = h' in *bought*, etc. P, *desuevit*
pronunciatio, retinetur tamen in scrip-
turā, C
ghost goost C
ghostly goos'li J
girl gerl a *peu près comme e ouvert* M,
gerl J
glance glaans P
glanders glaan'dərz J
glebe gleeb J
glisten glis'n J
glori glaa'ri Wk
Gloucester Glöst'ər J
glove gləf M
gn- n- J
go guu *rectius* goo W, guu P, goo C
gold goold *nonnunquam* gould W, gould
 P, guuld C, guuld J
Goldsmith Guul'smith J
good gəd, P, gud C, gəd, better gud J
good-ly-ness gud-li-nes C
gouge guudzh J
gourd goord P, guurd J
gournel gər'net C
grace grees C, = *grâce* græes M
gracious GRATIOUS gree'shəs C
grammar, gram'ar *approche du son de*
notre a M
grandchild græn'tshæild J

granddame græn·æm J
 grandfather græn·fædh·er J
 grandmother græn·mædh·er J
 grange græendzh C
 grant græant C
 grasshopper græs·opər J
 grating græt·iq C
 gravy greev·i C
 gravity græv·iti C
 great greet C
 Greenwich Grin·idzh J
 grenadier GRANADIER grænædeər· græn·ædiər J
 grey gree P
 gridiron grid·oi·ærn C, grid·oi·ærn grid·ørn J
 grindstone grin·støn J
 griest GRIEST grist J
 groat groot P, grAAT C, M, J
 groin grōin sometimes J
 gross groos J
 guaiacum gwæe·kəm J
 guardian gærd·en occasionally J
 gudgeon GOUGEON gədzh·ən C
 guess GHESS ges J
 guild gild C
 guildhall gild·HAAL C, gēil·HAAL J
 guilt gwilt J
 gurgeons GURGIANS gredzh·inz *facilitatis causa* C

H

ha ! hææ C
 haak hææk J
 Hackney Hæk·ne P
 hadst hæst *for speed's sake* J
 hair HEER C
 half HAAL C, J
 halfpenny hæ·peni J
 hallow hæ·lu P
 halm HAAM C, J
 hamper HANAPER hæm·pər J
 handkerchief HANKERCHIEF hæq·ketshər *facilitatis causa* C, = *hence*
ketcher heq·ketshər M, hænd·kər·tshər J
 handle hæn·l J
 handmaid hæn·meed J
 handsel hæn·sel J
 handsome hæn·səm J
 hardly hær·li J
 harquebus hær·kibəs J
 harsh hæsh J
 Harwich Hær·idzh J
 hasten hæ·sən J
 hat, hæt en ai *bref ou en e ouvert* M
 haunt HAANT, hænt *melius fortasse* C
 hænt HAANT J
 hautboys hoo·boiz J
 haut·gout HAUT GOUST hoo goo J

haven HEEV·n C
 hay HEE C
 hazelnut HASLENUT hēe·zlnət C
 hazy HEEZ·i C
 he hii P, C, M, J
 head hed C
 hear hiir W, P, C, M, J
 heard hærd P, C, J, herd J
 hearken hærk·n *a est conté pour rien* M
 heart hært C, J
 hearten hært·n C
 hearth hæρθ C
 Hebrew Hee·brii J
 hecatomb hek·ætəm J
 Hector Ek·tər J
 hedge edzh J
 heifer heef·er P, hef·ər C, hæf·ər *e fem·in* M, heef·ər hef·ər J
 heigh hoi J
 height HEIT, HEET *negligenter* C, = *hæit*
 hoit M, hait heet, HEIGHT heeth J
 heinous HAINOUS HEINəs, HEE·nəs
negligenter C, hee·nəs J
 heir æir P, eer C
 held hild barbarè C
 Helen El·en J
 hemorrhoids em·erədz J
 hence = *hinnee* hins M
 her hør P, C, hør *e feminin* M, = *ør*
after consonants J
 herald HERAULD hēr·AAL J
 herb jərb barbarè C, = *verb jərb pas du*
bel usage M, erb, jərb *as sounded by*
some J
 Herbert Hær·børt J
 here hiir P, hii·er *re comme er* M, hiir J
 heriot er·iət J
 hermit erm·it J
 heron hørn J
 hiccough hik·əp J
 hideous hid·iəs hid·eəs J
 him im, often, *as take 'im* J
 hire hoi·er J
 his iz, often, *as stop 'is horse* J
 hither = *heder* hædh·er *e feminin* M
 hoarse hoors C
 hog'shead høg·shed J
 hoise hoi·z sometimes J
 Holborn Hoo·born P, Hoo·børn J
 holdould P, hould C
 holdfast hool·fæst J
 holiday = *håldiday* hol·idee M
 hollow HAA·lAA hOl·AA *commonly* J
 holm hoom J
 holp hoop J
 holpen hoop·n J
 holster HOLSTER hool·ster *often* hool·stər J
 Holy = *hōly* hoo·li M
 homage om·ædhz *often* J
 hood hød P, hod·, hød, *better* hud J
 hord huurd P

horn HAARN, *ferè semper producitur o ante rn C*

hosannah oozæn'æ often J

hosier = hójer hoo'zhər M, hoo'shər J

host oost P, oost often J

hostage øst'ædzh J

hotter whet'ər barbarè C

hour, hourly øur, øurli, *the only words with h mute M*

household HOUSHOLD hæus'ould J

housewife = hooz'if hæz'if M, hæz'ii hæz'i hæ'si J

hover hæv'ər C

how HEU molliores concinnittatem nimis affectantes C

howsoever HOUZEVE'ər facilitatis causa C

huge HÜDZH C, hooüdzh abusively J

hundred Hæn'dərd facilitatis causa C, M, J

hurricane HERAUCANE her'AAkæn ? P

hyacinth dzhæs'inth J

I

I = äi əi M

idle əi'dl W

immersion mer'shən J

imp- p- often, as pound impound J

impede impeed' J

impost im'poost C

imposthume impost'ium P

impugn impə'gən J

incision insizh'en C

inchipin insh'pin J

Indian In'dzhæn, sometimes In'den J

indict indait' en sonnənt l'i äi M, J

inhabit inæb'it usually J

inhibit inib'it usually J

inherit iner'it usually J

inhesion inhi'zhən C

inhospitable inos'pitæbl usually J

injoin indzhoin' C

injury in'dzheri J

instead instiid' J

interfere ENTERFEIR en'terfeer P

interrupt interəp' often J

inv- v- often as vest invest J

inveigh invæi' P

inveigle INVEEG'l C, in'vee'g'l é masculin M, J

inward in'ərd J

iron əi'ərn C, M, J, ərn J

Isabel Iz'bel J

isle əil J

is not ? ent ? *facilitatis causa C*

issue ish'uu J

isthmus ist'məs J

Italian Itæl'en occasionally J

it has tæz J

it is tiz J

-ity -eti J

J

Jacquet dzhæk'et

jamb's dzhAAMz J

James Dzheemz C

Jane = Dgène Dzheen M

January Dzhæn'əri sometimes J

jar djar W

jasmine dzhes'min J

jaundice JAUNDIES dzhAAN'des C, dzhAAN'dis J

jaunt dzhAANT, dzhænt melius fortasse C, dzhænt dzhAANT J

jealous jii'ləs jee'ləs ? je-lus E

jealousie dzhee'ləsi P

Jenkin Dzhik'in J

Jeffrey Dzhefre J

jeopardy dzhep'ærde P, C

jerk jerk as sounded by some J

Jesus Dzhees'səs J

Jew Dhiu J

jewel dzhii'uel P

join dzhuin dzhoin C, dzhuiin, sometimes dzhoin J

joint dzhoint C

jointure dzhain'tər dzhoin'tər C

jolt dzhault C

journal dzhør'næl C

journey dzhør'ne P, dzhør'ni C

joy djoï W, dzhai C

joy dzhai C

judge dzhødzh Wk

juice dzhüs C, dzhüs J

Julian Dzhil'ian, a woman's name J

Jupiter Dzhii'biter sometimes J

K

Kelmsey Kem'zi J

Kenelm Ken'em J

kerchief kært'shər J

key kee P, J

kidney kidne P

kiln kíl J

kindle kân'l J

kindly koin'li J

kingdom kiq'dəm Wk

kn- = kn, nh (P) C, n-, but may be sounded kn J

knave nhææv C

knead nheed C

knee nhii C

knew knyy W, nhü C

knoll nhuul C

know knau, alii knoo W, nhoo C

known noonun J

L

ladle læ'dl C

lady læ'di C

lamprey læmp're P

lame læəm W

lance LAANS P, J
lanch læensh C
landlord læn'lord J
landscape LANDSKIP læn'skip J
lane LEEŃ C
language læq'gædzh occasionally J
lass læs C
last læest C
lastly læs'li
laudable LAU'dæbl, LAA'dæbl *negligenter* C
laugh læf W, P, M, læf LAA J
laughter LAAT'ər J
laundress LAANT'is J
laurel LAU'rel, LAA'rel *negligenter* C
Laurence Lær'ens Lar-rance E
law = lū LAA M
lead leed Wk, P
leap lep a est conté pour rien M
leaper lep'ər = leper C
learn LEERN C
lease lees C
lecture læk'tər C, J
Ledbury Led'beri J
Leicester Les'ter J
Leigh Ləi J
leisure lee'ziur, P = *léjeur é masculin*
 lee'zhər M, lee'shər J
Leominster Lem'ster J
Leonard Len'erd J
leopard lep'ərd P, lep'ərd C J
Leopold Li'opəl Lep'oold J
let læt barbarè C
lever LEAVER lev'ər C, LEAVER lev'ər
 a est conté pour rien M
leveret LEAVERET lev'ret C
lewd leud P
liberty lib'ər'ti P
lice liis barbarè C
licorice LIQUIRICE lîk'iris J
lieu lyy W, liu P, liu C
lieutenant = *lieutenant* liften'ænt M, J
Lincoln Lin'kən J
linen = linnin lîn'in M
linger liq'ər J
liquid lîk'id J
liquor lîk'ər J
listen lis'n J
listless lîs'les J
Liverpool Ler-puul E, LEVERPOOL
 Leer-puul Leir-puul J
loin loin = *line* C, loin sometimes J
lodging lɔdʒ'iq W
loll lol a français M
London Lɔn'dən *negligentiūs* W, J
longer lɔq'ger *rectiūs* lɔq'ər W
look lək, better luk J
lose luuz M
loss las C
lost laast C
loth LOATH = lāth LAATH M
lough ləf? J

love ləv W, ləf M, ləv J
loyal lɔi'æl abusively J
luncheon LUNCHION lən'tshen J
lure liu'ər C
lute lytt W, liut P

M

maggot = *maiguet* mæg'ət M
Maidenhead Meed'ned Meed'hed J
main MEEN C
maintain menteen' C
major MEEDzh'ər C
malign mælig'ən J
malikin MAA'kin *peniculus* C, *Malkin*, as
 a name, MAA'kin P, J
mall MAAL C, = *mell* mel, *jeu de paume* M
Malmsey MAAM'zi J
maltster MAAL'ster J
mane MEEŃ C
manger MEEN'dzhər C
mangy MEEN'dzhi C
mann man German C
Mantua Mæn'tiu J
manuscript mæn'iskript, mæn'iuskrip
 often J
many men'i C, mæn'e sometimes J
margin mærd'zhent J
marriage mæ'rædzh C, mæ'rædzh J
marsh mæsh J
mask mææsk C
mason MEES'n C
masquerade mæs'kiræd J
mastiff mæst'ii J
maugre moo'gər, *may be* MAA'gər J
maund MAAND J
maunder mæn'dər MAAN'dər J
may-not meent J
Mayor MAIOR MEER C, J
-mb -m in monosyllables J
me mi P, MEE C, M, J
mean miin C
meat meet W
measure mez'iuur P, mesh'ər J
Medes Meedz J
medicine med'sin P, M, med'sen C
meet mit C
merchant mært'shænt E, J
mercy mærs'i J
mere MEAR miir J
mesne MESN meen J
metal met'l C
mete meet = *meat* C, J
metre miit'ər J
Michaelmas Miil'mæs? *Miel-mas* E
mice miis barbarè C
minnow MENOW me'no J
-minster -mister J
mire mi'er J
misapprehend misæprend' J
miscellane MISCELAN mæs'lîn mæs'læn J

miracle mæ'ræk'l *facilitatis causa* C
might mAAt med *barbarè* C
mn- n- J
-mn -m J
moiety moi'ti J
moil mül mül C, *mail* sometimes J
moisten mäs'n J
molten moolt'n P
Monday Muun'dee J
money män'e P, män'i J
mongcorn män'körn J
monkey mæq'ki P
monsieur mänsiur' mänsiur' J
More Muur J
morrow mör'u P
mosquito mäskii'to J
most moost C, *mest o court* M
mostly moos'li J
mother mædh'ər J
mouch muutsh J
mould mauld C
moulter muul'tər C
mourn muurn W, C, J, mörn J
-mouth -mæth J
move muuv *rectiūs* moov W, mæv P, J,
 muuv C, M, J
-mps -ms J
-mpt -mt J
Mulgrave Muu'græv J
murrian mæ'r'en sometimes J
muscle mæz'l J
mus myyz W, miuz P
musquet mæs'ket J
mustard, *mäst'ard* *approche du son de*
notre a M
mute myyt W
myrrh MIRRH mər C

N

naked NEEK'ed C
name NEEəm C
napkin næb'kin sometimes J
nation nææ'sion P
nature NEE'tər C, = *naiter* nææ'tər
familier avec e feminin M, nææ'tər J
naught NAAft occasionally J
nauseate NAUSEAT NAA'shæt C
navy NEEV'i C
-nch -nsh J
-nd- -n- *when a consonant is added to*
such as end in 'nd J
neap NEPE neep J
near niir W, P, C, M, J
need niid C
negro nee'gro J
neigh næi P
neighbour næi'bər nee'bər P
neither NEEdh'ər nædh'ər *barbarè* C,
 nædh'ər e *feminin* M, næi'dher
 needh'ər J

nephew nee'fju, nev'iu J
nether needh'ər J
neuter neu'ter *rectiūs*, *quidam* niu'ter W,
 neu'ter P
new nyy, neu *rectiūs*, *quidam* niu W,
 niu P, niu J
none noon W
nor nar C
North Noor J
Norwich Nør'idzh J
nostril nös'trel J
notable nat'æbl C
notary noot'əri C
nought noot P, *naft* sometimes J
nourish nər'ish C
now näu J
-nts -ns J
nunchion nən'shen J

O

oaf AUF AWF oof *may be* AAF J
oatmeal æt'miil ou *court* M
oats oots, wæts *barbarè* C
obey obæi P, oobEE' C
obeysance obæi'sæns P
oblige obliidzh' J
obscene obseen' J
ocean oo'shæn C, J
of Af W
ogre AUGRE oo'gər *may be* AA'gər J
oil ail W, ail = *I'll*, *isle* C
ointment æint'ment C
Olave Ol'iv J
old oold, *nonnunquam* ould W, ould P,
 oould J
-om -əm C
-on -ən C
once wæns, wænst *as in Shropshire and*
some parts of Wales J
one oon W, C, wæn J
onion ən'jən, *and in similar words,*
-ion = jən C, ən'jən, sometimes ən'ən J
only = *onily* oon'li M, J
opinion opin'ən, pin'jən *by the vulgar* J
-or -ər C
ordinance or'næns J
ordinary or'nəri J
ordure AAF'dər = *order* C
osier = *ôjer* oo'zhər M
ostrich ESTRICH æs'tridzh J
ostler HOSTLER æs'lər *often* J
ought oot P, AAt C, = *at* AAt M
-our = -uur, -er, -ər J
-ous -uus -us -es -æs J
out out C
over oor J
owe (oo) C
owl owl W
Owen Oo'æn J

P

pageant pædzh'in J
pain peen C
pale pæel W
pall-mall pel-mel J
palm paam J
Palmer PAAM'ər J
panch pAantsh J
papal pææ'pæl C
paper pee'pər C
parade pereed' J
parliament pær'læment C, E, *sometimes*
 pær'lément J
parsley pærs'li P
pasquil pæs'kil J
pass pæs C
past pææst C
pasture pæs'tər = *pastor* C
pate peeət C
path pææth C
Paul's church = *Pôls* Poolz M, Poolz-
 tshortsh *Poles-church* E, *Pooulz*, *Poolz*,
 may be PAALz J
paunch PAUNCH pAAutsh C
pea pii W
pear = *pair* pæær *une poire* M
pearl peerl C
pedant peedənt J
penal pee'næl J
penny = *peny* pen'i M
pennyworth pen'ərth *pen-urth* E, *pən-*
urth, *pən'ərth* J
pension = *pennchonn* pen'shən M
people piip'l P, C, pep'l piip'l J
perceive perseev' é masculin M
perfect pær'fekt *sometimes* pær'fekt J
periwig pær'wig J *e en ai* M, *per'wig*
perieg J
perjury pær'dzhəri J
perpetual pærpet'æl *sometimes* J
Peter Piitər J
Pharaoh Fææ'ræoo P, Feer'oo J
phlegm = *flème* flem M, C, flem, *may be*
 fleg'əm J
phœnix fee'nîks J
phrenetic PHRENTIC fræn'tik J
phthisick tis'ik J
piazas piææ'tshez J
picture pik'tər = *pickt her* C, = *pieter*
avec e féminin familier M
Piedmont Pii'mənt J
pillow pil'u P
pipkin pib'kin *occasionally* J
piquant pik'ænt J
pique piik J
piquet piket' J
piteous pit'riəs M
poem POEME poeem' J
point puint point C
poise poiz *sometimes* J
poison poiz'n poiz'n C, poiz'n *sometimes* J

poll pool nonnunquam poul W, paul C
poltroon poltruun' poltruun' J
poniard pæn'jərd J
Pontius PAn'siəs Wk, Pøn'shuus J
pontoon pøntuun' J
pour pœur = *power* C
poulterer puul'tərər C
poultice PULTESS pooul'tis J
poultry puul'tri C
pleasure pleæ'zyr W, plez'jur P,
 plezh'ər C, plesh'ər J
poor puur' *sometimes* J
porcellane pær'selən J
portreve poort'ree poort'rii J
possible pAs'æbl *facilitatis causa* C
postscript poo'skrip *often* J
pot pwtot nonnunquam W
pothor pødh'ər J
pottage pør'ædzh, *some write porridge* J
potsherd POTSHEARD pat'sheerd C
plain pleen C
plaited pleet'ed P
planc pleen C
plausible plauz'əbl, plAAz'əbl *negli-*
genter C
pleurisy pleu'rizi P
plevin pleev'in J
plough plow plau C, ploo J
praise præiz W, preiz preez *negligenter* C
prance PRAANS J
prayer preer C
pre- pree- J
prebendary preb'end J
precise prisəiz' C
prefer prifar' C
pressure presh'ər J
prey præi P
priest prist (?) J
Priscian Prish'æn J
prophecy prøv'esəi J
prove prøv P, pruuv C, M
provision prøovizh'ən C
prowl PROLL prooul J
ps- s- J
psalm SAAM C, J
psalm SAAM J
pt- t- J
Pugh Pin J
pull pul C, pul M, J
pulley pul'e P
punctual pæqk'tæl *sometimes* J
pursue pørshu' J
pursuit pørshuut' J
puss pus M

Q

quality kwæl'iti C
qualm kwaam C, kwaam *en a long* M, J
quart kwaart *en a long* M
question kwest'ion P
quodlibet kod'ləbet J
quoif koif J

quoit kōit J
 quota koo'tæ J
 quote koot C, J
 quoth kooth J
 quotidian kotid'iæn J

R

Rachel Rææ'tshel W
 raddish red'ish *facilitatis causa* C
 raisins reez'ns P, reez'ns = reasons C, =
 résins reez'inz M, reez'ons J
 Ralph Rææf Ræf E, RAAf J
 rarity ræær'iti C
 re- ree- J
 -re = -er ær
 read riid P
 read reed lego W, riid lego C
 Reading Reed'iq J
 reason reez'n o se mange M, J, E, the
 last writes 'reas'n'
 receive reesev' W, P, RESEEV' C, reseev'
 é masculin M, reesev' J
 receipt reseat P, reseat J
 reckless REACHLES rek'les? C
 recipe res'ipe J
 recruit rikriut C
 red rød e feminin M
 refuse rifiuz' verb P
 regard = regaird regærd' M
 rehearse RIHEERS' C
 reign reen J
 reingage reeingæædzh' M
 reins reenz J
 relinquish rilik'ish J
 remove rimæv' P
 rencounter rænkaun'ter J
 rendezvous ræn'divuuз ran-dy-vooz E,
 ræn'devuu J
 renew riinu J
 reprint reeprint M
 rere reer J
 rereward riir-wærd P
 resurrection reserek'sian Wk
 restauration restorææ'shən J
 retch REACH retsh J
 reward reward' a comme en français M
 rheum rium C
 riband rib'æn J
 Richmond Rîtsh'men J
 right rōit Wk
 righteous rōit'ies rōi-teəs J
 rind roin J
 risque rizg J
 roast ROST roost C
 roastmeat roos'meet J
 roll rool nonnunquam roul W, raul C
 Rome Ruum P, Ruum = room, different
 from roam C, M, J
 rough rōf, W, C, M
 royal rōi'æl abusively J
 rupture røp'ter C

S

sabbath sǝb'oth abusively J
 saffron sæf'orn C, E, M
 said sed *facilitatis causa* C, sed seed J
 saints sæints Wk
 salad sæl'et J
 Salisbury SARISBURY SAALz'beri J
 salt SAALT P, C
 saltcellar SALTSELLER, SAAL'seler J
 saltpetre SAAL'pi'ter J
 salmon SAAM'ən C, sæm'ən J
 salve sææv P, SAAV C, J
 same sææm W
 sanders SAAN'dørz J
 Saviour sææ'viøur P
 saw SAA C
 says SAIES sez *facilitatis causa* C
 scaffold skæf'ol J
 sceptic SCEPTICK skep'tik J
 scene = scène seen M, J
 schedule sked'iul P, J, sed'əl sed-dul E,
 sed-iul J
 scheme skeem J
 schism siz'm C, J
 scholar skøldr abusively J
 scold skoold, nonnunquam skould W,
 skould P, skuuld C
 scoundrel skøn'drel C
 scourge skørdzh P, C, skwørdzh *facil.*
 causa C, skørdzh ou = o court M, J
 scourse skuurs permuto C
 scream skreem C
 scrivener skriv'nør P
 scroll skruuld C
 scrupulous skreup'eləs *facilitatis causa* C
 scummer skëm'ør barbarè C, = skimer,
 skim'ør M
 se- see- J
 sea sii W, see C
 seal seel W
 search seertsh C
 sear siir C
 scarce SEERS C
 season seez'n C, seez'n J
 seat seet W
 seen sin J
 seise SEEZ C, J
 seive seev J
 seize seez, nonnulli sæiz W, seez P, M
 seraglio serææli'oo J
 serene = sérène sereen' M
 serge SEARGE særdzh P
 sergeant særdzhejənt P
 Sergius Serdzhuus J
 serous see'rəs J
 servant særvænt e en ai M
 service særv'is barbarè C
 sevennight = senit sen'it M, sen'oit J
 shadow shæd'u P
 shall shal Wk, shaal, signum modi C,
 shæl M

shalm shaam C, J
shambles shaam'blz J
she shii P, C, M, J
shear sheer C
shears shiirz C, M
shepherd shep'erd J
shew shuu, sheu C, shoou shoo, may be shiu J
shire shiir C, J
shirt short C, short P, *approche du son de notre* a M
shoe shuu P, shoo shuu C = *choû* shuu M
should should P, should C, shuud J
shoulder shuuld'er C
shouldest shuust J
shovel shaul J
shove shav J
shrew shreu C, shroo shroou, may be shriu J
shrewd shrood shrooud may be shriud J
Shrewsbury shrooz'beri, Shroouz'beri, may be Shriuz'beri J
sigh seith, *un son qui approche fort du th en anglais* M, sei seith J
simile sim'le J
sincere sinseer' P, J
-sion -shon J
sir sor P, C, ser à peu près comme e ouvert M
sirrah særæ C, sær'a *approche du son de notre* a M
sirrup sær'ap C
skeleton SCELETON skel'etən J
skink skink skikq J
slant slaant J
slouch sluutsh J
-sm -səm J
snow snou, alii snoo W
snew sneu *rectius, quidam* sniu, W
so soo C
soft saaft J
Soho Soojoo' often J
soil soil sometimes J
sojourn sædzhørn' J
sold sould, alii soold W, sould C
solder sood'er J
soldier soul'djær P, sood'zher l muet M, SOULDIER sood'zher J
Solms Soomz J
Solomon SAA'laamən J
some səm W
Somerset Səm'ərset J
somewhat səm'æt J
son sən W, Wk
soot suut P, sut C, sæt, better sut J
sorrow sər'u P
soul soul, alii sool W, sool P, suul C, sooul J
source suurs W, C, M
souse suus J
Southwark Sæth'wærk J

sovereign SOVERAIGN sœv'reen J
Spaniard Spæn'erd sometimes J
spaniel spæn'el C, J
spear spiir C, M
sphere = *sphère* sfeer M, J
spindle spin'l J
spoil spail sometimes J
stalk staaK C
stamp stamp *barbarè* C, stomp *abusively* J
stanch staaNtsh J
stead sted a est *conté pour rien* M, stiid J
steal steel W
steam stiim J
Stephen Steev'n J
stir star C, ster à peu près comme e ouvert M
-stle -s'l J
Stockholm Støk'hoom J
stomach stəm'æk J
stood stad P, stud C, stød better stud J
stoop stouP stuup C
strange streendzh C
stranger stræn'djær e non tam *requiritur quam ægrè evitatur* W, streen'dzhær C
strut stroout *abusively* J
subtil sæt'il P, = *sottle* sæt'il M, sæt'el J
subtily sæt'ilti P
succour sæk'oor P
sue shuu J
suet SEWET siu'et C, shuu'et J
suor sheur = *sure, or perhaps* seur, as sheur is only "*facilitatis causa*" C
sugar shagær (P) *facilitatis causa* C, shuug'ær J
suit siut P, sute siut C, shuut J
suitable siut'æbl C
suitor SUTER siut'er C
supreme siupreem' J
sure shiur *facilitatis causa* C, = *chûre* shiur M, shuur J
surfeit sær'fet C, sær'fet e *feminin* M
survey særvæi: P
suture siut'ær C
swallow swæl'u P
swear sweer, see *forswear* færsweer' C seer J
sweat sweet C, set J
Swedes Sweedz J
swollen sooln J
sword swærd P, suurd C
sworn suurn C, soorn J
syncope siq'kope J
syntagm sin'tæm J
system SYSTEME sisteem' J

T

table teebl C
tail teel C
Talbot TAA'bət J
tale teeel C

talk TAAK *rectius* tælk W
Tangier Tandzheer Tandzhiir J
taper TEE'pær C
tar tær C
tare = *taire* tæær M
tares TEE'ærz C
tart tæært C
taunt TAANT P, C, J, tænt J
tassels TAA'selz en a long M
tea THEA tee J
teal teel W
tear TEER *lacero*, tiir *lacryma* C
team tiim J
teirce teers J
temptation temptæs'ian Wk
ten = *tinn* tin M
tenet tee'net J
tenure TEN'ær = *tenor* C
terrene tereen' J
terrible TER'æbl *facilitatis causa* C
Thames Temiz J
that dhat en a court M
third thörd Wk
thither = *deder* dhædh'ær e *feminin* M
the dhe C, dhe J
Thebes Theebz J
their dheer J
Theobald Thee'obæld P
there dheer J
these dheez W, J
they dhæi P
Thomasin Töm'zin J
thought thoot P
thousand thauz'n C
threepence = *thri-pinnsthrip'ins* *familier*
M, threp'ens J
thresh thrush *barbarè* C
through throo J
thwart thart J
thyme = *töim* M, J
ti- ante vocalem sh C
tierse TERS C
tinder tøn'dær *barbarè* C
-tion -shön J
tissue tish'uu J
to tuu M
tobacco TABACO *abusively sounded some-*
times with an 'o,' tobæk'o tæbæk'o
J
toil töil W, töil töil C
told tould P, töuld J
toll tool, *nonnunquam* toul W
tom tuum C, M, J
took tæk, *better* tuk J
torture tór'tær tor-ter C
touch tuutsh tætsch J
tough tóf W, too J
toward tæu'ærd P
towel toul J
toys töiz W
traffique træfig J

transient = *traingient* træn'zhient M,
træn'zhent C, træn'shent J
travail trav'eel P
traveling træv'liq J
treasure tresh'ær J
treble treebl J
trifle trøi'fl W
tripthong TRIPTHONG trip'thøq J
troll TROWL trooul J
trouble trøb'l C, J
trough trøf W, troo ou = o un peu long
M, J
trowel triu'el *barbarè* C
true triu C
truncheon træn'shiin J
trundle trøn'l J
turquoise tærkeez' ? J
twang tæq J
Tweed TWEDE Twiid J
two tuu C
twopence = *topins* töp'ins *familier* M,
töp'ens J
tune tyyn W
Tyre tæi'ær C

U

u, la prononciation commune de l'u
voyelle en Anglois est la même qu'en
français (suprà p. 182) iu M
ugly OUGLY øg'li P
-um -um, may be -øm J
uncouth ønkuuth' C, ønkøth' J
up øp C
uphold øpøuld' J
upholster pøul'ster pøul'sterer J
up to øp tu *barbarè* C
-ure -ær C, -er ær, may be sounded -iur J
us = *eus* øs M
use = *yuse* iuz pas du bel usage M
useless iuz'les *barbarè* C
usual iu'zheuel C, = *usual* iuzh'iuæl M
usury øuz'ære *barbarè* C

V

valley væli P
vanquish væq'kish J
vapour VEep'ær C
vary VEeri C
vault VALT VAAT a leap J
vaunt VAANT C, J
veil veel J
vein væin P, VEEN ei comme en français
M, veen J
vengeance ven'dzhejæns P
venison ven'zøn P, ven'zn M, ven'zøn J
venue VENEW veen'iu J
verdict værd'ikt ver'dait J
verjuice værdzhis P, værdzhis C,
værdzhes E, J
vial væi'aal P
victuals vit'lz *facilitatis causa* C, =
vittles vit'lz M, vit'ælz vit'ælz J

view vyy W, viu C
villain, vil'æn ai *comme en villain* M,
an exception to his rule
villany vil'ni J
virgin vër'dzhin J
virtue vër'tyy, ə *non tam requiritur*
quam cōgrē evitatur, W
viscount vèi-kəunt J
vision viz'ion P
voyage vò'i-ædzh vye-age E
volatile vøl-ætil J
vouch vuutsh J
vouchsafe vuutsæef J
voyage vò'i-ædzh *abusively* J
vulgar vul-gər J

W

wafer weef'ər C
waif weif weef J
wainscot ween'z-kot P
waistband wæstbænd wæs'bænd J
waistcoat wæst'coat weest'koot C
walk waa-k, *rectius* wælk W, waa-k C, J
wallow wæl'oo P
Walter waa'tər J
wane ween C
war waa-r C
warden waa-r'dn C
warm waa-rm C
warren waa'r'n C
was waz C, waz *en a court* M
wash wash *en a court* M
wasteful wæst'ful weest'ful C
watch waa'tsh watsh C, watsh *en a*
court M
water waa'tər C, = *ouâter* waa'tər M,
waa'tər J
wattle wætl waa't'l C, wat'l *en a*
court M
we wii P, M, C, J
weal weel C
wean ween C
wear weer C
weary wer'i P, wii'ri, wə're *barbarè* C
Wednesday wenz'dæi P, wenz-dee M, J
weight wæit P, weet *ei comme en*
français M
were weer = *wear* C, weer J
Westminster wes'mæstər J
wh = *hou* wh M
what what *en a court* M, wæt, *better*
whæt J
when = *hoinn* whin M, wen, *better* when J
whence = *hoinnce* whins M
where wheer J
wherry whirry whə're C
whether whædhər *barbarè* C, wheedhər
J
why whæi P
whit hwit = F. *huit* W
widow wid-u P

will wil, wəl *barbarè* C
who whu Wk, whuu P, huu C, J
whole hool W, J
whom whəm P, huum C, J
whoop huup uup J
whore huur P, C, J
whorle hurt'l J
whose huuz J
Winchcomb Winsh-kəm J
wind weind ventus C
wield weild weild J
willow wil'u P
Wiltshire Wil'shir J
windmill win'mil J
wine wein C
Windsor Win-zər J
winnow win'u P
with weth *cum*, wæth *barbarè* C
wood ood J
woe wuu = woo C
wolf wulf wəlf C, ulf J
woman wəm'æn P, E, um'æn J
womb wuum C, M, uum J
women wi'men P, wi'm-en C, = *ouimenn*
wim'en M, wim'en J
wonder wund'ər wən'dər C
wo o- u- u- J
woo woe uu J
wood wəd P, wud C, wəd, *better* ud J
woof wəf, *better* uuf J
wool wəl P, wul C, wəl, *better* ul J
Woolstead Ust'ed
Worcester Wuust'ər, Wəst'ər, Ust'ər, J
word wərd J
world wərd P
worldling wər'liq J
worldly wər'li J
worn wuurn C
worsted wəst'ed *genus panni*, wæst'ed
facilitatis causa C, = *ousted* wust'ed M
would would P, wuuld C, wuud J
wouldst wɪd'st wəud'st *barbarè* C, wuust J
wr- *r*- *may be* wr- (?) J
wrestle wræstle res'l J
wrath raa'th C, raa'th *en a long* M
wristband ris'bænd riz'bæn J
wrought root P, J

X

Xantippe Sæntip'i J

Y

ye jii P, J
yea jii W, C, JAA *rustic*, jee jii ii J
year jiir P, J, iir J
yeast jiist iist J
yellow jæl'o J
yeoman yem'æn yem-man E, jee-mæn
jii-mæn ii-mæn *by many* J
yes jiis M, is J

yesterday is'terdeē J
yet ȝət e feminin M, it J
yield YEILD iild J
yolk = *yelk* ȝelk M, ȝook J
yonder ȝən'dər J
you ȝiū, ȝAU *barbarè* C

young ȝəq C
your ȝeər C
youth ȝiuth P, ȝáuth C, ȝəth J

Z

zedoary zed·æri

2. WORDS LIKE AND UNLIKE.

Lists of this kind ought to supply the place of an investigation into the puns of the XVIIth century, comparable with that already given for Shakspeare (*suprà* p. 920). But their compilers had so much at heart the exigencies of the speller, that they often threw together words which could never have been pronounced alike, but were often ignorantly confused, and they sometimes degenerated into mere distinguishers of words deemed synonymous which had no relation in sound. This is particularly observable in Price's lists, in which like and unlike words are all heaped together in admirable confusion. Cooper is the most careful in separating words which were really sounded exactly alike from those nearly alike, and those absolutely unlike. But the earliest collection, and in many respects therefore the most important, is that by Richard Hodges. The full title is:

A special help to Orthographie: or, the True-writing of English. Consisting of such Words as are alike in sound, and unlike both in their signification and Writing: As also of such Words which are so neer alike in sound, that they are sometimes taken one for another. Whereunto are added diverse Orthographical observations, very needfull to be known. Publisht by Richard Hodges, a School-Master, dwelling in South-wark, at the Midle-gate within Mountague-close, for the benefit of all such as do affect True-Writing. London, printed for Richard Cotes. 1643. 4to. pp. iv. 27.

In this the exact and approximate resemblances are distinguished, and at the conclusion the author has given a few instances, unfortunately only a few, of various spellings of the same sound, when not forming complete words. These are reproduced, together with some extracts from his orthographical remarks, which relate more strictly to orthoepy. He had, like most such writers, individual crotchets both as to spelling and sound, and had an intention, probably never carried into effect, of treating orthoepy, as shown by a short table of sounds with which he closes his brief work. Many of his instances are entirely worthless, but it was thought better to reproduce them all, marking with an asterisk those to which more attention should be paid, and to gain space by simply omitting his verbal explanations, where they were not absolutely necessary, or did not present an interest of some kind. Nothing has been added, except a few words in square brackets [], and the original orthography is reproduced.

Owen Price's list has also been given complete, but the explanations have been similarly reduced. On the other hand, the whole of Cooper's chapter on the subject has been reprinted, restoring only the position of some words which had been accidentally misplaced. His orthography, which was also designed as a model, has been carefully followed.

I. *Richard Hodges's List of Like and Unlike Words.*

1. Such words as are alike in sound and unlike both in their signification and writing, are exprest by different Letters, in these examples following:

A

assent, ascent, a sent or savour. *a peece* to shoot withall, *a piece, apiece.* *a loud, allow'd, aloud.* *aught, ought.* *air, heir.* an arrow, a narrow. *an eye, a nigh, an I.* a note an oat-cake. **a notion, an ocean.* **annise, Agnes* a woman's Christen name. *an idle person, Anne.* *Alas, a los (lasse) or a Maid.* *altar, alter.* a ledge, alledge. *a lie, allie.* a light, alight. *a lot, allot.* a loan, alone. *a lure, allure.* *adieu, a due debt.* he *adjoyn'd* me to do it, *ajoynd-stool.* a judge, *adjudge.* **assoon* as she came in, she fell into a swoon. *awl, al (all).* *assault, a salt-eel.* *asigne, a signe.* *attainted, a tainted* piece of flesh. *attired, a tired* jade. *a mate, to amate or daunt.* a maze, *amaze.* *a rest, arrest.* *a pease blossom, appease.* *a peal, appeal.* *a tract, attract.* *abbetter, a better* colour than the other. **appear, a peer.* **a wait-player, await,* *a weight.* *awry, a wry-mouthed* Plaise. *a queint discourse, acquaint.*

B

to bow the knee, *bough.* **if you be comne* so soone, *become.* **boughs, boweth,* *bowze.* *brows, browze.* *Barbarie* a countrey, *Barbara, barbarie* fruit. **Brute* a man's name, *brute, bruit.* to baul in speaking, *Baal, a bal* to play with, *Bal* a man's name (*Ball, ball*). **bad, bade.* **bead, Bede.* *beaker, Becher,* the hawk did *beak* herself. *beer, biere.* **a straw-berie, Sud-bury, Canter-bury,* etc. *by, buy.* **board, bor'd.* **bill'd, build.* *bolt, to bould* meal. *bred, bread.* **beholding, beholden.* **a coney-burrow, borough.* *coney-burrows, boroughs.* **blue, blew.*

C

**Cox, cocks, cocketh* up the hay. **coat, sheep-cote, quote.* **Cotes, coats, quoteth.* **clause, claweth, claws.*

cal (call), caul. **course, corpse.* **courses, courseth, corpses.* **col'd, could.* *collar, choler.* a culler of apples, a colour. *cousin, cozen.* *council, counsel.* **common, commune.* *cockle and darnel, cochle-shel.* *champion, the champain* field. **choose, cheweth.* a crue or company, the cock crew. *did chase, the chace.* **you come, he is comne.* *crues or companies, a cruse or pot.* a cruel master, wrought with crewel. *consent, concent* of music.

D

**dam, to damne.* **fallow-deer, dear* friend. *deep, Diep* a town so call'd. **diverse men, skilful divers.* **a doe, his cake is dough.* *descension, dissension.* *dollar, dolour.* *dolphin, the daulphine* of France. the deviser of this, multiply the quotient by the *divisour.*

E

**Easter, queen Hester.* **John Eaton* hath eaten, a scholar of *Aeton.* *eight, ait (islet).* **earn, yern.* *emerods, emeralds.* *exercise, exorcise.* **I eat* my meat to-day, better than I ate it yesterday.

F

did feed, was *fee'd.* **your fees, she feeth.* I would *fain,* she did *feign.* *did Ande, were fin'd.* *felloes, fellows.* *Philip, fillip.* the fold, hath *foal'd.* *fore-tel, four-fold.* *forth, fourth.* **furze, furreth, furs.* *foul, fowl.* *Francis, Frances.* **freeze, friese-jerkin,* shee *freeth* him. **to kil a flea, to flay* of (off) the skin. *fleas, fleaeth, flayeth.* to *flee, a fleer* away. *flour, flower.* **flours, floureth.*

G

I *quest,* a very welcome *ghest.* a ghost, thou *go'st.* **jest, gests, jesteth.* **ox-gals, the gauls, he gauleth.* **a*

gage or *pledge*, to *gauge* a vessel. a *gilt-cup*, *guilt*. *groan*, *wel-grown*. to *glister*, a *clyster*. a *guise*, Mr. *Guy's* man.

H

hart, *heart*. *a *hard heart*, I *heard* his *voyce*. **hare*, *hair*. *hie*, *high*, *heigh-ho*. thou *hiest*, the *highest* *fourm*. *hide*, she *hied*. **make haste*, why *hast* thou *done* it? *hole*, *whole*. **holy*, *wholly*. the *hollow*, to *whoop* and *hollaw*. **home*, *whom*, a *holme* tree. *homes*, *Holmes*. *I *hope* to *see*, I *help* him to *do* his *work*. **hoops*, *hoopeth*, *whoopeth*. *him*, *hymne*. *the *bread* doth *hoar*, *whore*. **whores*, *hoareth*. his *hue*, *Hughe*. *hues*, *Hughes*. **herald*, *Harold*. **happily*, *haply*.

I

I, *eye*. *incite*, in *sight*. *inure*, in *ure*, in *your* *account*.

J

jest, *gest*. *gests*, *jests*. to *jet*, a *jeat-stone*. *the *juice* or *sap*, a *joice* to *bear* up the *boards*. a *jakes*, Mr. *Jaques*. *gentle*, a *gentil* or *magot*. a *jointer*, a *tool* to *work* *withal*, a *woman's jointure*. *a *jurdon*, the *river Jordon*.

K

Mr. *Knox*, hee *knocketh* many *knocks*. **kennel*, the *chanel*. to *kil*, the *brick-kilne*.

L

the *Latine-tongue*, a *latten-ladle*. *the *cow loved* very *loud*. **take* the *least*, *lest* hee *bee* *angry*. *lemans*, *lemons*. *lesson*, *lessen*. **litter*, the *hors-licter*. *the *lees* of *wine*, to *leese* or *loose* ones *labour*. *leapers* that can *leap*, *lepers* full of *leprosie*. *lo*, *low*. *lore*, *lower*. a *luster* after *evil* things, a *bright lustre*. *out-lawed*, *laud*.

M

manour-house, in a *good maner*. he *hanged* his *mantle* upon the *mantel-tree*. *Medes*, *meads*. *meat*, to *mete*. *a *message*, the *messuage*. *a *meater* that *giveth* *meat* to the *cattel*, a *corn-meter*, a *meteor* in the *air*. *Martin*, *marten*. Mr. *Marshal*, *martial*. **more* and *be-wail*, his *corne* was *mowen*. *moe* or *more*, to *move*. the *cat* did *mouse* well, amongst the *corn-moughs*. **hawksmues*, he *mueth* his *hawk*, to *muse*. *mite*, *might*. a *good minde*, *under-mined*.

Maurice did *dance* the *morice*. **murraim* *murion* a *head piece*. **millions*, *musk-melons*.

N

**Nash*, to *gnash*. for *nought*, the *figs* were *naught*. *nay*, *neigh*.

O

O, *oh*! *owe*. *gold-ore*, *oar*, the *ower* of a *debt*, *oars*, *owers*. **ordure*, *order*. *our*, *hour*. *ours*, *hours*.

P

to *pare* the *cheese*, a *pair*. *pause*, *paws*, *paweth*. the *palat* of his *mouth*, he *lay* upon his *pallet*. *Paul*, *pal* (*pall*). *parson*, *person*. **pastor*, *pasture*. **praise*, *preys*, *preyeth*, *prayeth*. the *common pleas*, *please*. *Mr. *Pierce* did *pearce* it with a *sword*, the *scholar* did *parse* and *construe* his *lesson*. *she *weareth* her *patens*, *letters patents*. *pillars*, *cater-pillers*. *pride*, hee *priced*. **profil*, *prophet*. the *propper* of it up, a *proper* man. *he *hath* no *power* to *powre* it out.

R

rain, *rein*, *reign*. **reins*, *reigns*, *reigneth*, *raineth*. a *noble race*, did *rase* the *walls*. the *raies* of the *sun*, to *raise*. *ranker*, *rancour*. *red*, *hast* thou *read*? *a *reddish* colour, a *radish* root. **reason*, *raisin*. **reasons*, *reasoneth*, *raisins*. **ream*, *realm*. **reams*, *realms*, *Rhemes* the *name* of a *place*. *Mr. *Rice* took a *rise*, the *rice*. *rile*, *right*, *write*, a *wheel-wright*, *Wright*. **rites*, *rights*, *wheel-wrights*, *righteth*, *writeth*. *the *rine* wherein the *brain* *lieth*, the *rinde* of a *pomegranate*, the *river Rhine*. *Roe*, a *roe-buck*, a *row* of *trees*. *roes*, *rowes*, he *roweth*, a *red-rose*, *Rose*. *when there was a *rot* amongst the *sheep*, I *wrote* him a *letter*. hee *caught* [*misprint for* *raught*=*reached*] it from of (off) the *shelf*, when hee *wrought* with me. *a *riding rod*, when I *rode*. *I *rode* along the *road*, *hard-roed*, my *daughter Rhode*. *rowed* *apace*. *roads*, *Rhodes*. *the *highest room*, the *city* of *Rome* (*roume*). **round*, she *rowned* him in his *ear*. *a *tiffany-ruf* (*ruffe*), a *rough garment*. **ring*, *wring*. *rung*, *wrung*. hee *rued*, so *rude*, the *cheese-rack*, *ship-wrack*.

S

slight, *sleight*. he was no *saver* in *buying*, a *sweet-savour*. *savers*, *savours*, *savoureth*. *the *seas*, to *seize*. **ceasing*

from strife, *cessing* him to pay. **cease*, *cef* (cesse) him so much. *seller*, wine-cellar. *the one *sutler*, was *subtiller* than the other. *signe*, either a *sine* or tangent. **censor*, *censer*, *censure*. the third *centurie*, an herb *centory*. *he did *sheer* the sheep, in Buckingham-shire. *cite*, *sight*, *sile*. *cited*, quick-sighted, wel *sited*. *a *syren* or mermaid, Simon of *Cyrene*. *a lute and a *cittern*, a lemon or a *citron*. Mount-*Sion*, a scion or graf (*graffe*). *a *sink* to convey the water, the *Cinque-ports*. *so, to *sowe* the seed, to *sewe* a garment. *the sole of a shoo, the *soule* and body. *the soles of his shoos, he *soleth* his shoos, *soules* and bodies bought and *sold*, the shoos were *sol'd*. *very *sound*, he fel into a *swoun* [compare *asoon*, a *swoun* above]. *strait*, *streight*. *sloe*, *slow*. *a *sore*, hee *swore* or *sware*. *sly*, *Stigh*. a hedge and a *stile*, a *style* or form of writing. did *soar*, the *sower*. *to shoot an arrow, a *sute* of apparel, a *suit* in law, *Shute* a man's surname. *shoots, *sutes* of apparel, *suits* in law, *shooteth*, *suteth*, non-*suiteth*. *succour*, *bloud-sucker*. *some*, *sum* (*summe*). *sun*, *son* (*sunne*, *sonne*).

T

tame, *Thame*. *tamer*, *Thamar*. **tax*, *tacketh*, *tacks*. *the treble and the *tenor*, a *tenour* or form of words, the

tenure whereby a man holdeth his land. *there*, *their*. **turkeys*, a *turquois*. *time*, *thyme*. the *tide*, tied together. *toe*, *towe*. *toes*, you *tose* the wool. *toad*, *figred* and *toed*, he *towed* his barge. *tole* the bel, pay *tol* (toll). I *told* him. I *toled* the bel. *too*, *two*, *to*. *tract*, I *tractt* him. a *treatise*, diverse *treaties*. *I had *then* more work *than* I could do. *thrown*, *throne*. *it was *through* your help that I came *thorow*. *throat*, if he *throw't* away.

V

vain, *vein*. *a *venter* or utterer of commodities, to *venture*. **venters*, *ventures*, *ventureth*. *vial*, *viol*.

W

*a way, to walk in, a *weigh* of cheese. *ways*, *weighs*, *weigheth*. **water*, *Walter*. **waters*, *watereth*, *Walters*. *wait*, *weight*. **waits*, *weights*, *waiteth*. *if you *were*, you would *wear*. a *wich-tree*, a *witch*. **wood*, *would*. *he *wooded* her, he was *woode*. *a *wad* of straw, *woad* to die withall.

Y

**yew*, you and I, *Y* and I are vowels. **yews*, *vse*. *your*, put this in *ure*, a *bason* and *ewre*. *yours*, *basons* and *ewres*, he in-*ureth* himself. *yee* that are wise, *yea*.

Such words which are so neer alike in sound, as that they are sometimes taken one for another; are also exprest by different Letters, in these examples following:

A

ask, ax, acts. Abel, able. amase, amace. al-one, alone. actions, axiomes. arrows, arras. advice, advise. Achor, acre. ant, aunt. accidence, accidents. as, as (asse).

B

(to play at) bowls, (to drink in) boles. baron, barren. barrow, borrow, borough. Boyse, boys. bath, bathe. bands, bonds. bare, bear. begin, biggin. breath, breathe. bauble, Bable, bable (babble). bile, boyl. Bruce, bruise, brewis (brews), brewhouse. (the little childe began to) batle (when his father went to the) battel. bore, boar. ar-rant, errand. bowes (and arrows), boughs. bittern, bitter. boasters, bolsters. both, boothe. best, beast. (your book is not so wel) bost, boast. boots, boats.

C

copies, copise. coughing, coffin. (when hee) cough't, caught, coat. cummin, coming. ches (chesse), chests. chap, chops. chare, chair, cheer. capital, capitol. currents, currants. consequence, consequents. cost, coast. causes, causeys.

D

dun, done. (he was but a) dunse, duns. decent, descent, dissent. descension, dissension. discomfite, discomfort. (backs and) does, (one) dose. device, devise. decease, disease. dust, (why) dost (thou). dearth, death, deaf. desert, desart.

E

east, yeest. earn, yarn. (you must) either (take out of the hedge the) ether (or the stake). ears, yeers. els, else.

eminent, imminent. even now, inow,
inough. Eli, Ely.

F

false, fals. froise, phrase. fares, fairs.
fens, fence. fought, fault. follow,
fallow. fur, fir. farm, form, fourm
(to sit upon). Pharez, fairies. farmer,
former. (a smal) flie (may) flee. fins,
fiends.

G

gallants, gallons. garden, guardian.
glaf (glasse), glof (glosse). gesture,
jester. (a) jerkin, (never left) jerking
(his horse).

H

Howel, howl, hole. whose, hose.
homely, homilie. hallow, hollow.
guf (guesse), ghests. whores, hoarse,
horse. his, hif (hisse). hens, hence.
holly, holy. Hephher, heifer.

I

James, jams. ingenious, ingenuous.
impassable, impossible. imply, imploy.
it, yet. idol, idle. inough, inow.
eyes, ice. Joice, joys.

K

know, gnaw. known, gnawn. knats,
gnats.

L

lines, loyns. lowe, low. lower, (why
do you) lowre. (the) lead (was) layd,
(he) led. (the) leas (were added to
his) lease. lies, lice. loth, loathe.
leases, leasees.

M

Marie, marry, marrow, morrow. mines,
mindes. mince, mints. mif (misse),
mists. (to) mowe, (a) mough (of corn).
maids, meads. mower, more. moles,
moulds. myrrhe, mirth. (a) mouse,
(barley) moughs. morning, mourning.
(hawks-) mucs, (a) muse. mistref
(mistresse), mysteries.

N

neither, nether. nones, nonce. needles,
needlef (needlese). (his) neece (did)
neese. never, neer.

O

once, ones. owner, honour. ought,
oft. owne, one, on.

P

pare, peare. patens, paterns. patients,
patience. pullen, pulling. passable,
possible. pens, pence. pease, peace.
plot, plat. principal, principle. (to)
powre (out), (the) poore. prince,
prints. Princes, princef (princesse).
place, plaise. past, paste. presence,
presents. price, prise. puls, pulse.
prose, prowef (prowesse). pearce, peers.
Pilate, pilot. plot, plat (of ground).
parasite, paricide. poplar, popular.
promises, premises. please, plays.
poles, Pauls (steeple). playd, playd.

R

reed, reade. wrought, wrote, rote.
rase, raise. rasour, raiser. rat, rot.
real, ryal, royal. reverent, reverend.
wroth, wrath, rathe.

S

(when they had filled their) sives
(with onions and) cives. sithes, sighes.
science, scions. signet, cygnet. cypref-
(trees), cipers (hatbands), cipthers. sirra,
surrey. sowe (seed), sow (and her
pigs). sower, sowre (grapes). Sows,
sowse. sores, sourse. sleeves, sleeves.
seeth, seethe. say, sea. sex, sects.
steed, stead. slowe, slough. spies,
spice. saws, sause. sense, sents. seas,
cease. seizing, ceasing. (why do you
wear out your) shoos (to see the)
shewes? society, satietie. sloes,
sloughs. Sir John (sent for the) sur-
geon (chirurgion). Cicelie, Sicilie.
Cilicia, Silesia. sheep, ship. sins,
since.

T

tens, tense, tents, tenths. tongs,
tongues. trough, trophie. tome,
tombe. tost, toast. thy, thigh. trope,
troop (troup). thou, though.

V

volley, valley, value. vale, vail. va-
cation, vocation. verges, verjuice.
vitals, victuals.

W

wilde, wield. weary, worry (the sheep).
whether, whither. wiles, wildes. (they
took away the fishermens) weels (against
their) wils. wines, windes. wick,
week. (thou) wast, waste. wicked,
wicket. wrest, wrist. (the man that
was in the) wood (was almost) woode.
wist, wisht.

Examples of some words, wherein one sound is exprest diverse ways in writing.

Sea-ted, con-*cei*-ted, *cea*-sing, *sei*-zing, *se*-rious, *Sce*-va, *ce*-dar, Manas-*seh*, Phari-*see*, Wool-*sey*, *sche*-dule.

See-ded, suc-*cee*-ded, *sie*-lings, over-*se*-ers, pur-*sey* or fat men, mer-*cie* (or mercy).

Si-nister, *sy*-nagogue, *Sci*-pio, *Scy*-thian, *Cy*-prian, *ci*-vil, *Ce*-cil, *Se*-vern, pur-*sui*-vant.

Si-lence, *ci*-ted, quick-*sigh*-ted, *sig*-ning, *sci*-ence, *sy*-ren, *Cy*-rene, *sa*-ti-ety.

These syllables aforegoing, may suffice, to give a taste, of al the others in this kinde.

touch is to bee pronounc't short like *tuch*.

Ra-chel, in the Old Testament, where the last syllable thereof is pronounc't like the last syllable in *sa-chel*.

ch in *architect* must not bee pronounc't like *k*: nor in any word beginning with *arch* . . . *arch*-angel . . . is onely excepted.

win-der and *wil*-der where the first syllable in either of them must bee pronounc't long as in *wine* and *wile* . . . some men cal the *winde*, the *wind* . . . in the word *wil*-der-nes, it must be pronounc't like *wil*.

[*ea*] short, as in these words *head*, *read*, *stead*, *hea*-dy, *rea*-dy, *stea*-dy . . . it is therefore . . . very meet to put an *e* in the end of some such words, as in *reade*, the present tense, to distinguish it from the short sound of *read*, the preter imperfect tense.

al words of more than one syllable ending in this sound *us* . . . are written with *ous*, but pronounc't like *us*, as in *glo*-ri-ous, etc.

it is our custom to pronounce *al*, like *au*, and to write it in stead thereof, as in *balk*, *walk*, *talk*, *stalk*, *chalk*, *mal*kin, *calkin*, *calkers*, *falcons*; as also, in *almond*, *alms*, *halm*, *balm*, *palm*, *calm*,

shalm, *psalm*, *malmsey*; and in like maner in these words, namely, in *calf*, *half*, *salve*, *salves*, *calve*, *calves*, *halve*, *halves*: as also in *scalp*, *scalps*.

the sound of *ee* before some letters is exprest by *ie* as in *field*, *shield*, *fiel*d, *Priest*, *piece*, *grief*, *grieve*, *thief*, *thieve*, *chief*, *atchieve*, *brief*, *relieve*, *relief*, *siege*, *liege*, *Pierce*, *fierce*, *biere*, *lieutenant*, which is to be pronounc't like *lief*-tenant.

howsoever wee use to write thus, *leadeth* it, *maketh* it, *noteth* it, *raketh* it, *perfumeth* it, etc. Yet in our ordinary speech . . . wee say *leads* it, *notes* it, *rakes* it, *perfumes* it.

But I leave this, as also, many other things to the consideration of such as are judicious: hoping that they wil take in good part, whatsoever hath bin done, in the work aforegoing: that so, I may bee encouraged yer long, to publish a far greater, wherein such things as have bin heer omitted, shal bee spoken of at large. In the mean time (for a conclusion) I have thought it good, to give a taste thereof, in the syllables and words following; wherein are exprest the true sounds of al the vowels and diphthongs, which are proper to the English-tongue.

The true sounds of al the short and long vowels, are exprest in these examples.

ad	lad,	ade	lade	
ed	led,	ead	lead	
id	rid,	eed	reed,	ide
				ride
od	lod,	aud	laud,	oad
				load
ud	gud			ude
				gude
ood	good	ood	food	

The true sounds of al the diphthongs, are exprest in these examples.

ai	day
eu	dew
oi	coy
oi	coi-ness
ou	cow

To the above miscellaneous remarks of Hodges, may be added the following quotation from Edward Coote's *English Schoolmaster*, 4to. 1673, the exact meaning of which it is difficult to discover, but which seems to imply some old scholastic tradition in the spelling out of words, recalling the village children's celebrated method of spelling *Habakkuk* as: (ən iitsh ə'nə AA, ə'nə bi ə'nə AA, ə nə kii ə'nə kii, ə'nə uu ə'nə kii.) Probably many similar traditions were still in existence in the "dames' schools" of a few years ago.

Rob. What if you cannot tell what vowel to spell your syllable with, how will you do to find it? as if you would write *from*, and know not whether you should write it with *a* or *o*.

Joh. I would try it with all the vowels thus, *fram, frem, frim, from*; now I have it.

Rob. But Good-man Taylor our Clerk when I went to school with him, taught me to sound these vowels otherwise than (methinks) you do.

Joh. How as that?

Rob. I remember he taught me these syllables thus: for *bad, bed, bid, bod, bud*, I learned to say, *bade, bid, bide, bode, bude*, sounding a *bed* to ly upon, as to *bid* or command, and *bid*, as *bide*

long, as in *abide*; *bud* of a Tree, as *bude* long, like *rude*: for these three vowels, *a, i, u*, are very corruptly and ignorantly taught by many unskilful Teachers, which is the cause of so great ignorance of the true writing in those that want the Latin tongue.

Joh. You say true; for so did my Dame teach me to pronounce; for *sa, se, si, so, su*, to say, *sa, see, si, soo, sow*, as if she had sent me to see her *sow*: when as *se* should be sounded like the *sea*; and *su* as to *sue* one at Law.

[In a marginal note it is added:] Let the unskilful teachers take great heed of this fault, and let some good scholars hear their children pronounce these syllables.

II. Owen Price's Table of the Difference between Words of Like Sound.

A

Abel, able. abét, abbot. decidence, accident, incident. accóunt, accómp. dere, dehor the first valley, the Israelites entred, in the land of Canaan, *decorn. afféction, affectation. all, awl. Ale, ail. díley, ally. aim* to lèvel, *alms. alás* ough, *wo* is me, a *Lass, alias, aloes. Alexander, alexanders*, or *alixander* a plant. *alóud, allówed. álтар, álter. Ammon, Amnon. ample, ámbie. angel, ángle* to fish with hook, and line, *áncle. ánnual, ánnals. árrouse* to stir up, *árrowes* darts. *áscent, assént, consent. áss, ashes* any fuel burnt to dust, *ásh* a tree, *ásk* to enquire. *ácts, áx. ásp* a serpent that kills with its looks, *hásp* of door. *ássémbie, resémbie, dissémbie. ant, áunt. áustère, óyster. ávry, áiry* windy empty. *árrant* meer, very, right, *érrand* bússines that one goes about. *ássáy* to try, prove, *éssay* a trial, attempt. *ássístants, ássístance. áscértain* to make sure, *a certáin* sure. *áttdáck* to apprehénd, *árrést, áttáque* to face about, to charge with a ship. *áttáint, áttáin.*

B

Bábble, báble a toy fit for children. *Bachelaur* of Arts, *bachelor* one unmarried. *bácon, béacon. badge, batch, bag. báil, báld, báwl, báll. báy* a colour, *báy* an harbour for ships. *baiz* thin cloth, *baies* a gárland, or leaves of bay tree. *bait* meant to allure or entice with, *make báte* that sets folks by the ears, *beat* to strike. *band* an armie, a tie, *bond* obligation, bill, imprisonment. *bane* poison, *miserie, banes* repórt made of mátrimonie. *banner, pánnier. Bárbara* a woman's name, *Bárbarie* a part of Africa, *bárberrie* a tree. *bark, barque* a little ship. *battel* a fight, *battles* diet in a College. *báttlement, báttledore. bee, be* is, are. *beaver* castor, *béver* food eaten between dinner and supper. *been* wast, were, *binn* a hutch to keep bread in. *beer, bier. béllowes, béllies. bénefice, bénefit. berdy* defile, *beurdy* discover, *betrdy. beséech, besiége. body, báudy. boll* to wash in, *bóuls* to play with, *bówls* to drink in. *boar, bore* to pierce, *bore* the long hole in the gun. *book* that we read in, *buck* a deer, *buck* of clothes to be washed.

bolt to range meal with, *bolt* a great arrow, door bar. *bow* to shoot with, *bough*, *bow* to bend. *boys* little lads, *buoys* great logs of wood floating in the bay to guide in the ships. *burnt*, *brunt* an assault, encounter. *bury*, *berry*. *buy*, *by and by*. *biggin* a little coife, *begin*. *boaster*, *bolster* a great pillow. *breach*, *bréeches*. *breed*, *bred* that is reared, *bread*. *brain*, *brawn* boar's flesh, *bran*.

C

Cabinet, *cadbin*. *qualm* suddain fit, *calm* still, quiet. *Cules* or *Cadiz* a city in Spain, *Callis* a town in France, *chdlice*. *caul* a dress for a womans head, *caul* of a beast, *call* to name, *cale* so the Scots call cabbage. *cdnons* rules for men to walk by, *cdnnon* a great gun, *canon* a Cathedral man. *capcious*, *capable*. *capital*, *capitol*. *carriage*, *carrets* or *carrots*, *chdriot*. *cdrier* one that carries, *caréir* a gallop with full speed. *cavalier* a horseman, *caviller* a wrangling, *capitious* fellow. *centorie* a plant, *centurie* any 100 years of the ages of the churches. *sentinel* one that watcheth in a garrison, *kénnel*, *cannel*, *chánnel*. *chdtel* a mans personal estate, *cattel* tame beasts. *case*, *cause*. *ensor* a reformer of manners, *censer* a perfuming pan. *chafe*, *chaff*. *chance*, *change*. *chapters* as those in the Bible, *chapters* the heads of the pillars of the vail Exod: 36, 38. *chare* or *chore*, a small household business, *cheat* to make merry, *cheer* countenance, or good victuals, *chair* a seat to sit on. *chap* a narrow chink, *cheap*. *champion*, *campaign* large, even fields. *check*, *chick*, *cheek* one side of the face. *chest*, *chess*, *cheese*. *child*, *chill*. *cidar* drink made of apples, *cedar*. *clamour*, *clamber*. *cittern* instrument of musick, *citron* a fruit. *cloy*, *claw*. *claws*, *close*. *clasp*, *claps* he clappeth. *coat*, *quote*, *cote* a little plat of inclosed ground, *cottage*. *choler*, *collar*, *scholar*, *collier*, *colour*. *could*, *cold*, *cool'd*. *gallop*, *collop* a rasher of bacon. *comb* to kemb ones head with, *honey-comb*, *come*. *comment*, *comet* a blazing star. *cómma*, *common* publick, *commune* to talk, converse together, *common* a ground not enclosed, *commons* a scholars allowance in meat, *cumin* an herb, *cuminseed* the seed thereof. *complice* a partáker, *accomplish*, *confits* or *confects* dried sweet meats, *comfort*. *considerate*, *considerable*. *carol* a song, *coral* a red

shrub that children rub their gums with. *crowner* or *córoner* that makes inquest after a murther, *corner* a by private place. *colonel* a commander of a thousand, *colonie* a plantation. *consumption*, *consummation*. *counsel* advice, *s-e-l*, *council* the Kings council, or a synod of learned men, *c-i-l*. *course* rough, *corse* dead body, *course* to go a hunting, *curse* to wish evil to one. *cousin*, *cózen*. *currant* that will pass, as good money, *current* a stream, *corants* small raisins. *crasie* infirm, sickly, *crased* crackt, distracted. *crocodile* monster in the river Nilus, *cóckatrice* serpent that kills with its very smell. *cox* a mans name, *cocks* do crow.

D

Defection, *defect*. *defér*, *differ*. *diamond*, *diadem*. *diary*, *dairy*. *damn* to condemn, *dam* up to stop, keep out the light, *dam* a stopping of the water before a mill, *damp* a noysom vapour out of the earth, *dame* a mistress, or any beast that brings forth young. *damsin* a little black plum, *dámsel* a brave young virgin. *deceased*, *discease*, *deceess* departure. *deer*, *dear*. *déitie*, *ditty*. *delicate*, *délegate*. *déméan* to behave, *demdin* the means of a Lord, or a Cathedral, *demand*. *demüre*, *demür*. *désart* wilderness, *desert* to forsake, *desért* merit. *descént*, *dissént*, *décent*. *desirous*, *desirable*. *discómfert*, *discómfít*. *digest* to concoct victuals, *digest* to set in order. *dew* small drops from the skie, *due* a debt, *adieu*. *dint* or *dent*, *din*, *dine* to eat about noon. *dissolute*, *désolate*. *doe*, *do*, *dough*, *dáv*. *doth* as he doth give, *doeth* he maketh. *drain*, *drawn*. *dray* a sled, *draw*. *Don* Sir, master in Spanish, *done*, *dun*. *doest* thou dost make, *dost* a sign of the second person, as thou sayest or dost say, *dust* powder.

E

Ear, wherewith one hears, *ear* to till ground, or to plough, *cars* of corn, *ere* before, *year* 12 months. *early*, *yearly*. *earn*, *yern* to be moved to compassion, *yarn*. *earth*, *hearth*. *east* where the sun riseth, *yest* barm, *ease*. *egg* to provoke, to set on, *egg* which the hen layeth, *edge*, *hedge*. *eldern* a tree, *elder* more old. *Eliezér*, *Eledzar*. *Embassador*, *embassage*. *emerald*, *emeroids*, *piles*. *eminent*, *imminent*. *encagement*, *engagement*. *epha*, *ephod*. *epoch*, *epod* a sort of verses. *Esther*, *Hester* a

Saxon Idol, *Easter, yesterday. expérience. eyes* the windows of the head, *ice.*

F

Fair, fare, far, fear. fâshion mode, manner of appârel, *fashions* or *farsy*, running botches upon horses. *fain, feign. fâvourer, fâvourite.* *fêlon* a thief, *fellon* a swelling sore on the finger. *frends, fins. findes* he find-eth, *fine. fillip, Philip. flee* to shun, avoid, *flea* to pull off the skin, *flic* a small creature that doth fly, *flea* a small skipping creature, *fleece* the wooll of one sheep. *fleet* navy, *fleet* swift, *flit* to waver, *fitch, fix or flux* bloody issue. *floor, flowr* fine meal, *flower* of a plant. *foal, fool, foil, foil'd, fold.* *foul, fowl. foord* a shallow passage in a river, *afford. fore, four. forth, fourth. friese* shag'd cloth, *freese* to congeal. *Friery* where Friers live, *fiery, ferry. froise* a small pan-cake, *phrase. furse* fine, hairy skins, *furz* prickly shrubs. *fundament, founddion.*

G

Gantlet a souldier's buf, or iron glove, *Gantlop* two ranks of souldiers that scourge a malefactor that is condemned to run between, with his back stript. *gard* or great hem of a garment, *guard* a company of men that defend or secure ones person. *guardian* a tutor, or one intrusted with a fatherless child, *gârden* an inclosed piece of ground. *gêntiles* heathens, *gêtil* a magot, *gêntle* mild, generous, tractable, *gêntel* curious in apparel or carriage. *gêsture, jester. gist* where the King lodges in his journey, or progress, *jest. glutinous, gluttonous. glister, glyster or clyster, cluster. God, goad. grass, grase* to eat grass, *grace. gray* a colour, *grey* a badger, an earth hog. *Greece* a coun- trey, *greese* a small ascent, steps on the floor, *ambergreise* a perfume, *grist* corn brought to be grinded. *grin* to wry the mouth, *grind* to bruise small, as we do corn. *groun, grown. guess, guest. gun, gone.*

H

Hail God save you, *hail* stones, *hale* to lug, to draw. *hair, heir, hare. air,* are they be. *hy* to make hast, *hay, high, highth* loftiness, highness. *heart, hart. hartsthorn* a long leaved plant. *hartshorn* which the hart bears. *here,*

hear. heard I did hear, *hard* solid, stiff, *herd* a drove of small cattel. *hearing* giving ear to, *herring* a sea-fish. *heron* a man's name, *hern* a crane. *heathens, heavens. herse, hoarse, horse. hallow, hollow, hollo* to bawl, *holly, holy. hole, whole. home, whom. hore* a frizzling frost, *whore. hew* to cut, to fell trees, *hue* visage, *physionomie. hu* and cry, *hugh* a mans name.

I

Jambs, James. idol, idle. jerves, Jewish, juice. imply, employ. impostor a great cheater, *impositor* one that takes the names of such as are absent, or tardy. *incite, insight. inconsiderate, inconsiderable. inn, in. Joab, Job. Joice* a womans name, *re-joice, joist* a little beam in building. *itch, hitch. its* his, *it's* it is, *'tis* it is. *judge, jugs. judicious, judicial.*

K

Keen, ken, kin, kindred. kill, chyle. keel, kiln. knead, need.

L

Ladder, leather. lamb, lame. launce, to cut off dead, rotten flesh, *lanch* to put out a ship from harbour. *last* that they make shoes upon, *last* after all the rest, farthest, *last* to endure, hold out. *latton tin, Latine* Roman language. *leaden, Leyden. league, leg, liégeman. leaper, leper, leopard. lease* (with a soft, s) to pick up shotted corn, *lease* (with a hard, s) an indenture, writings, *least* smallest, *less* smaller, *lest* a note of forbidding, as *lest* I chastise you. *leaman* concubine, *whore, lemon* a kind of an apple. *legion, legends. liturgie, lethargie. lessen, listen. lies* false tales, *lice* small, biting worms. *limber* weak, *limner* one that draws pictures. *limn, limb. line* whereby we work, or write straight, *loin* flank, hanch. *Lions* a town in France, *lion* a fierce beast, *liorn* a great cross beam. *letter, litter, lieter* a sedan carried between two horses. *lose* to let go, to let slip unknown, *loose* (with a soft, s) to undo, to slack, *loose* (with a hard, s) debauched, *lewd. lost, loss.*

M

Main might, chiefest, *main- prize, suretiship, bail, mane* of a horse. *mare* that breeds colts, *maior* the chief ruler

of a citie, *major* a commander by one degree higher then a Captain. *more*, *moor* a marsh, *moor* a man's name. *mansion* a chief house of abode, *manchet* a little white loaf. *manner* fashion, *manners* good carriage, *mannour* a great farm by heritage, *manure* to dung the ground. *map*, *mop*. *march* the first moneth, *march* to go as souldiers go together, *Mars*, *marsh* a moor. *marred*, *married*. *martin*, *martyr*. *merc*, *merchant*. *mace*, *mass*. *mast* the biggest pole in the ship, *maste* acorn. *meat* food, *mete* to mesure, *meet* fit, convenient. *message*, *méssuage*. *meteor*, *metre*. *might*, *mite*. *mind*, *mine*. *mince*, *mint*. *minister*, *minster*, *minstrel*. *moat* a deep pond about a house, *mote* the least dust. *morter* made of lime and sands, *mortar* that we pound any spice in. *mo more*, *mow* rick of corn, *move* to cut down hay, or corn. *móuntibank*, *Móuntague*.

N

Naught bad, naughty, *nought* nothing. *Nazarene*, *Nazarite*. *neather* lower, *neathermost* lowest, *neither* none of them. *nesh* tender, effeminate, *neee* ones sister's, or brother's daughter, *nice* curious, delicate. *nay*, *neigh*, *nigh*. *nonce* of purpose, *non*es the first part of the moneth in the Roman accompt. *news*, *nose*, *noise*. *notorious*, *notable*.

O

Oar to row with. *ore* metal not refined, *o're* for over. *odour* sweet smell, *udder* the pap of a cow. *off* with a double, *f*, after a word of action, as to cut off, to draw off, *of* before the word it belongs to, with one, *f*, as the fear of God. *one* the first in number, *own*. *once*, *one's*. *our*, *Hour*. *Ho*, *o* or *ough* a note of exclaiming or bemoaning, *owe*.

P

Palate, *palliate*, *pallet* a little low bed to be roled up. *paws*, *pause*. *pails*, *pales* kind of stakes. *pale* a compass, *appale* to discourage. *panes*, *pains*. *pattern* coppie, *patent*, *pattens* wooden soals. *patient*, *patience*. *pease* a grain of corn, *poises* weights, to a clock, or jack, *peace*, *peach*, *piece* part. *peer*, *pear*. *pare*, *pair*, *repair*. *person* the word man used with some reverence, *parson* a kind of minister. *pebble*, *people*. *pens*, *pence*. *Pilate*, *pilot*, *pirate*. *pistol*, *pestil* wherewith we

pound in a mortar, *epistle*. *pittious* an object of pittie, *pittiful* one given to pittie. *place*, *plaice* a little broad fish. *plad* a course cloak, such as the Highlanders wear, *plat* a small parcel of ground, *plait* to set the hair in order, *plot* a cunning design. *play* a game, a comedie, *plea* a defence, excuse. *Common pleas*, *please*. *plush*, *over-plus*, *non-plus*. *pottle*, *bottle*. *précédent* a pattern to authorize any action, *précédent* foregoing, *Président* a head of a College, or chief Ruler. *price*, *Pryce*. *prize*, *praise*. *principal*, *principle*. *private*, *privets* small trees. *privie* to, *privies*. *pórtend*. *preténd*. *poor* one in want, *pore* to fix ones eyes, and mind upon any thing. *powr* to shed, to throw down, *power* might. *pray*, *prey*, *pry*. *púppies*, *puppets*.

Q

Qudrrel strife bickering, *qudrel* of glass. *quarrie*, *querie*. *quench*, *quince*. *queen*, *quean*.

R

Rack, *wrack* ruine. *rays*, *raise*. *rise* (with a soft, s) when one lifts up ones self, *rise* (with a hard, s) the original, *rise* a sort of corn. *rase*, *race*. *reach* to fetch a thing to one, *retch* to stretch, *rich*, *wretch*. *refuge*, *refuse* off-scouring. *relict*, *reliques*. *réveal*, *rél*. *revile*, *rival*, *rivel*. *rain*, *reign*. *reins* of the back, *reins* of a bridle. *raiser*, one that stirreth, *rasour* that we shave with. *read* I have read, *red*. *real*, *royal*. *réverent*, *réverend*. *right*, *rite*, *write*. *roe*, *row* as slaves do in a boat, *row* or *rew* of trees, *raw*. *Rómans*, *románce*. *Rome* the chiefest City in Italy, *rome* to rage, and tear all before one, *room* a space, a chamber. *rough* ruggid, course, boisterous, *ruff* plaited together, as a ruff band, *rough-cast*. *rule*, *rowel*.

S

Sal, *sayl*. *salve*, *save*. *same*, *Psalm*. *Saviour*, *savour*. *Satan*, *satten* smooth, silken stuff. *scarce*, *scars*. *scent*, *sent*. *school*, *scull*. *scholars*, *scullers* little boats. *see*, *sea* an ocean, *sea* the Pope's jurisdiction, as the sea of Rome. *seal* as to seal a letter, or writing, *siel* to plaister the roof of a room. *seasin* possession, *season* opportunitie. *sect*, *set*. *sects*, *sex*. *seargeant* one that arresteth men, *surgeon* chirúgeon, that heales wounds, *Sir John* a Knight's name. *share*, *shear*, *sheer*, *shire*. *shave*, *sheave* as of corn, *sheathe*, *shive*

a slice of bread, *cieve* that we winnow corn with. *sheep, ship, shell, shield, shew* a brave sight, *shew* to manifest, *shoe, Shiloh, Siloe, Siloah, shoot, shout, shovel, shole* as a shole of fishes. *shut, soot, sink, cinque five, cinque-ports* haven towns. *sin, sing, sign, sited, sighted, cited* quoted. *sith* seeing that, *sithe* that we mow hay with, *seethe* to boyle. *sledge* the smith's great iron hammer, *stead* a dray that drag things in. *sloe, slow, smutch* to besmear, as with soot, *much* a great deal, *nich* to play the trewant. *so, sew, soar* to flie high like a kite, *sore* a young deer, *sore* painful, tender, galled flesh. *some, summ* as summ total. *s-o-n* the father's son, *s-u-n* the shining sun. *Spaniard, spaniel* a shag'd dog. *sphear spear, spies, spice, spit, spittle* that we spit out, or an Almes house. *stable, staple* as staple commoditie, *staple* of the door, *staple* the length of the wool. *stars, stares* black birds that do mischief the pigeons, *stairs, stature, statute, statue, stead, bedstead, steed* a stately horse. *steel* that men edge tools with, *stile* a form, or facultie in writing. *steer* a bullock, *steer* to guide a ship. *stood* did stand, *stud* a small post in a tear wall. *storie, historie, straight* even, quickly, *streight* a distress, perplexitie. *succour, sucker, suit* to agree with, *suit* in law, or of clothes, *sewel* the fat of beef, or mutton. *swound* to faint, *sound* entire, without flaws.

T

Tales, tails, talons, tallies, talent, taber a small drum, or timbrel, *taper* a stately wax candle. *tar, tares, tears* drops from the eyes, *tear* as to tear cloth, *break, cut, teach, learn, theams* subjects that we descant upon, *teams* of horses. *thither, there, their, thorow* as to break thorow all, *through* by means of, *throw* to cast. *thrush, thrust, thyme* or *tyne*, a sweet plant, *time, tattle, tittle, tittle* a point. *to* a sign of a verb, *t-o-e* the foot's toe, *too*, as too much, *too* also, *two, tow, tomb, tome, tongues* languages, *tongs* a pair of tongs. *torn*

that torners do make, *torn* rent, *turn* to move round. *track* the picture of ones footsteps, *track* to follow one, step, by step, *tract* a handling of this, or that point. *treaty* a parley concerning peace, *treatment, treatise, treatie* conference concerning peace. *truce, truths, truss, trust, turbant* the Turk's great linnen Cap, *turbot* a byrt, a great sea fish.

V

Vacation, vocation, v-a-i-n empty foolish, *v-e-i-n* in the body. *vail* or covering, *vale* to put off, to submit, as to vale bonet, *vale* or valley. *vetch* a sort of corn, *fetch* to bring. *volley, vial* a great cup, *viol* an instrument of musick. *visage* feature in a face, *vizard* a false kind of face, to cover ones face. *vital, victuals, umbles* the inwards of a Deer, *humble, unpire, empire, us, Uz* Job's countrey.

W

Wait, weight, waits, the citie musicians, *waites* waiteth. *Wales* the true Brittain's countrey, *wales* great thrids in hair stuffs, *walls, bewail, walk, awake, wakes* a parish festival time, *walks, wand, wan, wain, wardship, worship, way, weigh, wear, were, wears*, dams where they catch fish. *wicked, wicket, wilie* cunning, *unweldie* awkward, *wild* untame, *weild* to turn a sword about. *win, wind* that blowes, *wine, wipe* to rub off dirt, *weep* to shed tears. *witch* one that by a compact with the Devil doth bewitch, *witch* a trap to catch vermin, *which* that, who. *wo* alas, *woe* to be a suitor to a mistress. *woad* dying stuff, *wood* fewel, timber. *wrap, rap, writ, write, wheelwright, wrote, wrought, rote, wrench, rinse* to wash slightly.

Y

yea, I, yet, It, wit, yest a tree in the church yard. *eve, you, yolk* of eggs, *yoke* that oxen draw under, *oak, yore* in old time, *evr* a small neck'd pewter pot.

III. Cooper's Lists of Words Like and Unlike and Introductory Remarks.

De Variis Scripturis.

1. Quædam scribuntur vel cum *c* vel *s*; ut *dace* apua, *ice* glacies, *farce* farcio, *race* stadium, *rice* oryza, *sauce* condimentum, *cesser* censor, *searse* vix, *scissors*

cisers forfex, *cellar* cella, *sinders* scoria ferri, *sives* porrum sectile, *civet* zibethum, *sluse* emissarium, *sourse* fons, *syder* melites, *nourse* nutrio, *pencil* penicillus, *chace* lucus, *fugo*, etc.

2. Cum unicâ literâ finali, vel istâ duplicatâ, ut *fir, firr, firre, abies*; Sic *er* erro, *son* filius, *sum* summa, *star* stella, *trespass* transgressio, *war* bellum.

3. Cum *dg* vel *ege* aut *age*; ut *allege* allego, *college* collegium, *privilege* privilegium; vel *alledg* etc. *cabbidg* brasca, *saucidg* tomaculum; vel *cabbage, sausage*.

4. Cum *im in* vel *em en*; ut *em-poverish* depaupero, *endure* sustento; vel *impoverish, indure*, etc.

5. Cum *ea* vel *ee, ea* vel *e* ut in capite 8, reg. 1 [quoted suprâ p. 82], cum *ai* vel *ei* cap. 7, reg. 1 [quoted suprâ p. 126], cum *au* vel *a*; ut *chance* casus, *gard* stipo, *mall* malleus; *prance* superbè salio; vel *chaunce*, etc.

6. Cum unicâ literâ vel ipsâ duplicatâ; ut *herring* halec; at *later* tardius, *latter* posterior distinguî debent. Latini derivativa ut plurimum primitivorum in scriptione sequuntur formam, quamvis simplex latine auditur sonus consonæ, et anglicè duplicatur; ut *abolish* aboleo, *canel* canalis, *amity* amicitia, *minister* minister, *mariner* à mare navigator, et *liturgy* liturgia.

Si varia hominum scripta præsertim privata consulamus, tantam libertatem, tantam varietatem, tantam incongruentiam et imperitiam videamus; quod satis hujusmodi suscepti tum necessitatem tum utilitatem demonstrare possit: In quo analogia et optimè scribendi regulæ exhibeantur. Legitur *apricock* *abricot* malum armenium *balet* *balad* canticum *bankrupt* *bankrout* decoctor *butcher* *boucher* lanio *butler* *boiteler* promus *budget* *bouget* bulga *charet* *chariot* currus *clot* *clod* gleba *cumber* *comber* impedio *curd* *crud* coagulum *faign* *feign* fingo *fraight* *frait* velatura *hartechoak* *artichoak* cynara *imposthume* *apostem* *apostema* *licorice* *liquorish* *glycyrrhiza* *plaight* *pleit* plico *slabber* *slaver* conspergo *squinsy* *squinancy* angina *vot* *fat* labrum *yelk* *yolk* vitellus

Cum plurimis aliis; in quibus omnibus *relegare* literas supervacaneas, atque eas, quæ veram pronunciationem proximè attingunt, *seligere* debemus; nisi quadam alia *privata* ratio aliter *suadet*; ut in sequentibus observationibus.

I.

Voces quæ *eandem* habent *pronunciationem*, sed *diversam significationem* et scribendi *modum*.

A

All omnes, *awl* subula.
altar altare, *alter* muto
are sunt, *air* aer, *heir*, hæres, *ere* long
statim
ant formica, *aunt* amita
ascent ascensus, *assent* assensus
assault invado, *a salt bit* bolus salitus

B

baies lauri, *baiz* pannus villosus
ball pila, *baul* vocifero
bare nudus, *bear* fero.
be sum, *bee* apes
berry bacca, *bury* sepelio
bit'd rostratus, *build* ædifico
bitter amarus, *bittour* butio
bows torquet, *boughs* rami, *bowze*
perpoto
bread panis, *bred* nutritus
browz frondo, *brows* palpebræ
borne portatus, *bourn* rivulus
buy emo, *by* per

C

calender lævitas præsertim panni,
Calendar calendarium
call voco, *caul* omentum
censer thuribulum, *ensor* censor, *cen-*
sure judicio
centory herba centaria, *century* cen-
turia sive spatium centum annorum
chair cathedra, *chare* negotium
chas'd fugatus, *chast* castus
chews masticat, *chuse* eligo
clause clausula, *claws* unguis
coat tunica, *quote* cito
cozen illudo, *cousin* germanus
chord chorda subtensa, *cord* funis
collar capistrum, *choller* bilis
comming veniens, *cummin* cuminum
cool'd refrigeratus, *could* possem
coughing tussiens, *coffin* sandapila
coarse levidensis, *course* cursus
counsel consilium, *council* curia
colors colores, *cullers* ovis rejicula
car'd curabam, *card* pectino.

D

dam mater, *damn* condemnno
dear carus, *deer* fera
dissension dissensio [no second word
given]

doe dama, *do* ago, *dow* massa farinaria
don factus, *dun* fuscus
dew ros, *due* debētus

E

emerald smaragdus, *emrods* hæmorrhoides

F

flea pulex, *flay* vel *flea* excorio
fleam phlebotomum, *phlegm* vel *fleam*
 phlegma
forth ex, *fourth* quartus
fair pulcher, *fare* ligurio
fir abies, *fur* pellis, *far* longè, *furz*
 genista spinosa
fil aptus, *fight* pugnabat

G

gest gesta, *jest* jocus,
jester jocator, *gesture* gestus
go'st vadis, *ghost* spiritus
grone gemo, *grown* accritus

H

hair crinis, *hare* lepus
hake screo, *hawk* accipiter
hart cervus, *heart* cor
hard durus, *heard* auditus, *herd* grex
hear audio, *here* hic
holy sanctus, *wholy* totaliter
hew scindo, *hue* color
hy festino, *high* altus
higher altior, *hire* stipendium
hollo vocifero, *hollow* concavus

I

ire ira, *eyer* observator
insight prospectus, *incite* incito
i'te volo, *Isle* insula, *oil* oleum
in in, *inn* diversorium
jerkin tunica, *jirking* flagellans

L

lamb agnus, *lamm* verbero
lead plumbum, *led* ductus
lease charta redemptionis, *leash* ternio
 canum
leaper saltator, *leper* leprosus
lessen diminuo, *lesson* lectio
least minimus, *lest* that ne; (sed potius
 vice versà *least* ne)
leman pellex, *lemon* malum hesperium
limb membrum, *limn* miniculus
lo en, *low* humilis
line lineæ, *loin* lumbus
lustre splendor, *luster* lustrum

M

manner mos, *manour* prædium
male mas, *mail* lorica

meat cibus, *mete* metior
message nuncium, *messuage* villa
mouse (mouze) mures capto, *mows*
 fœnilia
muse meditor, *mues* accipitrem in er-
 gastulum compingit, *sea mews* fulicæ,
muse cum *f* foramen per sepimentum

N

nether inferior, *neither* nec
naught malus, *nought* nihil
a notion notio, *an ocean* oceanus

O

O interjectio vocandi, *oh* doloris vel
 vehementiæ, *ow* debeo
oar remus, *oar ore* balluca, *o're* super
our noster, *hour* hora
own agnosco, *one* unus
order ordo, *ordure* stercus

P

pair par, *pare* rescindo, *pear* pyrus
pause pauso, *paws* unguës
pastor, *pasture* pascuum
pleas causa, *please* placeo
pickt her eam elegit, *picture* pictura
prophet propheta, *profit* commodum
pray precor, *prey* præda
plum prunum, *plumb* perpendicularis
pour fundo, *power* potestas

R

rain pluvia, *reign* regno, *reins* renes
raise suscito, *raies* radii
ranker olidior, *rancour* odium
race stadium, *rase* expungo
rare rarus, *rear* attollo
read lectus, *red* ruber
read lego, *reed* arundo
raisin uva passa, *reason* ratio
right rectus, *rite* ceremonia, *write* scribo,
cart-wright carpentarius
ry secale, *wry* obliquus
roe capreolus, *row* series
rote memoriter, *wrote* scripsi
ruff sinus, *rough* asper

S

say loquor, *sey* pannus rasmus
saver parsimonicus, *savor* sapor
seas maria, *seize* apprehendo
sell vendo, *cell* cellula
seller venditor, *cellar* cella
sight visus, *site* situs, *cite* cito
size senio, *size* glutino
season tempestas, *seisin* possessio
seat sedes, *deceit* fraus
share pars, *shear* tondeo
shoo calceus, *shew* demonstro

slo prunum sylvestre, *slow* tardus
stairs gradus, *stares* aspectat
so sic, *sow* suo
soar subvolò, *sore* ulcus
sought quæsitus, *saw't* id vidi
spider aranea, *spi'd* her observabam
ipsam
sucker antha, *succour* suppetior
some body aliquis, *sum* summa
sun sol, *son* filius
sure certus, *suer* candidatus, *sewer* præ-
 gustator
sweep verro, *swipe* tolonus

T

tacks clavi, *affigit*, *tach* uncina, *tax*
 tributum
tenor, *tenure* tenura
their suus, *there* ibi
time tempus, *thyme* thymus
tide fluxus et refluxus maris, *ti'd* ligatus
to ad, *tow* stupa
toes digitus pedis, *toze* gradatim solvo
tower turris, *towre* subvolò
tract tractatus, *track't* per vestigia
 secutus
throne solium, *thrown* jactus
tire lasso, *ty her* ligato illam

V

vein vena, *vain* inanis
vial phiala, *viol* pandura

W

ware merces, *wear* tero, *were* essent
weigh libro, *way* via
weight pondus, *wait* expecto, *waits*
 spondiaules
woo proco, *woe* calamitas
whoop ehodum, *hoop* vieo
vse usus, *use* utor, *ews* oves fœmineæ
ewer aqualis, *ure* assuetudo
yea ita, *ye* vos

Sequentes item *distinguan-*
tur, quas autem omnes non *dis-*
tinguunt.

bruit fama, *brute* brutum
desert meritum, *desart* eremus
down lanugo, *down* deorsum
foul sordidus, *fowl* volucris
frieze pannus villosus, *freez* congelo,
 semper *frees* liberat
moat fossa, *mote* atomos
savoury satureia, *savoury* sapidus vel
 odoratus

II.

Voces quæ *diversum* habent
sonum et *sensum* sed *eandem*
 plerumque *scripturam*; quæ ta-
 men melius *hoc modo* semper *dis-*
tinguantur

acorn glans, *a corn* granum
attack obsideo, *attach* prehendo
bore ferebam, *boar* aper
born parturit, *borne* latus
bow torqueo, *bowe* arcus
bowl globus, *bowl* patera
convert converto, *convert* proselytes
form forma, *foorm* classis
guest hospes, *gest* gesta, *jest* jocus
get adipiscor, *jet* gagates
gives dat, *gives* compedes
lead plumbum, *leade* duco
light residui, *light* lux
live vivo, *alive* vivus; *lived* vixi, *long-*
lived longævus; *lives* vivit, *lives* vitæ
mow acervus, *moive* meto
past præteritus, *paste* pastillus
rebel rebello, *rebbel* rebellator
Rome Roma, *roam* vago
sow sus, *sowe* suo
sing cano, *singe* amburo
tear lacryma, *teare* lacero
toat agitatus, *toste* panis tostus
wast eras, *waste* consumo
wild efferatus, *wil'd* volui
jill triental, *gils* branchiæ

Exemplorum sequentium *pri-*
ora sonum habent *f*, *posteriora*,
 quæ scribuntur cum *s* finali,
 sonum *z*.

Vse usus, *use* utor: *abuse* abusus, *abuse*
 abutor

close clausus, *close* claudio
cruse pocillum, *cruse* prædor
diverse diversi, *divers* urinatores
dose dosis, *dose* dormito
else præterea, *ells* ulnæ
excuse apologia, *excuse* excuso
false falsus, *falls* cadit
hiss sibilo, *his* suus
loose remissus, *loose* solvo
premises præmissæ, *præmise* præmitto
refuse quisquilæ, *refuse* abnuo
house domus, *house* stabulo
mouse mus, *mouse* mures capto
louse pediculus, *louse* pediculos capto
brass æs, *braze* subæro
glass vitreum, *glaze* invitro
grafs gramen, *graze* pasco

III.

Propria nomina cum *commun-*
ibus, quæ eundem vel *affinem*
 habent *sonum*.

Achor, *acre* iuger
Bede, *bead* corona, *bede* tree azedarach
Barbara barberry oxyacantha
Bruix, *brooks* rivuli
Cain, *cane* canna

Diep, deep profundus
Francis mas, Frances fœmina
Joice, joies gaudia
Eaton, eaten pastus
James, Jambs parastades
Marshal, Martial Martialis
Martin, Marten cypselus
Mede, mead hydromelum
More, moor maurus, palus, more plus
Maurice vel Morrice, morris dance
chironomica saltatio
Nash, gnash strido
Noahs, nose nasus
Ny, nigh propè
Paul, pall palla, palid mucidus
Pilate, pilot naucleus
Rhode, road via publica, rode equitavi
Rome Roma, room spatium
Styx flumen infernale, sticks bacilli
Thamar, tamer mansuetior
Walter, water aqua

IV.

Voces quæ *affinem* habent
sonum sed *diversum* sensum et
scripturam.

A

alone solus, a loan vel lone mutuatum
advice consilium, advise consulo
device inventum, devise comminiscor
adieu vale, adoo conatus
alley ambulacrum, ally affinis
arose resurrexit, arrows sagittæ

B

baren sterilis, baron baro
begin incipio, biggin capital
batle pinguesco, battel prælium
beholding aspiciens, beholden obligatus
bor'd terebratus, boord tabula
bos't gibbus, boast glorior
bile ulcus, boil coquo
bawble nugæ, bable garrio

C

candid candidus, candied conditus sac-
charo
causeys viæ stratæ, causes causæ
carriion cadaver, carrying portans
champion pugil, champain campus
cittern cithara, citron citreum
collegue socius, colledg collegium
colors, colures coluri
copics exemplar, coppis nemus
curants uvæ corinthiæ, currents amnes
crown corona, coroner, crowner quæstor
craven pusillanimus, craving rogatus

D

Dauphin primogenitus regis Galliæ,
dolphin delphinus
decent decens, descent descensus
doer actor, door ostium

E

exercise exerceo, exorcise conjuro

F

fellows socii, fellies apsidæ
file limo, foil sterno
fence sepimentum, fenns paludes
find invenio, fiend daemon
flax linum, flakes flocculi
floor pavementum, flower flos, flour
pollen
fold plico, foal'd peperit equa
froiz vel phrase fricta, phrase phrasis

G

glister mico, glyster vel clyster
garner granarium, gardian gardianus,
gardener hortulanus

H

hence hinc, hens gallinæ
home domus, whom quem
hollow cavus, hallow sanctifico
hose caliga, whose cujus

I

idol idolum, idle ignavus
employ impendo, imply intimo
ingenious ingeniosus, ingenuous in-
genuus
inure assuesco, in your in vestrâ
juice succus, joice transtrum

L

lain positus, lane viculus
latin latinitas, lattin orichalcum
lettice lactuca, lattice transenna
leasour locator, lesser minor
laud laudo, out-law'd proscriptus
leaf folium, leave libertas

M

may'st possis, mast malus
medal sigillum fusile, medle tracto
mines fodinæ, minds mentes
mole talpa, mold humus
moan gemo, mown messus
mover messor, more plus
melon melo, million 1000000 sive
centum myriades
mote atomos, moth tineæ
mile miliaria, moil laboro

N

neigh hinnio, nay non

P

*pallat pallatum, pallet grabatus
parasite parasitus, parricide homicidium
parson pastor, person persona
patent literæ patentes, patine patina,
pattens subcalceus
peece frustum, peace pax, peas pisa
place locus, plaice passer marinus
poplar populus, popular popularis
potion potio, portion dos
president exemplum, precedent precedens
princes principes, princess princess
principal principalis, principle principium
price pretium, prize præda
prowess virtus, prose prosa
pulls vellit, pulse pulsus*

Q

quean scrapta, queen regina

R

*race progenies, raze oblittero
rice oryza, rise orior, rise origo
wrote scripsi, wrought operatus
raiser suscitator, rafer novacula
royal regalis, rial nobilis rosatus
rough asper, roof palatum tectum*

S

*saphire saphirus, safer tutior
seam sutura, scheme schema
cease cesso, cess taxo
ceased cessatus, seized apprehensus
serious serius, serous serosus
shire comitatus, shear tondeo, share
partio
sighs suspiria, sithes falces messoria
sows sues, souse omasum
sex sexus, sets divisiones
sorel trimus, sorrel acetosa*

*spies emissarii, spice aromata
sauvs serræ, sauce condimentum
soled solea affixa, sold venditus
sound sanus, swoon lypothimia
sore ulcus, sower sator, sour acidus,
swore iuravi
seal sigillum, seel camero
steak offula, stake depignero
symbol -um, cymbal -um
stricter severior, stricture ligamentum*

T

*tongs forceps, tongues lingua
treatise tractatus, treaties pacta
throw't projice istud, throat jugulum*

V

*vale vallis, vail velum
value valor, volley bombardarum simul
explosio
vane triton, vain vanus
vitals vitalia, victuals victus*

W

*wer't esses, wart verruca
wile stratagema, wild indomitus
whey serum, way via*

Y

*your vester, euer aqualis
yield præbeo, guild gild societas inaura.*

Quædam ex his aliter scribuntur, nec in omnibus semper observatur eadem distinctio; scribitur enim gesses pitacia pro jesses; et gesses cum g dura vel guesses conjecturam facit; get jet jeat gagates, et get cum g durâ acquiri; gelosy jealousy jealousy zelotypia, girk jirk flagello, gelly jelly coagulum, etc. Corants corinths currants uvæ corinthiæ. Tantâ itaque ruderis mole semotâ; istam scripturam quæ nativam scribendi rationem, et linguæ analogiam maximè adstruit; elegi.

§ 3. Conjectured Pronunciation of DRYDEN, with an Examination of his Rhymes.

Dryden was born in 1631 and died in 1700. The date of his pronunciation, acquired when he was a young man, therefore coincided with the publication of Wallis's grammar, 1653. But as his chief poetical works did not appear till much later, it is possible that he took advantage of the change of pronunciation going on to give greater freedom to his rhymes. Still his own pronunciation must certainly be looked upon as that of Wallis or Wilkins. As

Wallis is the last of those who advocate the use of (yy) in English to the exclusion of (iu), it will be perhaps safest to assume that Dryden agreed with Wilkins and subsequent orthoepists, in saying (iu) and not (yy). He lived at a time during which long *a* passed from (ææ) to (ee), but he most probably retained his youthful habit (ææ) to the last. His use of *e*, *ea* could not have inclined more to (ii) than Jones's, perhaps not so much. But we may perhaps assume that all the words with *ea* collected above, p. 86, were generally pronounced with (ii), though in any case of necessity they retained their older sound of (ee). He probably read *ai*, *ei* always as (ee) or (EE).

With regard to Dryden's rhymes, the notices on p. 87 shew that, although he allowed himself much liberty, they were not so imperfect as our present pronunciation would lead us to conclude. But as those notes referred to a particular case of *ea*, it will be convenient here to review the rhymes in one of Dryden's most finished poems. For this purpose I select the first part of *Absalom and Achitophel*, containing about 1000 lines, written in 1681, just about the time (1685) that Cooper published his grammar.

1. *W* did not act on the following *a* to labialise it, so that *wand land*, *war's scars*, are perfect rhymes (wænd lænd, wærz skærz), and in *care war*, *declar'd barr'd* (kæær wær, deklæærd bærd) we have only a long and short vowel rhyming, as is constantly the case. *Embrac'd taste* rhymed perfectly as (embrææst· tææst), not according to our present pronunciation.

2. With *proclaim rhyme name fame tame*, that is, according to Cooper, (-æem) rhymes to (-ææm), or, if we give the older pronunciation, (-æem) rhymes to (-ææm), which was certainly sufficiently close for Dryden, who may even have called the first (-æim). There are only three such lines in the whole piece.

3. The rhymes *theme dream*, *please these*, *break weak*, *great repeat*, *bear heir*, are perfect (ee, ee). Again, *fears ears*, *fear hear* are perfect (ii, ii). But *fear bear* (ii, ee) is imperfect, unless he here took the liberty of giving *fear* its older sound (feer). In the rhyme *sparcs tears* (ææ, ii), he may have also taken the liberty to say (teerz). The rhymes *care bear*, *wear care*, (ææ, ee), were sufficiently close for Dryden. *Appear where* (ii, ee) present a decidedly bad rhyme, unless he chose to say (whiir), which is possible, as the pronunciation still exists dialectally.

4. The group *years petitioners*, *fears pensioners*, *please images*, *please griev-*

ances, *great yet*, *supreme them*, *declaim Jerusalem them*, must all be considered forms of (ee, e), or long and short vowels rhyming, although at that time *years fears* were (jiirz, fiirz). In *receive prerogative* (ee, i), *sweet fit* (ii, i), the intention was the same, the wide (i) being made to do duty as either (e) or (i).

5. *Civil devil* was a perfect rhyme (i, i); but *sense prince*, *pretence prince*, (e, i), seem to point to a well-known Irishism, and the close connection of Irish pronunciation with the xviiith century leads us to suppose that such words would be generally accepted as rhymes.

6. The Y final seems to have been doubtful in value. From Spenser's time to our own we have found poets taking the liberty to rhyme it as (ai) or (ii), and as the Irish of the present day are said to pronounce final *y* as (ii), we may, as usual, presume that this pronunciation was rife in the xviiith century. In the present poem we have *y* final taken as (ii) in *free liberty*, *be democracy*, *decree royalty*, *me liberty*, *degree university*, *be lunacy*; and as (ai) in *tie posterity*, *sky nativity*, *why property*, *wise enemies*, *by husbandry*, *cry theocracy*, *eye royalty*, *high extremity*, *despise indignities*, *cry tyranny*, *die posterity*, *high destiny*, *I liberty*, *cry liberty*, *try anarchy*, *by company*.

7. The following rhymes were per-

fect (ei, ai) according to a prevalent use in the xvii th century, *smiles toils, design join, join coin*. Gill gives (wæind) for wind, *ventus*, and poets have always taken the liberty to rhyme it, as Dryden does, with *bind, behind*. The rhyme *flight height* was perfect (ei, ai) according to Miegé, but Cooper has (hæet), Jones (hæet, heeth). Clearly there was a diversity of pronunciation of which the poet availed himself.

8. The (oo) of the xvi th century, when generated by a following *l* or *w*, was so often considered as (oo) by the orthoepists of the xvii th century, although the usage varies, that we need feel no surprise at the rhymes *soul pole, grown throne, own throne, mould bold, overthrow foe, soul control, blow forego*. But *gold sold, gold old*, were at that time (guuld, oould oould oold), and the rhymes belong to the same category as *choose depose, poor more* = (uu, oo), (though, as the Expert Orthographist, 1704, says that *poor* is pronounced as *o* long, the two last words may have been perfect rhymes to Dryden), or *good load, shook broke yoke, look spoke* = (u, oo), of which *took flock* = (u, A), would scarcely be deemed a variant. Cooper heard *blood, flood* as (blud, flud), so that that pronunciation must have been sufficiently prevalent to pass the rhyming of *blood* with *flood, wood, good*. And as a *wound* is still often called a (wæund), we need not wonder at finding *bound wound*.

9. No distinction was made in rhyme between (eu, iu), if indeed the distinction had not become altogether obsolete. Poets allow (iu, uu) to rhyme, considering the first as (iuu) or (juu), but the fact that they are now felt not to be genuine rhymes at once discredits the common theory that long *u* is now (juu). The first element receives so much stress that it cannot degenerate into (j). Accordingly we find the rhymes *anew pursue, Jews accuse, few true, muse choose, rul'd cool'd*.

10. The rhyme *remove love* was at that time perfect in some mouths as (æ, æ), but *thong tongue, song strung*, were probably quite imperfect as (A, æ), although (thæq, tæq) may still be occasionally heard, and in some dialects all these words end in (-æq). But *son crown* (søn kræun) was altogether unjustifiable at that period.

11. The *r* seems to have excused many indifferent rhymes. *Afford sword*, which now rhyme as (æfoord soord), then rhymed as (æfuurd suurd), but *affords words, mourn'd return'd*, were (uu, æ), *sword lord, court sort*, were (uu, A), *scorn return, born turn*, were (A, æ), *board abhor'd, restor'd lord*, were (oo A). *First curs'd* was probably perfect as (æ æ). *Art desert* was perhaps considered a perfect rhyme. In *none Absalom* the vowels perhaps agreed as (oo), but as the consonants were different, the result is only an assonance.

The following rhymes of Dryden, and other authors, who, having acquired their pronunciation in the xvii th century, must be reckoned in that period for the present purpose, have been taken from the appendix to Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, where they are given as "allowable rhymes," or Prof. Haldeman's Felix Ago (suprà p. 866 note), where they are cited as anomalies. The authors with their dates are as follows:

Addison, 1672—1719.
Blackmore, 1650—1729.
Butler, 1612—1680.
Cowley, 1618—1667.
Crashaw, d. 1650.
Creech, 1659—1700.
Davenant, 1605—1668.
Dryden, 1631—1700.
Garth, 1672—1719.
Granville, 1667—1735.

Herrick, 1591—1674.
Milton, 1608—1674.
Oldham, 1653—1683.
Philips, 1676—1708.
Parnell, 1679—1717.
Prior, 1664—1721.
Roscommon, 1633—1684.
Rowe, 1673—1718.
Waller, 1605—1687.
Wycherley, 1640—1715.

The rhymes are arranged, very nearly, in the same categories as those just considered, and the numbers prefixed to the groups will therefore generally be sufficient to point out their nature. This

review will shew, that it would not be possible to infer identity of vowel sound in apparently rhyming words in the xvii th century.

1. Wan man, *Dryden*. care war, *Garth*. hard reward, *Parnell*. prepares Mars, *Granville*. marr'd spar'd, *Waller*. plac'd last, *Dryden*. haste last, *Waller*. made bad, *Dryden*. This is the common rhyme of a long and short vowel (ææ, æ).

2. Complaint elephant, *Prior*. faint pant, *Addison*. These differ only from proclaim name in having the second vowel (æ) short, instead of (ææ) long.

3. They sea, *Dryden*. defeat great, *Garth*. great heat, *Parnell*. neat great, *Parnell*. please ease images, *Wycherley*. praise ease, *Parnell*. train scene, *Parnell*. steal fail, *Parnell*. bears shears, *Garth*—are all practically perfect (ee, ee) or (ee, EE). State treat, *Dryden*. errs cares, *Prior*. retreat gate, *Parnell*. place peace, *Parnell*. theme fame, *Parnell*. are wear, *Wycherley*—are only (ee, ææ). here share, *Garth*. years shares, *Garth*. hear air, *Milton*—may have been taken as (ee, ææ) and (ee, ee), instead of (ii, ææ) and (ii, ee).

4. Ear, murderer, *Dryden*. great debt, *Dryden*. express cease, *Dryden*. rest feast, *Dryden*. contemns streams, *Dryden*. dress'd feast, *Dryden*. express cease, *Dryden*. eat regret, *Prior*. digest feast, *Prior*. reveal tell, *Prior*. east, west, *Addison*. threats beats, *Creech*—are all cases of (ee, e) or long and short vowels rhyming. chin unclean, *Dryden*, uses (i) for (e). distress place, *Garth*, uses (ææ) for (ee). compelled field, *Dryden*. held field, *Garth*. well steel, *Dryden*. freed head, *Dryden*—have (ii, e) for (ee, e).

5. Dress'd fist, *Dryden*. flesh dish, *Dryden*. heaven given, *Prior*—are the usual (e, i).

6. See energy, *Roscommon*.

7. Defile spoil, *Dryden*. declin'd join'd, *Dryden*. decline disjoin, *Garth*. join design, *Butler*. vine join, *Cowley*—were perfect rhymes; and weight flight, *Dryden*, may be compared with height flight.

8. Doom Rome, *Butler*. throne gone, *Dryden*. load abroad, *Dryden*. food good, *Parnell*—were probably perfect rhymes, and : stood blood, *Butler*, *Dryden*, may have been so, but: floods gods, *Dryden*. along hung, *Dryden*—were anomalous, yet evidently not felt as very bad; to these belong: strow'd blood, *Dryden*. rode blood, *Dryden*. and: sow plough, *Dryden*. shew bough, *Dryden*. inclose brows, *Dryden*. flow'd vow'd, *Dryden*. plow low, *Philips*. stone down, *Waller*, were perhaps felt as (oo ou) rather than (oo ou), and were therefore not far from (uu, ou) in: soon town, *Dryden*. you allow, *Blackmore*. now you, *Crashaw*. pow'r secure, *Garth*, so that they connect the former with: grout shut, *Dryden*. proud blood, *Garth*, or (ou, æ). The rhyme (oo, uu) or (oo, u) is found in: home Rome, *Butler*. looks provokes, *Dryden*. gone soon, *Dryden*. store poor, *Dryden*. throne moon, *Dryden*. look yoke, *Dryden*. spoke took, *Prior*. Rome home, *Rowe*. door poor, *Parnell*. shoals, fools, *Garth*.

9. No example.

10. In: rock smoke, *Dryden*, which was really (A, oo), the intention was (o, oo), and this led readily to tolerating (æ, oo) or (æ, uu) in: home plum, *Dryden*. home comb gum, *Dryden*. come home, *Herrick*. struck oak, *Dryden*. grove love, *Garth*. moves loves *Waller*. come Rome, *Dryden*. come Rome, *Butler*. come Rome, *Garth*. shut foot, *Davenant*.

11. Heard bard, *Garth*, was perfect; but curd hoard, *Philips*. forth worth, *Dryden*. where clear, *Prior*. cord bird, *Dryden*—show the influence of r.

12. The following seem rather to be oversights than intentional anomalies: ground swoon, *Dryden*. unbought draught, *Dryden*. form man, *Dryden*. wish bliss, *Dryden*. views boughs, *Addison*. tree by, *Oldham*. I she, *Oldham*.

The character of the good parson has been selected as a specimen of the conjectured pronunciation of Dryden, because it can be compared directly with the original of Chaucer, Chapter VII, p. 704, both as to matter and sound, and Dryden's version scarcely differs from Chaucer's more in the first than in the second, if the results of the preceding investigation be adopted,

Æ Gʊd Pær'sn,

im·itææted fram TshAA·sər ænd enlær·dzhd.

Æ pær'ish priist wæz af dhe pɪl·grɪm tʁeen;
 Æn AA·fʊl, rev'rend, ænd relɪdzh·əs mæn.
 Hɪz ɔɪz dɪfɪuzd· æ ven·əræbl græəs,
 Ænd tshær·itɪ itsɛlf· wæz in hɪz fæəs. 4
 Rɪtsh wæz hɪz sool, dhoo hɪz ætəɪr· wæz puur;
 (Æz GAd hæd kloodhd hɪz oon æmbæs·ædər,)
 FAr sətsh an ɛrth hɪz blɛst Redii·mər boor.
 :Af sɪks·tɪ ɹiɪrz hii siimd; ænd wɛl mɔit læst 8
 Tu sɪks·tɪ moor, bət dhæt hii lɪvd tuu fæst;
 Refəɪnd· hɪmsɛlf· tu sool, tu kɔrb dhe sens,
 Ænd mæəd AAlmoost· æ sɪn af æb'stɪnens.
 Jɛt hæd hɪz æs·pɛkt nɛth·ɪq af sevɛɛr, 12
 Bət sətsh æ fæəs æz pram·ɪst hɪm sɪnsee r.
 Nɛth·ɪq rezɛrvd· ar səl·en wæz tu sii,
 Bət swiit regæərdz· and pleez·ɪq sæqk·tɪtɪi:
 Məɪld wæz hɪz æk'sent, ænd hɪz æk'shən frii. 16
 Wɪth el·okwɛns innææt hɪz tɔq wæz æərmd,
 Dhoo hærsʰ dhe pree·sept, jɛt dhe pree·tshər tshæərmd.
 FAr, lɛt·ɪq doun dhe guuld·n tsheen fram hɔi,
 Hii driu hɪz au·diens ɔp·wɔrd tuu dhe skɔi: 20
 Ænd aft wɪdh hoo·lɪ hɪmz hii tshæərmd dheer ɹiɪrz,
 (Æ miu·zɪk moor meloo·diəs dhæn dhe sfeerz).
 FAr Dææ·vɪd lɛft hɪm, when hii went tu rest,
 Hɪz læɪər; ænd æft·ər hɪm, hii sɔq dhe best. 24
 Hii boor hɪz greet komɪsh·ən in hɪz lʊk,
 Bət swiit·lɪ tɛmp·ərd AA, ænd saft·nd AAl hii spook.
 Hii pree·tsht dhe dzhaɪz af hev·n ænd peenz af hɛl,
 Ænd wærnd dhe sɪn·ər wɪth bekəm·ɪq zeel; 28
 Bət an ɛtɛrnæl mer·sɪ lɔvd tu dwɛl.
 Hii tAAt dhe gas·pel rædh·ər dhæn dhe lAA,
 Ænd foorst hɪmsɛlf· tu drɔɪv·, bət lɔvd tu drAA.
 FAr fiir bət friiz·ez məɪndz; bət lɔv lɔɪk heet, 32
 :Egzæælz· dhe sool səblɛɪm tu siik hɔr nææ·tɪv seet.

Tu thrɛts dhe stəb·ərn sɪn·ər aft ɪz hæərd:
 Ræpt in hɪz krɛɪmz, ægeenst dhe starm prepæərd·;
 Bət when dhe məɪld·ər beemz af mer·sɪ pleɛ, 36
 Hii mɛltz, ænd throoz hɪz kəm·brəs klook æwɛɛ.
 Lɔit·nɪq ænd thən·dər (hev·nz ærtɪl·ərɔɪ).
 Æz hæər·bɪndzhɔrz bɪfoor· dh- :AAlmɔi·tɪ flɔi:
 Dhooz bət prɔkleem· hɪz stɔɪl, and disæpiɪr, 40
 Dhe stɪl·ər sɔund sɔksiɪdz·, ænd GAd ɪz dheer.

Dhe tɔɪdʰz hɪz pær·ish frii·lɪ peɛd, hii tʊk,
 Bət nev·ər siud, ar kɔrst wɪth bɛl ænd bʊk;
 Wɪth pææ·shens beer·ɪq rɑq, bət Af·rɪq noon, 44
 Sɪns ev·rɪ mæn ɪz frii tu luuz hɪz ooun.

Dhe kən'trɪ tʃhɜrlz, ækɑr'dɪq tuu dheer kəɪnd,
 (Huu grədʒh dheer diuz, ænd lɒv tu biɪ bihəɪnd;)
 Dhe les hɪi saat hɪz ɑfrɪqz, pɪnsht dhe moor,
 And prɛɛzd æ priɪst kɑntən'ted tu bi puur. 48

Jet ɑf hɪz lɪt'l hɪi hæd sɒm tu spæær,
 Tu fiɪd dhe fæm'ɪsht, ænd tu klɒðh dhe bæær;
 Fɑr mɑr'tɪfɔɪd hɪi wæz tu dhæt dɪgrɪi,
 Æ puur'ər dhæn hɪɪmsɛlf hɪi wud nat sɪi. 52
 Triu priɪsts (hɪi sɛɛd), ænd preetʃ'ərz ɑf dhe wɜrd,
 Wɜr ɔɔn'li stɪu'ərdz ɑf dheer sɒv'ren lɑrd;
 Nɛth'ɪq wæz dheerz, bɛt ɑɑl dhe pɒb'lɪk stoor,
 ɪntrəs'ted rɪtʃ'əz tu reliɪv dhe puur;
 Huu, ʃhʉd dheɛ stɛɛl, fɑr wɛnt ɑf hɪz reliɪf,
 Hɪi dʒhədʒhd hɪɪmsɛlf ækɑm'plɪs wɪðh dhe θɪɪf. 56

Wɔɪd wæz hɪz pæər'ɪʃh, nat kɑntræk'ted kloos 60
 ɪn striɪts, bɛt hɪɪr ænd dheer æ stræg'lɪq hæus;
 Jet stɪl hɪi wæz æt hænd, wɪðəʉt' rekʉest',
 To sɛrv dhe sɪk, tu sæk'ər dhe dɪstrest',
 Temp'tɪq, ɑn fut, æloɔn, wɪðəʉt' æfrɔɪt', 64
 Dhe dææn'dʒhərz ɑf æ dærk tempes'tɪʉəs nɔɪt.

:Aɑl dhɪs dhe gud ɔɔld mæn pɜfɔɔrmd' æloɔn;
 Nɑr spæærɪd hɪs pɛɛnz; fɑr kɪu'rææt hæd hɪi noon;
 Nɑr dɜrst hɪi trɛst ænəð'ər wɪðh hɪz kæær;
 Nɑr rood hɪɪmsɛlf tu Poolz, dhe pɒb'lɪk fɛər,
 Tu tʃhæf'ər fɑr pɜfɛr'mɛnt wɪðh hɪz guuld,
 Wheer bɪʃh'əprɪks and sɔɪ'nɪkiʉrz ər soold;
 Bɛt diu'li wɛtsht hɪz flæk bæi nɔɪt ænd deɛ,
 Ænd frɑm dhe prəu'lɪq wʉlf rediɪmd' dhe pɛɛ, 72
 Ænd hæq'grɪ sɛnt dhe wɔɪ'li fæks æwɛɛ.
 Dhe prəʉd hɪi tææmd, dhe pen'ɪtɛnt hɪi tʃhiɪrd,
 Nɑr tu rebɪʉk' dhe rɪtʃh ɑfɛn'dər fiɪrd. 76
 Hɪz pɛetʃh'ɪq mɛtʃh, bɛt moor hɪz præk'tɪs rɑɑt,
 (Æ lɪv'ɪq sɛr'mɒn ɑf dhe triʉths hɪi tɑɑt:)
 Fɑr dhɪs bæi riʉlz sɛvɛər' hɪz lɔɪf hɪi skwæærɪd,
 Dhæt ɑɑl mɔɪt sɪi dhe dæk'trɪn wɪtʃh dheɛ hæærɪd. 80
 Fɑr priɪsts, hɪi sɛɛd, ər pɛt'ərnz fɑr dhe rest,
 (Dhe guuld ɑf hev'n, huu beer dhe Gɑd ɪmpɛst'.)
 Bɛt wɛn dhe pɜrɛʃh'əs kɔɪn ɪz kɛpt ɔnkleen',
 Dhe sɒv'reenz ɪm'ædʒh ɪz nɔɔ lɑq'gər sɪɪn. 84
 ɪf dheɛ biɪ fəʉl, ɑn huu dhɛ piɪp'l trɛst,
 Wɛl mɛɛ dhɛ bææs'ər bræs kɑntrækt' æ rɛst.

Dhe prɛl'ææt fɑr hɪz hoo'li lɔɪf hɪi prɛɪzd;
 Dhe wɜr'li pɒmp ɑv prɛl'æsi dɛspɔɪzd'.
 Hɪz Sææ'vɪər kææm nat wɪðh æ gɑɑ'di shoɔ,
 Nɑr wæz hɪz kɪq'dəm ɑf dhe wɜrld bilɔv'. 88

Pææ'shens in wænt, ænd pav'ərti af mæind,
 Dheez mærkz af tshərtsh ænd tshərtsh'men hii desəind',
 Ænd liv'iq taat, ænd dəi'iq left biihəind'. 92
 Dhe krəun hii woor wæz af dhe point'ed tharn;
 In pər'pl hii wæz krius'sfəid, nat barn.
 Dhee huu kantend' far plæəs ænd hoi digrii',
 Æær nat hiz sənz, bət dhoos af Zeb'edii. 96
 Nat bət hii niu dhē səinz af ərth'li pœur
 Məit wəl biikəm' seent Pii'tərz sək'sesər:
 Dhe hoo'li fææ'dhər hooldz æ dəb'l reən:
 Dhe prins mee kiip hiz pəmp—the fish'ər məst bii pleen. 100

Sətsh wæz dhe seent, huu shoən with ev'ri græəs,
 Reflekt'iq, Moo'zez-ləik, hiz Mææ'kərz fæəs.
 Gād sAA hiz im'ædzh ləiv'li wæz eksprest',
 Ænd his ooun wərk, æz in kreææ'shən blest. 104

It has not been considered necessary to add the original, as the orthography of the first edition was not readily accessible, and other editions are easily consulted.

As contrasted with the Shaksperian examples pp. 986–996, observe, the change of (a, aa) into (æ, ææ), the separation of (o, oo) into (ʌ, oo), the entire absence of (yy) and of the guttural (kh), the complete change of (ei) into (əi), and (ou) into (əu), with the absence of (ai, au), or rather their absorption into (ee, aa).

As contrasted with our modern pronunciation, observe the existence of (ææ), still heard in Bath and Ireland, in place of (ee, ee'j), the existence of words like (neet seet) v. 32, still heard in Ireland and the provinces, in place of (hiit siit), and similarly (seveer sinseer) v. 12, *these* (dheez), the broad (ee) which has quite given way to (ee, ee'j) except before (ɹ), where it does not usually exceed (ee), the pure (iir, oor, uur) in place of our modern (iiɹ, oor, uuiɹ). The use of (ʌ) in place of (o) is probably more theoretical than real; indeed many orthoepists still regard (o, ʌ) as identical. The clear (æ) after (w), as in (wær), not (war), is noticeable, together with a few special words, as: *of* (ʌf) still used by elderly speakers, *last fast* (læst fæst) still often used by refined speakers in the north, *golden* (guuld'n) still heard from elderly speakers, *artillery* (ærtil-ərəi) now hardly ever used in educated speech, *true* (triu), *truth* (triuth), *rule* (riul) not unfrequent, at least in intention, provincially, *sovereign* (səv'ren) an obsolescent but not quite obsolete pronunciation. *Paul's* (Poolz) is quite lost, and so is *worldly* (wər'li), at least in intention. Of course many peculiarities, as pointed out in the vocabulary, do not occur in this example, such as *-ture* (-tər). The transitional character of the pronunciation is very transparent.

CHAPTER X.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.§ 1. *Some English Orthoepists of the Eighteenth Century.*

The pronunciation of the XVIIIth century is peculiarly interesting as forming the transition to that now in use, and as being the "old-fashioned" habit of speech which we may still hear occasionally from octogenarians. Those who, like the author, can recollect how very old people spoke forty or fifty years ago, will still better understand the indications, unhappily rather indistinct, which are furnished by the numerous orthoepists of the latter half of the XVIIIth century. In the present section some of those which had not been consulted in Chap. III. will be noticed, and a specimen of Buchanan's pronunciation will be given. In the next, two American orthoepists will be considered. These are especially interesting, because the pronunciation preserved in New England is older than that of the mother-country.

To Mr. Payne I am indebted for an acquaintance with Lediard's Grammar, which devotes 270 pages to a consideration of English pronunciation and orthography in 1725. As the author had studied Wallis's treatise, and explains the pronunciation by German letters, it seems advisable to give rather a full account of his conclusions.

T. LEDIARD'S ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, 1725.

From: *Grammatica Anglicana Critica, oder Versuch zu einer vollkommenen Grammatic der Englischen Sprache, in welcher . . . eine neue Methode, die so schwer gehaltene Pronunciation in kurtzer Zeit zu erlangen, angezeigt . . . wird . . . durch Thomas Lediard, N.C.P. & Philol. Cult. Hamburg, 1725, 8vo. pp. 976, and 82 unnumbered introductory pages of dedication, preface, contents and laudatory German verses!*

In the preface he complains of Theod. Arnold, who, in his *Neue Engl. Grammatica*, Hanover, 1718, endeavours to distinguish the (to Lediard) identical vowel sounds in: *fear dear, heap cheap, meal deal, food root, mould shoulder*; while he confuses as identities the (to Lediard) distinct vowels in: *year pear, door blood, porter border, rash watch, dead heart, seize their,*

feign height, few new, fewel brewer, winter pint, mother modest, Rome come, good root, foot tooth, round mourn, could mould, youth young, fume tune, burn pull, pulse bull, due spue.

Lediard remarks that "the English pronounce more in the front of the mouth and softer, than the Germans, who rather use the back part of the mouth, while the French are intermediate. In rapidity the French are fastest, Germans slowest, and English intermediate." The following citations are abridgments, except when the words are between inverted commas, in which case they are full translations; the palaeotype and passages in [] are interpretations or interpolations.

A

I. 1. Long *a* like German *äh* or French *ai* in *mais*; [that is, (EE), in-

tended for (ææ), because he uses *ä* without the prolonging *h*, for a short in *glad*, *had*, yet this (ææ) is suspicious because of Wallis,] as *name* nähm, *shade* schähd, *face* fähs, etc. When unaccented, as short *ä* or *e*, [that is, (æ, e)], as *private* preivät, *courage* kurrädsch (kø'rædz), *desolate* dessolät. 2. *many* mähni, to *quadrate* quähdrähte [the *e* is not meant to be sounded], *Mary* Mähri, except *water* wahter, [ah should be (aa), but is meant for (AA)]. Observe *many* (mææ'nä). Only the principal examples are given.] 3. *huzza* hössäh (hø'sææ). 4. *plague* plähgh. 5. In *-ange*, as *change* tschähndsch, *range* rähdndsch, *angel* ändschel. In *angelical*, *orange* only as short *ä* (æ). 6. In *-aste* = ähst (ææst), as *chaste* paste, *haste*, *waste*.

II. Like German *a*, or rather more lengthened almost like German *ah*, [meant for (AA)], 1. in *-all* = ahl (-AA1), as *all*, *call*, *wall*, *small*. But *Mall* in the *mail* game, and *shall* have short *ä* (æ). 2. in derivatives as *already*, *walnut* wahnlot; but *challenge*, tschällendsch, *tallow*, tällo, *gallows* gällus [possibly (gæ'les) and not (gæ'lus), but observe *not* (gæ'looz), and see OW below], *callos* källus. 3. in *bald* bahld, *scalded* skählded. 4. in *walk* wahlk, *talk* tahlk, *chalk* tschahlk, but in these and similar words *l* is not heard in "rapid" pronunciation. 5. in *false*, *balsom*, *palsy*. 6. in *malt*, *salt*, *halt*, *exalt*, but *shall* schält. 7. in *-war* in one syllable, as *war*, *warm*, *toward* tuwährd (tuwAA'rd), *reward*, *warn*, *dwarf*; but in *warren*, *warrant* with a (A) short. 8. in *quart*, *quarter*.

III. These two principal sounds of *A* are long, and each has its short sound, as short *äh* and short *a* in German, thus: as short *ä* (æ) in *can*, *man*, *rash*, but as long a (AA) in *watch*, *was*, *wash* [meant for short (A), see V. below]. "The short *ä* (æ) really approaches short *a*, and has as it were a middle sound between *ä* and *a*, [that is, (æ)], lies between (æ) and (a),] and the difference is therefore best heard *ex usu* or from a native Englishman."

IV. Short *a* as a short *ä* (æ). 1. In monosyllables, as *glad*, *had*, *man*, *rash*, *hard* härd, *march* märtsch, *branch* bräntsch, *dance* däs [i.e. these words have short (æ)], and this generally before *r*, *n*]. 2. in derivatives German *Dschermän*, *gentleman* dschentelmän; *barley* bärli, *partridge* pätridsch,

chamber tschämber, [compare Moore's rhyme: *amber* chamber, *suprà* p. 859], 3. in *-arge*, *-chance*. 4, in *-al*, as *general* dscheneräl, *altar* altär. 5. in *a*-, as *again* ägän (ægæn) *abroad* äbrahd (æbrAA'd).

V. Short *a* is sometimes pronounced as German *a*, [properly (a), meant for (A) or (o)]. 1. After *qu*, as *qualify* qualifei, *quality* qualiti, [here (kwæ)] was certainly also in use, see vocabulary] *qualm* qualm, *quantity*, *quarrel*, *squabble*, *squander*. 2. after *w*, as *wad*, *wallow*, *wan*, *wand*, *wander*, *want*, *was*, *wash*, *watch*, *swab*, *swaddle*, *swallow*, *swan*. Except, *quack*, *quadrate*, *quag*, *quandary**, *quash**, *squash**, *waft**, *wag*, *waggon*, *wax*, which belong to IV., [that is have (æ); observe * words.]

E

I. Alphabetic name *ih* (ii) has the sound of long German *i*, and is then called *e* masculine. 1. in *-e*, as *be*, *he*, *me*, *she*, *we*, *ye* jih, except only *the*, which has short *e* (e), not to distinguish it from *thee*, but because it is always atonic. 2. in *e*- as *Eve*, *even*, *evil* ihvil, *Eden*, *Egypt*, *equal* ihqual. 3. before a following vowel, as *idea* eidihä, *Chaldeans*, *Deity*, *Mausoleum* mosolihum [probably (moosolihüm)]. 4. ending a syllable, as in *Peter* Pihter, etc. 5. in the following monosyllables *here* hier, *Mede* Mihd, *Crete* Kriht [compare Jones, 1701, *suprà* p. 85], a *mere*, to *mete*, *rere*, *admiral*, *scene* sihn, *scheme* skihm, *sphere*, *these* dhihs [pronoun]. "To these should be added *there*, *were*, *where*, which by bad habit are called dhähr, währ, hwähr." [Lediard was therefore of the school of the Expert Orthographist, *suprà* p. 88.] 6. in *adhere*, *austere* astihr, *blaspheme*, *cohere*, *complete*, *concede*, *concrete*, *convene*, *extreme*, *impede*, *intercede*, *interfere*, *Nicene*, *obscene* absihn, *precede*, *recede*, *replete*, *revere*, *severe*, *sincere*, *supersede*, *supreme*. Except *extremity*, *severity*, *supremacy*, *spherical*, *discretion*, etc., which have German *e* (e).

II. *E* masculine is pronounced short as German *i* [probably (i)], in Hamburg and North Germany (i) for (i) is common in closed syllables]. 1. in *em-en*, as *embark* imbärc, *encourage* inkurredsch, *English* Inglisch, *enjoy* indschai, *ensue* insu. Except *embers*, *emblem*, *embryo*, *emprour*, *emphasis*, *empire*, *empireal*, *encomiast*, *enmity*, *ennoble*, *enter*, *enthusiasm*, *entity*, *entrails*, *envoy*, *envy* and derivatives. 2.

Ending a first syllable, as *elect* ilect. Also in *yes*, *yesterday*, *devil*, *Sevil* [observe this (*is*, *dēvil*, *Sivil*), but (*jes*) occurs below]. 3. in *-e* when heard. 4. in the middle of polysyllables, "where it is read quite short, or is almost quite bitten off," as *atheist* äthtiist, *courteous* kortius, *every* eviri, *piety* peiti, *righteous* reitius, *sovereign* soviräin.

III. E feminine, like the French, only before *r*, where it has "an obscure sound almost like German *ö* (*œ*), or a very short obscure *e* as in *her*, *virtue*," etc.

IV. E neuter as German *e* [I interpret by (e), but really (ɐ) is common in Germany, as however Lediard uses *ä* confessedly (ɛ) for (æ), I think it best to sink (ɛ) altogether and use (æ, e) in the interpretations], as in *end*, etc. 1. in *-en* very short, bitten off, and little heard, as *open* op'n, *often* aft'n [observe the *t*]. 2. Short or elided in *-ed*.

V. [About *e* mute, *-le*, *-re*, genitive *-es*, etc.]

I

I. Long *i* as German *ei* [(ai), as many in England still pronounce, but we are not to suppose that Lediard would have distinguished (ai, ai, ahi, ai). The examples agree with present usage, except that *live-long* has *i* short in Lediard, and sometimes *i* long now]. "*Fivepence* is commonly but wrongly called *fippens*" (fip'ns?). In *child*, *mild*, *wild*, *find*, *bind*, *behind*, *kind*, *grind*, *blind* blind. But *build* bild, *guild* gild, *windlass* windlæss, *Windsor*, *rescind*. Use *i* when *ld*, *nd* belong to two syllables. Some call the *wind* wind, others *weind*. 4. before *gh* which is then mute. "The Scots, and some Northerners retain the guttural sound of *gh*, but this is considered a fault and should not be imitated. In *sigh*, *gh* is by some pronounced in the throat, but with a sound not unlike English *th*" [supra p. 213, note]. *Diamond* deymond [in two syllables]. 9. *Fire* feier, etc., but *shire* schihr, *cashire* kaschihr, *frontiere* frantihir [that is *cashier* (kashii'r), *frontier* (frantii'r)]. 10. *Christ* Kreist, *climb* kleim, *indictment* indeitment, *print* pint, *teeth* teith, *writh* reith [now (tæidh, reidh)].

II. [Short *i* generally possesses no interest. Notice] long *ih* (ii) in *Price* [explained as German *boy*, a kind of baize], *gentile* or *genteel*, *oblige* some

say obleidsch according to rule, *pique*, *shire*, *fatigue* fatiegg, *intrigue* intriegg.

III. A middle sound between French *e* feminine and German *ö*, before *r* only, as in *bird*, etc. In *sirrah*, *i* is almost pronounced as short *ä* (sær æ), in *hither*, *thither*, *arithmetic*, *mithridate*, the *i* before *th* is almost short *e*. The *i* is quite "swallowed" in *business* bisness, *chariot* tscherrot (tshe'r-öt), *carriage* kærredsch, *marriage*, *medicine* medsin, *parliament*, *ordinary* ahrdinärrī, *spaniel* spännel, *venison* vensen.

O

I. As a "long German *o* or *oh*, a Greek *ω*, or the French *au*" [probably (oo), possibly (oo), certainly not (oou)].

1. [The usual rule], as *alone* älohn, etc. Exc. *above*, *dove*, *glove*, *love*, *shove*, with "a short *u*, but somewhat obscure, almost as a middle sound between short *o* and short *u*" [that is, (ə, ʌ) as between (o, u).] Also except in *atome*, *come*, *custome*, *done*, *none*, [not (noon) but (nən)], *shone* (shən), *some*. Except when *o* sounds as long German *u* or *uh* (uu) in *behave*, *move*, *remove*, *prove*, *approve*, *disprove*, *improve*, *reprove*, *lose*, *done*, *Rome*, *whose*; and as *a* in *gone* gan (gan). 5. In *-dome*, *-some* as (ə). 3. Use *o* in *o*, *bo*, *fro*, *go*, *ago*, *ho*, *lo*, *mo*, *no*, *pro*, *so*, *to*, *unto*, *tho'* *altho'*; "the words *to*, *unto* seem to belong to the other rule [II. ?]; but as the majority bring them under this rule, I content myself with noting the difference" [this sound of *to* as (too) or (tə) should be noted, it is not uncommon still in America]. Except, *to* do, *two*, *who* with long *u* (uu); *twopence* is tuppens (tə'pns). Use *o* long [and not the diphthong (ou, ɔu)] in *old*, *bold*, etc., and *o* long, not short, [that is (oo) not (A, ɔ) or (AA)] in *ford*, *hord*, *sword*, *divorce*, *force*, *porch*, *forge*, *pork*, *form* a bench, *forlorn*, *shorn*, *sworn*, *torn*, *worn*, *forth*, *fort*, *port*, *deport*, *effort**, *export*, *import**, *purport**, *support**, *transport**, *sport*, except when the * words are accented, as by some, on the first syllable.

II. Short *o* like short German *o* [properly (o), or (ɔ), not (A) or (ɔ), and Lediard clearly means to distinguish the sounds]. 1. at the end of an unaccented syllable, as *absolute* äbsoluht, 2. in *o*-, as *obey* obäh, etc. 3. "In the beginning and middle of the following words, although they have the short accent, and must hence be

excepted from rule III.; *obit, ocean, omen, once, onion, oral, other, toward, towardly, associate.* [That is, these words have (o) or (o) short, not long, (oo), nor (ə), as some have now, and not (A, ɔ), as in the next rule.]

III. Short *o* is pronounced as "a short quick German *a*, not as M. Ludwig thinks from the palate, but from the throat, like German *a*, but short and quick" [properly (*a*), meant for (A) or (ɔ)]. 1. *on an, ox achs*, etc., except *omber, ombrage and only*. 2. in *com-, con-, contra-, cor-, non-*, except when *com-* is followed by *b* or *f*, as in *combat*, combine*, comfit, comfort*, etc., and also in *compact*, company, compass, compassion*, compatible*, compendious*, compile*, complexion*, comply*, compleat*, compliance*, etc.*, in which *o* is an obscure *u* (ə) [the * words have now (ə)]. In other words short *a* is used, as *competent kampakent, complement, comprehend*, etc. *Conduit kudit* (kə·ndit). 2. [Rules for *o* before two consonants as (A, ɔ)] except the following when *o* is a short *u* (ə), *borough, brother, chronicle*, colony*, colour, columbine*, cony, coral*, covenant, covet, dozen, florin*, govern, hony, money, mother, plover, sloven, smother*, [the * words have now (ə)] *woman* "in which *o* is not so obscurely uttered as in the others," except *women wimmen*. 5. [Much is passed over as of no interest, hence the numbers of the rules, which are those of the original for convenience of reference, are not always consecutive.] The short *u* (ə) is also heard in *affront, among, amongst, attorney, Monday, monger, mongrel, monkey, pommel* [as now].

IV. English *o* is pronounced as a short obscure *u* (ə). 1. in *-dom, -som*. 2. see exceptions to I. 1. 3. after *w*, as *wolf* [this and *woman* seem to belong to the same category, but *wood* is further on said to have short *u*, so that short *u* (*u*) and short obscure *u* (ə) are sometimes confused by Lediard], *won, wonder, word*, etc., except *wove wohv, won't wohnt, worn wohrn, wont want* [often (want)], *wot wat, womb wuhm*. 6. Rather short and obscure in the last syllables of *almond, bishop, buttock*, etc. 7. In *front* [some say (frɒnt) even now], *monk, month, son, sponge, gongue* [ʔ], *yoik* [ʔɔik] [ʔ].

V. English *o* is a long *u* or *uh* (u), 3. in *tomb, womb, whom*, and words otherwise excepted.

VI. "Finally English *o* is pronounced like German *e*, but very short, obscure and almost bitten off." 1. in *-on*, including *-ion, -or, -ot*, as *bacon bähken* or *bühk'n, button butt'n, lesson less'n, anchor ank'r, senator senat'r, faggot fagg't*. 2. in the terminations *-äron, -fron, -pron, -tron*, in which *ro* is pronounced as *er*, but rather quick and obscure, as *chaldron tshädern* [(tshæ·därn)?], *saffron saffern* [(sə·färn)?], *apron äpern, citron* sittern, patron* pätern* [no longer usual in the * words]. The *o* is almost mute in *damosel dämsel, faulconer fahkner, ordonnance ordnäns, poysonous, prisoner, reasoning, reckoning, rhetorick, seasonable*; and *one, once*, are *wun, wuns* (wən, wəns).

U

Rule (a.) Long *U* is pronounced *iu* (iú) after *b, c, f, g, h, j, m, p, s*, but *su* may sometimes be *suh*.

Rule (b.) Long *U* is a long German *u* or *uh* (uu) after *d, l, n, r, t*. In *gradual, valuable, annual, mutual*, *u* may be either *iu* or *uh*.

I. Long English *u* is pronounced as *iu, u*, or *uh*, more or less rapidly according to accent. 1. according to rule (a.) as *iu* in *abuse abjuhs, huge hjuhdsch, June Dschjuhn*, as *uh* in *seduce seduhs, exclude, minute minuht, rude, Brute, conclude, obtrude*. 2. as *iu* or rather *juh* (juu) in the beginning of words, as *union juhnion*. 3. except *ducat, punish, pumice, study, tuly* [ʔ], short and like obscure *o* (ə), in *busy bissi, bury berri*.

II. English short *u* has an obscure sound between German *u* short, and *o* short (ə) [in the usual places, I only mark a few]. 2. in *bulk, bumbast*; except where it is a German short *u* (*u*), as in *bull, bullace, bullet, bullion, bullock, bully, bulrush, bulwark, bush, bushel, butcher, cushion, full, fullage, fuller, fully, pudding, pull, pullet, pully* [all as now]. 3. in *-um, -us*.

III. English short *u* is very short, obscure, and almost like an obscure *e*, in *-ule, -ure*, as *glandule, globule, macule*, pustule, schedule, spatule, verule*; *adventure, benefacture, censure, conjecture, conjure** magically, *disposure, failure, future, grandure, inclosure, manufacture, nature, perjure*, posture, rapture, scripture, sculpture, tincture, torture, venture, verdure, vesture*, etc. [all now with (iu) except the * words occasionally]. Except *rule** and the following in *-ure*, which follow rule

(a.), *abjure, adjure, allure, assure, azure, conjure entreat, cure, demure, dure, endure, epicure, impure, insure, inure, lure, mature, obscure, procure, pure, secure, sure** [all now with (iu) except the * words (ruul, shuu.)].

[After thus going through the vowels by the spelling, he proceeds to describe their formation; but as he has scarcely done more than translate Wallis, apparently ignorant that Wallis's pronunciation was a century older, I feel it useless to cite more than the following remark in an abbreviated form.] "According to Mr. Brightland and others, the English express the sound of French *u* by their long *u*, and sometimes by *eu* and *ew*. I cannot agree with this opinion, for although the English perhaps do not give the full sound of German *u* to their long *u* after *ä, l, n, r, t*, yet their sound certainly approaches to this more closely than to the French *u*, which has induced me to give the German *u* as its sound, contrary to the opinion of some writers. After other consonants English long *u* is *iu*, and has nothing in common with French *u*."

Digraphs.

Æ, as *ih* or *ie* (ii) in: *æra ihra, Cæres, Cæsar ssihsä, perincum*, etc.; as *e* (e) in *æquinox, equinox, æstival, cæcity, calibate, quæstor, premunire*, etc.; as *i* short, when unaccented, in *æquator, æquilibrium, æquinozial, ænigmatical*.

AI, "as *äh* or English long *a*, with a little aftersound of a short *i*" [is this from Wallis, *suprà* p. 124? it is very suspicious]. 1. in *aïd ähd, ail, aim, air*, etc. 2. in *affair affähr, bail, complain*, etc. Except as *e* (e) in *again, against, wainscot wennskät*; as short *ä* (æ) in *railly rälli, railyery räleri*; as long *e* (ee) in *raisins rehins*, and as *ie* (ii) in *chair tshier* (tshii). As a short *e* or *i* or a sound between them in the middle or end of words, especially in *-ain*, as *complaisance kamplisäns* (komplisæns), *curtail körtil* (kærtil), *captain käptin*, *chamberlain tshämberlin* (tshæmberlîn), *fountain, mountain, plantain, purstain, villain*, etc. *Afraid* is erroneously called *äferd* (æfiird).

AU. I. like *ah* (AA) in *audience, vault*, etc.; like *äh* [(ææ), marked long] in *avunt ähnt, daughter* [P], *davunt dähnt*, *draught drähft, flaunt, haunt, jaunt, laugh, santer, taunt, vaunt*; like short

a (A, o) in *fauzet fasset, sausage säsidsch* (sø'sidzh). Some call *St. Paul's Church* Pohls Tschortsch, but it is a pure corruption of pronunciation among the vulgar [but see *suprà* p. 266]. II. unaccented, like short German *a*, as *causality kasälliti*.

AW as AU, but *Lawrence* is Larrens.

AY as AI, in *Sunday, Monday*, etc., the *ay* is very short, almost like a short *e* or *i*, as also in *holy-day hallide* (ho'lide.)

EA. I. The commonest pronunciation of *ea* is that of German *ih* or *ie* (ii), when long and accented, als *appeal, appease, bead, bequeath, cheap, conceal, dear, de cease, eat, entreat, feast, feaver, grease, hear, heave, impeach, leaf, league, mead, measels, near, pea, peace, queaziness, reap, reason, sea, season, teach, treason, veal, veal, weak, weapon*, yea*, year, zeal*, etc. [see *suprà* p. 88, observe the * words.] "Most grammars err greatly in the pronunciation of this diphthong, but rather where this first rule applies, than where, in the opinion of some, *ea* should be pronounced *eh* (ee). Perhaps, as Mr. Brightland observes, this, with an aftersound of English *a*, was the old natural pronunciation. I know also that at the present day *ea* is so pronounced in the north of England. For the usual pure pronunciation of English, however, it is a *vitium*. . . . How Herr König, . . . who had been established for many years as a teacher of languages in London, could have missed it, I cannot understand." Except in *bear, beard*, break, earl*, early*, great, pear, steaks, swear, wear*, which are pronounced with long *e* (ee). [Observe the * words.] II. Short, or unaccented, like short German *e* (e), as, *already, bread, cleanse, dead, endeavour, feather, head, lead, leather, lineage* [P], *meadow, pleasure, potsheard, realm, sergeant, steady, tread, treasure, wealth, weather*. III. But if short *ea* is followed by *r*, it is called *ä* (æ), as *earn* ärn*, wrongly pronounced *jern* (jörn) by some, *earnest*, earth*, hearken, heart, hearth, learn*, pearl**, etc. [Observe the * words.]

EAU, is *juh* (juu) in *beauty biuhti*, etc., but *beau* is *boh* (boo).

EE, generally long, as *ih, ie* (ii), as in *bleed blihd*, etc.; short or unaccented as short *i* (i) in *been* bin, creek* krick, breech, screech* owl skritsch-aul, sleek*, three-pence, coffee, committee*, congee, eleemosinary, floree, levee*, pedigree**,

*Pharisee**, *raree-show*, *Saducee**; [Observe the * words, here and in future.]

EI, 1. as *ih* or *ie* (i) in *conceit*, *conceive*, *deceit*, *deceive*, *inveigle** *invihgel*, *leisure**, *perceive*, *receit*, *receive*, *seize* [observe * words]; 2. as *eh* (ee), or as some say *äh* (æ) in *deign*, *eight*, *feign*, *freight*, *heinous*, *heir*, *inveigh*, *neigh*, *neighbour*, *reign*, *rein*, *streight* *straight* *strait*, *their*, *vein*, *weigh*, *weight*. 3. as *ei* (ai) in *eilet-hole*, *height*, *sleight* *slight*. 4. as short *e* (e) in *either*, *edher*, *neither* *nedher*, *foreign* *farren*, *heifer*. 5. as short *i* (i) in *counterfeit*, *forfeit*, *surfeit*, *seignior*.

EO (e) in *Geoffrey* *Dscheffri*, *jeopardy*, *leopard*, (ii) in *people*, (AA) in *George* *Dschahrdsch*; *yeoman* *jemman* or *jie-man* (*je'man*, *jii'man*).

EU, EW, as long U, namely (iu) or (uu) according to preceding consonant, but in *chew**, *sew*, *shew*, *sewer*, by some as *oh* (oo).

EY, accented as (ee) in *convey*, *grey*, *obey*, *prey*, *purvey*, *survey*, *they*, *whew*; as (ai) in *cylet-hole*, *hey-day**; and as (ii) in *key*; unaccented as (i) in *abbey* *abbi*, etc.

EYE, as (ai) in *eye*.

IE. I. as (ai) in *erie*, *die*, *drie*, *fie*, *lie*, *pie*, *tie*, *trie*, *vie*, etc.; *cries*, etc.; *to allie*, *certifie*, *desie*, *denie*, etc.; II. as (ii) in *aggrive*, *atchieve*, *believe*, *believe*, *chief*, *cieling*, *field*, *grief*, *grieve*, *liege*, *mischievous* (*mistshii'vas*), *piece*, *relieve*, *shriek*, *thief*, *thieve*, *wieldy*, *yield*, longer in the verbs in *-ieve*, than in the substantives in *-ief*. As short (i) in *mischief*, *orgies*, *friend**. *Handkerchief* *hänkerteher*. III. as short (i) in *armie*, *bodie*, etc., better written with *-y*.

IEU, only in foreign words, as (iu) in *lieu*, *adieu*, as (ii) in *monsieur**, and as (if) in *lieutenant**.

IEW also as (iu), as in *view* *viuh*.

OA as (oo) in *abroach*, etc.; as AA in *broad*, *abroad*, *groat* *grah*; as (æ) in *goal*, *goaler*, which [according to Lediard, p. 94, n. 55] is the right spelling, not *gaol*; as (A) short, in *oatmeal** *atmihl*, and as *e* (ə) in *cupboard* *cobbert*.

OE, initial as (ii), as *oeconomy*; final as (oo), as *croe* [a crow-bar], *doe*, *foe*, *roe*, *sloe*, *toe*, *woe*; as (uu) in *canoe*, *to coe* [to coo], *shoe*, *to woe* [to woo].

OI, OY, "are pronounced as *ay* [possibly (a+ai), meaning (ai)] in one sound," as *avoid*, *boisterous*, *choice*, *cloister*, *exploit*, *moist*, *noise*, *oister*, *poise*, *rejoice*, *soil*; *boy* *baey*, *coy*, *destroy*, *employ*, *hoboy* [*hautbois*], *joy*, *toy*, *Troy*,

etc. Except as *ei* (ai) in *ainoint* *aneint*, *appoint* *appeint*, *boil* *beil*, *broil* *breil*, *coil* *keil*, *coin* by some *kuoin* (*kwain*), *embroil*, *foil*, *hoist*, *join*, *joint*, *joiner*, *jointure*, *joist*, *loin*, *loiter*, *point*, *poison*, *rejoinder*, *spoil*, *toilet* by some *tueilet* (*twai-let*).

OO never at end of a word except *too*; long as (uu) in *aloof*, *galoon*, *patacoo*, etc.; as (oo) in *door*, *floor*, *moor* *mohr*; short as (u) in *book*, *brook*, *foot*, *forsooth*, *good*, etc. [as now]; as short *o* (ə) in *blood*, *flood* sometimes written *bloud*, *floud*. *Swoon* *ssaun* [(*saun*), or (*swaun*)] *?* which is common now] and its derivatives.

OU. I. long and accented as German *au* (au), in *about*, *doughty*, *drought**, *plough*, *a wound**, etc. Except as *o* or *oh* (oo) in *although*, *boulster*, *boult*, *controul*, *course*, *court*, *courtier*, *discourse*, *dough*, *four*, *fourth*, *jowl**, *joult*, *mould*, *mouldy*, *mourn*, *moult*, *moulder*, *poulterer*, *poultice*, *poultry*, *to pour*, *recourse*, *shoulder*, *slough** a bog, for *slow*, not quick, has a *u*, *soul*, *souldier*, *though*; and as long *a* or *ah* (AA) in *fourty*, *fourtieth*, *cough*, *trough*, *bought*, *brought*, *nought*, *ought*, *sought*, *thought*, *wrought*; and as long *u* or *uh* (uu) in *to accoutre*, *bouge**, *cartouch*, *could*, *gouge*, *groupe*, *rendevous*, *should*, *surtout*, *through*, *would*, *you*, *your*, *youth*. It is now customary to write *cou'd*, *show'd*, *wou'd* and pronounce as *cood*, *shood*, and *wood* with the short accent. *Coup*, *scoup*, *soup*, *troup* are now written with *oo*. II. as an obscure *u* or middletone between *o* and *u* (ə), 1. in *adjourn*, *bloud* *blood*, *country*, *couple*, *courage*, *double*, *enough*, *floud* *flood*, *flourish*, *journy*, *nourish*, *rough*, *scourge*, *touch*, *tough*, *trouble*, *young*. 2. In *-our*, *-ous* as *armour*, *behaviour* *behähviur*, *courteous* *kurtius*, *dubious* *dubbihs*, etc.; except *devour* *divaur*, *hour* *aur*, *flour* *flaur*, *our* *aur*, and *disfour* *diflohr*, *four* *fohr*, *pour* *pohr*. 3. In *-mouth* as in *Dartmouth*, etc. In *borough*, *concourse* as short *o*.

OW. I. as *au* (au) in *advow*, *bow* *bend*, *rowel*, etc. [as now], except as (oo) in *bow* *arcus*, *bowl* a cup, *jowl*, *shower* [one who shews *?*, meaning not given, and others as now]. II. as short (o) in *arrow*, *gallows* [written (*gæ'las*), under A. II. 2, the rest as now]. *Knowledge* *hnalledsch*, *acknowledge* *ackhnalledsch*.

OWE, now generally *ow*.

UE at end of words, as long U.

UI as (iu) in *cuirass* *kiuhräss*, *juice*,

pursuit, suit siuht, *suito* siutor, etc., "although these last three may be just as correctly pronounced *pursuht, suht, suhtor*," [that is (suu) as well as (siu)]; as (uu) in *bruise, bruit* bruht, *cruise, fruit, recruit* rekrut; as short (i) in *build* bild, *circuit* sörkit, *conduit* kundit, *verjuice* verdshis.

UOY is pronounced by some *ae*y (Ai) and by others incorrectly *ey* (ai), only found in *buoy*.

ÜY as (ai) in *buy*, etc.

YE, used to be written for *ie* in *dye*, *lye*, etc.

Consonants.

[Of the consonants it is not necessary to give so full an account, but a few words may be noted.]

C. *Verdict* verdit, *indict* indeit, *victuals* vittels. *Ancient* änschi-ent, *species* spieschi-es, *ocean* osche-an. *Vicious* visschi-us, *physician* phisisschi-en, *sufficient* suffisschi-ent, *precious* presschi-us, but *society* sosseietie. *Scene* ssien, *scepter* ssepter, but *skeleton* sskeleton, *sceptick* sskeptic. *Drachm* dräm, *yacht* jät (jæt). *Schism* ssissm.

D. *Almond* amon, *handsome* hänsom, *friendship* frennschip, *ribbon* ribbän, *worldly* [worldly?] worli, *hand-maid* hänmähd, *Wednesday* Wensdäh. *Come* and see kum än sih, *go and fetch* goh än fetsch, *stay and try* stäh än trey, etc.

F. In *housewife*, *sherrif*, *f* is soft like *v*, and in *of* the *f* is omitted, and *o* is pronounced as a very rapid *a* (A). *Gemini* dschemini.

G=(g) in *gibbous*, *heterogeneous*, *homogeneous*. GH initial (g), final, or followed by *t* is not pronounced, except in *cough*, *chough*, *enough*, *rough*, *tough*, *trough*, *draught*, where it is *ff* (f), and *sigh**, *drought**, *height**, where it is *th*. *Apothegm* äppothem, *phlegm** flim (fliim). Initial *g* before *n* sounds as an aspiration or *h*, not like a hard *g*, as *gnash** hnäscht not gnäscht, *gnat** hnät not gnät, *gnaw** hnah not gnah, *gnomon*, *gnostick*. See under K. G is hard (g) in *impugn*, *oppugn*, *repugn*. In *bagno*, *seignior*, *gn* retains the sound of Spanish ñ, Italian gn (nj).

H is not pronounced in *heir*, *honest*, *honour*, *hospital*, *hostler*, *hostile*, *hour*, *humble*, *humour*, *Humphrey* and derivatives, but is pronounced by some in *hereditary*; *herb* is called *erb* by some, and *hyerb* in one sound, (yhërb?) by others. H is also not pronounced in *John*, *Ah*, *Shiloh*, *Sirrah*, etc.

K before *n* at the beginning of a

word is only aspirated, and spoken as an *h*; as *knack* hnäck, *knave* hnäve, *knife* hneif, *knee* hnie, *knot*, *know*, *knuckle*, etc. "M. Ludwick says that *k* before *n* is called *t*; Arnold and others declare that it is pronounced *d*. But any one experienced in English pronunciation must own, that only a pure gentle aspiration is observable, and by no means so hard and unpleasant a sound as must arise from prefixing *d* or *t* to *n*." Did he mean (nhni) for *knee*? Compare Cooper, *supra* p. 208 and p. 544, n. 2.

L is not pronounced in *calf*, *half*, *balk*, *talk*, *walk*, *folk*, *balm*, *calm*, *calve*, *to halve*, etc., *almond*, *chaldron*, *falcon*, *falconer*, *falchion**, *malkin**, *salmon*, *salvage**, *solder*, *halfpenny-worth* häpöth (hææpöth). In *could*, *should*, *would*, *l* is heard only in sustained pronunciation.

N is not pronounced in *-mn*, in *kil*(n), in *tene*(n)t, *gover*(n)ment.

PH is *p* in *phlebotomy**, *diphthong*, *triphthong*, and *v* in *nephew*, *phial* vial, *Stephen*. *Phantasm*, *phantastick*, *phantasy*, are now written with *f*.

QU is *k* in *banquet**, *conquer*, *conqueror*, *liquor*, *equipage**, *exchequer*, *masquerade*, *musquet* musket, *paraqueto*, *piquet*, *piquant*, and a few others. C is now written in *quoil*, *quines* coines, *quoit*, *quintal*, but *que* remains in *cinq*ue, *opaque*, *oblique*.

R agrees entirely with German *r*, except that it is not heard in *marsh*, *marshy*, *harslets* *haslets*; nor in the first syllable of *parlour*, *partridge*. RH in *rhapsody*, *rhetorick*, *rhime*, *rhomb*, *rhume*, etc., is pronounced as *r*.

S is hard =(s) in *design*, *resign*, *cisar*, *desolate*, *lysard* [lizard], *rosin*, *pleasant*, *visit* [this is according to a rule, certainly not now observed, that *s* after a short accented vowel or diphthong is doubled in pronunciation]. S is hard =(s) in *dis-arm*, *trans-act*, *wis-dom*. In *island*, *viscount*, *s* is mute and *i*=(ai). S is hissed, almost like German *sch* (sh) in *sue*, *suet*, *suit*, *sugar*, *sure*, and compounds, but some say *ssiu* (siu) and others *ssuh* (suu); and in *nauseate*, *nauseous*, *Asia*, *Silesian*, *enthusiasm**, *enthusiast**, *effusion*, *occasion*, *hosier*, *rosier*, and their derivatives **Asiatick*, etc.; also in *Persia*, *transient*, *mansion*, *Russia*, *passion*. "After a shortly accented vowel or diphthong the reduplication of *sch* must be observed, especially in the termination *sion*, as in *decision*,

provision." [Did he say (disi'shən) and not (disi'zhən) ?]

T is sounded (sh) in *patience, portion*, etc., but (t) in *fustion, mixtion*, etc., and as (tsh) in *righteous reitschius, courteous, bounteous, covetous kovat-schius, virtuous vörtschius*, etc., and is not pronounced in *facts fäks, neglects* and similar -*cts*, nor in -*ften*, -*sten*, -*stle*, as *often ahf'n, soften sahf'n, hasten hähs'n, listen, castle käss'l, pestle, whistle, bustle*, etc., and also in *malster, mortgage*. [There is no mention of -*ture*, -*dure*=(tsher, dzher), but the inference from the *u* rules is that they were called (-*tor*, -*dar*), and this is confirmed by *gesture dschester, ordure ahrdur, pasture pästur, century ssenturi*, given below, p. 1049, in the words of the same sound, etc.]

TH in "rapid speech" is pronounced as *d* or *dd* in *apothecary**, [*t* not *d* below] *burthen, fathom*, fother, murder, pother**. *Th* is "for euphony" pronounced *t* in *fifth*, sixth*, twelfth**. *Th* is (th) in *with*. *Th* is (dh) in *than, that, tho' though*, etc. [that is, (thoo), as in Scotch, was unknown to him.] *Th* is (t) in *Thames, Thonet*, Theobald*, Thomas, Thomson*, etc., in *thill, thiller*, [till, tiller?], *thyme*, and, "according to some," in *anthem*, apothecary**, [see *th* as (d) above], *authority*, authorize** [not *authour?*].

"V, in English called *ju* consonant, is not merely much softer than *f*, but also than the German *v*, but not so soft as the English or German *w*, and is therefore better to be explained as French *v*. German beginners in French find some difficulty with this French *v*. All German grammars which I have seen express English *w* by German *w*, without indicating any distinction. But I find a sensible difference, namely, that the English *w* is not so hard, so that I am able to regard German *w* as a middle sound between English *v* and *w*, and hence, in order to indicate the sound of German *w* to an Englishman, I would express it in English by *vw*, and I am certain that he would hit it off better than if I were to write a simple *w*. Pronounce *p* and allow the breath to escape from the mouth, and you have *f*, *ph* or Greek *φ*. Pronounce *b*, and allow the breath to escape through a horizontal slit or split, and you form *v*. The difference between German and English *v* consists in the greater

compression of the breath, and its passage through a narrower opening for the German sound, which makes it harder, so that it approaches *f* more nearly." [He really heard the same sound for German *v* as for *f*.] "On the contrary, the English in pronouncing their *v* give the breath greater freedom and compress it less, on allowing it to escape. The Spaniards make such a little difference between their *b* and *v* in speaking, that they often use them promiscuously in writing. This sound was unknown in Greek, where *φ* most nearly approaches it. The English *w* is made by allowing the breath to escape by a round hole. The German *w* seems to be a medium between English *v* and *w*, the air escaping through a rounder hole than for English *v*, and a flatter hole than for English *w*." [See the descriptions of (*w*, *bh*, *v*) *supra* p. 513, note 2. I have quoted this passage at length from pp. 149 and 156 of Lediard, because his observations were made at Hamburg, and Lepsius and Brücke ascribe the sound of (*v*) instead of (*bh*) to North German *w*. This careful distinction shews that (*bh*) was certainly heard in Hamburg in 1725.]

W is not pronounced in *answer änsər, awkward* ahkərd, huswife housewife hössiv, sweltry ssultri, swoon* ssaun, sword ssohrd*, "but in *swear, swore, sworn*, some consider it to be distinctly spoken."

In *WR* the *w* is "little or scarcely heard, as in *wrack, wrench, wrist, wrong, wrung*, in which I can only find a soft aspiration (*eine sehr gelinde aspiration*) before *r*, so that *w* must not be pronounced, as Herr Ludwick thinks, like *wr* in the Germ. *Wrangel** (*bhra'ql*).

"*WH* is pronounced as *hw*, or rather as German *hu*, but so that the *u* rapidly yields to the sound of the following vowel, as *what huat, when huen, which huidsich* [ʰ], *who huuh* [ʰ], *why huey*." Except *whole, wholesome, whore*, in which *w* is not pronounced.

X is *ksch* (*ksh*) in *complexion kumplekschion, anxious ankschius* [ʰ ä], etc.

"*Y* as a consonant at the beginning of a word, or syllable, sounds as German *jota*, but somewhat softer, and not so guttural as it is heard from some Germans especially in Saxony, but almost like a short German *i* when it is rapidly pronounced as a separate syllable, as *yard, yes, you, järd, jes, yuh*, or better

i-ärd, i-es, i-uh, with a very rapid and scarcely perceptible *i*" [that is (ɹ) and not (gh)].

Z is a soft (*gelindes*) sch [that is (zh)] in *brazier, glazier, grazier, ozier*.

Accent.

[As some 50 pages are devoted to accent, I shall note all those words in which any peculiarity is observable. He distinguishes a *long accent* which he marks â with the grave, but as in a note he says that others use the circumflex â, employing the grave for his â acute or short accent, I shall for convenience use â for his long, and á for his short accent. I do not consider it necessary to give his rules. I merely cite the words.]

Hârd [observe that he has always made the vowel in *ar* short], lârd, shôrt. Acêrb, aêrial, agâin [where he made the vowel short], âfter, anchôve, anêmonê. Balcôny, bôisterous, bôrdêr. Carât, cockâll, colôss, corôllary. Dôcible. Êager, êarrest, êaster [?], êilet, êither, êmpirick, êmpiricism, enigm, êssay, êternize, êucharist, êuphony [?]. Fôuntain. Gôrgeous. Hêterôclôte, hûmane. Leviathan, lodemânage. Mâcerate [?], mandûcable, mausolêum [modern American mausôleum, mûseum], methêglin. Orângery, orchêstre. Phantâstry, philânty, placât [?], plebêjan, presbýtêry [the accent is not written when it falls on a y] pûlmonary, pyromancy. Quâdrangle, quadrîpartite [?]. Râpier, rambôoze, rhêtorick, ritûal. Sepûlchral, similitude, sôlemnize, stâtuary, stomâchick, strangûllion, sy'logism. Tâbernacle, tabêllion, tantivy, tarpâwlin, thêater. Valedictory, valetûdinary, venênous, vernâcular. Volûptuary [ú?], vûlnerary.

Âgitate, âvery, âbdicate, âbject, âblative, &c., âccessory, âdjuvate, âdversary, âggrandise, ângravate, âlcôve, âlcali, ânarchy, ândiron, âppanage, archângel, archdûke, côercion, côercive, [? ô], collêague, cômmissary, cômplaisance, cômplaisant, cômgy, cónsistory, cónstellate, cóntrarily, cóntrariwise, cóntrary, cóntroversy, cóntumacy, cóntumely, cónversant, cónvoyed, cónrigible, córrosive, córrosiveness. Dêspicable, dêsind, dêsuetude, diligence, dilîgent, dîssimul, diocess, directory, dîvident disciplinable, dîscretive, dîssoluble. dîstribute, dîstributive. E'diet, édifice,

égress, éligible, émissary, épîcene, épîcure, épîlepsy, évent, évidence, évident, éffort, émpirick, éssôin, éxcëllency, éxêcrable, éxorcism. Fôrfeît, fôrecast, fôrecastle, fôredoor, fôrefathers, fôrefinger, etc., forthcôming, forthwith. Ignominy, illâpse, illûstrate, immanent, incensory, industry, infinite, intricacy, inventory. Mischief, miscereancy. Nefândous, nonêntity, nónage. Objêct v., ôbdurate, ôbligatory, occûlt, ôffertory, ôutlandish. Pêrfect, pêrspirable, pôsthume, prêamble, prêbend, prêcedent, prêcept, prêcinct, prêdicament, prêfatory, prêmunire, prêpuce, prêsage, prêsience, prêsript, prêvious, prôcess, prôcuracy, prôdigally, prôduct, prôfile, prôfligate, prôgress, prôject, prôlogue, prôTOCOL, pûrsuivant, pûrvieu. Récent, récitative, récommence, récreant, récreate, réfectory, rêgency, rêgicide, rêgiment, rêgion, rêgister, rêlegate, rêliquary, rêpertory, rêtribute. Sêcret, sêcretary, sûblunary, sûbterranny, surcêase, surnâme v., sûrceingle, sûrcoat, sûrname n., sûspicable. Trâditive, tràverted, transport v. trànsport n. Viceâdmiral, vicechâncellour, viceroy, viscount for vicecount, viscountess.

Spêcîfick, herôick, satûrnal. Calâmity, sanguinity, majôrity.

Extravâsate, extrâneous, extrâvâgance. Rêtrograde. Benefâctor, acadêmick, législâtour.

Debonâir, românce, levânt, bombârd, usquebâugh, octâve, cochenêal, humêct, apogê, raperies, intîre, turmôil, memôirs, chamôis, ragô, scrutôre, tambôur, capâch, cadûke, ridicûle, importûne, noctûrn. Avowêe, grantêe, legatêe, etc.

Stupefâctive, benefâctor, pomânder, législâtour, nomenclâtûre, utênsil, chimêra, domêsticy, clandêstine, muschêto, doctrinal, agricultûre, bitûmen.

Philâctery, amphithêater, celêbrious, celêbrity, comêdian, acadêmian, solêmnial, stupêndious, homogêneal, homogênnous, hymênial, dysentery, majêstative, longêvity, libîdinous, fastîdious, concupiscible, chirûrgeon, chirûrgery, epicûrian.

Vesîcatory, modîficable. Propîtia-tory, superêrogatory, mónosyllable, référendary, spirîtualize. Cónscionableness, parlîamentary.

Cónjûre conjûre, âugust n. angúst a., âbject n. âbjêct, cêment n., cónserve n., cónsult n., cónvoy n. convôy v., êssay n. êssây v., fréquent a. fréquent v., mânure n. manûre v., ôvermatch n. overmâtch

v., outlaw n. outlâw v., rébel n. rebél v., triumph n. triúmph v.

Words of same (or different) sound and different (or same) spelling. [I cite only some of those that Lediard has written in German letters.]

Augúst ahgost, *augúst* agost. *Bable* bawble bahbel, *bable* bábl. *Báth* báhdh, *báth* báth. *Born* (natus) bahrn, *born* (latus) bohrn. *Bów* (flectere) bau, *bów* (arcus) boh. *Bréath* breth, *bréath* briedh. *Denier* (denarius) denihr, *denier* (negator) deneyer. *Géntile* (paganus) dschentil, *gentile* genteel dschentiel. *Jób* dschab, *Jób* dschohb. *Léad* (plumbum) led, *léad* lied. *Liver* (jecur) livver, *livre* (French coin) leiver*. *Lives* leivs, *lives* livs. *Loose* (laxus) luhss, *loose* (perdere) luhs. *Lóth* lohdh (to have a disgust at), *lóth* lath (unwilling). *Móuse* (mus) maus, *móuse* v. mauhs, *móuth* n. mauth, *móuth* v. mauth, *mow* (meto) moh, *mow* (to make a face) mau. *Réad* ried, *réad* red. *Sewer* (a carver) ssuer, (a drain) schohr. *Singer* (who sings) singer, (who sings) sindscher. *Sów* (sus) ssau, *sów* (sero) ssah. *Tear* (lacryma) tier, (lacerare) tehr. *Tóst* (of bread) tohst, *tóst* (tossed) tasst. *Week* (seven days) wiek, *week* (wick of a candle) wick.

Alley (street) álli, (friend) álley; *ant* änt, *ant* ähnt; *arrant* ärrént, *errand* erránd; *barley* bárlí, *barely* báhrli. *Centaur* ssentori, *century* ssenturi*. *centry* sentry ssentri. *Chair* tschähr and *tschier* (tschæer, tshiir), *chare* tschähr (tschæer). *Chear* cheer tschier, *jeer*

dschier. *Chains* tschähns, *chance* tschänss, *change* tschähndsch, *chin* tschinn, *gin* dschinn. *Decent* dess-sent, also *diessent*, *descent* des-sent. *Duke* duhk, *duck* dock. *Each* ihdsh [ʔ], *edge* edsch. *Fair* fähr, *fare* fähr, *fear* fihr. *Fir* för, *fur* for. *Grace* grähs, *grass* gräss, *grease* grihs. *Grote* (grotto) gratt, *groat* gräht [ʔ graht]. *Gesture* dschestur, *jester* dschester. *Haven* hähvn, *heaven* hevvn. *Heard* hiehrd (hiird), *herd* herd. *Hoar* hohr (hoor), *whore* huohr (whoor); *hole* hohl, *whole* huohl (whool); *holy* hohli, *holly* huolli (who-li), *holly* halli (ha-li). *Knave* hnähv, *nave* nähv; *knead* hnied, *need* nied; *knight* hneit, *night* neit; *knot* hnát, *not* natt. *Manner* männer, *mannour* (manor) männor, *manure* männur, [theoretic distinctions, all (mæn'ur)]. *Message*, *messuage*, both messedsch. *Morning* mahrning, *mourn* ing mohrning. *Muscle* mosskel, *muzzle* mossel. *Order* ahrd'r, *ordure* ahdrur*. *Pastor* pästor, *pasture* pästur*. *Peace*, *piece*, *piehs*, *peas* piehs. *Precedent* (exemplum) pressiedent, *president* pressident. *Quarry* quärri, *query* quieri, *Quean* quienn, *queen* quiehn. *Retch* wreteh, both retsch. *Rome*, *room*. *Seizin* ssiesin, *season*, *ssies* n. *Sewer* (drain) schoer [schohr, in last list], *shore* schohr. *Só* sso, *sów* (sero) ssah. *Vial* veyäl, *viol* veyol, *vile* veyl. *Wales* wähs, *whales* huähls (whæælz). *Which* huitsch, *witch* witsch. *Wrap* hráp, *rap* ráp; *wrest* hrest, *rest* rest; *wry* hrey, *rye* rey. *You* ju, *ew* iuh, *yew* iuh; *your* jur, *ewer* iuhr. *Ye*, *yea*.

As Lediard agrees so much with the Expert Orthographist in respect to EA, it is interesting to compare the two following extracts, one only 1 year later, and the other about 30 years later. These diversities of opinion and experience are most instructive in shewing, first the overlapping of pronunciations, and secondly the ignorance of orthoepists as to varieties of pronunciation, or their habit of simply discrediting as "vulgar" or "faulty" all pronunciations with which they are themselves not familiar.

I. From "An introduction to the English Tongue. By N. Bailey φιλόλογος." 8vo. 1726. pp. 96, 60. Part 2, p. 15.

T. What is the proper sound of the diphthong ea?

L. Ea has the sound of *d* long, in *bear*, *pear*, *near*, *swear*, *wear*, etc. [that is, as a in *mate*, *pate*, etc.]

2d. A short in *earl*, *heart*, *learn*, *pearl*, *search* [that is, as a in *mat*, *mart*, *cart*].

3d. Ea has the sound of *e* long in *appear*, *dream*, *read*, *sea*, *seam*, *speak*, *veal*, [Bailey has not mentioned what the sound of *e* long is, but as he says *e* is sounded like *ee* in certain words, *he*, *me*, *we*, *here*, *these*, *even*, *besom*, *Ely*, *Eve*, *fealty*, *Peter*, we must presume he means (ee), and not (ii)]; but some of this last kind have the *a* changed with the *e* final, as *compleat* [complete], *supream* [supreme; this confirms the view just taken, compare also 5th.]

4th. *Ea* has the sound of *e* short in *breast*, etc.

5th. *Ea* has sometimes the sound of *ee* in *beam*, *dear*, *hear*, *stead*, *year*. [This is therefore the exceptional, not the general pronunciation, compare 3rd.]

II. From a "Narrative of the Journey of an Irish Gentleman through England in the year 1752, p. 156. Privately printed for Mr. Hy. Huth, 1869." Mr. Furnivall, who kindly furnished me with this extract, remarks that the Additional MS. 27951 in the British Museum is probably by the same writer, and gives an account of his visits to England in 1758, 1761, and 1772. "By listening to her conversation [that of a lady passenger, in whom "the court lady reigned in every action"], I gained a better taste for the polite world, except-

ing one point in pronunciation, to wit, that of calling A E, and saying EE for E; but this was a thing I could not readily reconcile myself to, for I remember when I first went to school my mistress made me begin with my great A. Whether it was that the letter was bigger in dimensions than its brother vowel E that follows it, I cannot tell; but I am very certain she never made me say E. I was so very defective, or [failed] by too blunt a clipping, that my fair tutoress said she was afraid I would never make any hand on't. She assured me she was not above eight or ten months arriving at that perfection, which I am sure would cost me my whole life without making half the progress."

Buchanan has already been frequently referred to. He was much ridiculed by Kenrick,¹ who is particularly severe on his Scotticisms, and very unnecessarily abuses his method of indicating sounds. Kenrick himself is not too distinct; but as he does not trust entirely to key-words, and endeavours to indicate sounds by a reference to other languages,—the sounds of which he probably appreciated very indifferently,—it will be best to give extracts from his explanations of the vowels. The conjectured values are inserted in palaeotype, and some passing observations are bracketed. Among these remarks are introduced a few quotations from Granville Sharp.²

DR. KENRICK'S VOWEL SYSTEM, 1773.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. cur sir her monk blood earth = (ə) | 14. meet meat deceit = (ii) |
| 2. town noun how bough ... = (Au) | 15. fit yes busy women English |
| 3. bull wool wolf push = (u) | guilt = (i) |
| 4. pool groupe troop = (uu) | 16. why nigh I buy join lyre hire = (ai) |
| 5. call hawl caul soft oft George | |
| cloth = (AA) | |
| 6. new cube duty beauty = (eu, yy) | |
| 7. not what gone swan war was = (A) | |
| 8. no beau foe moan blown roan = (oo) | |
| 9. boy joy toil = (Ai) | |
| 10. hard part carve laugh heart = (aa) | |
| 11. and hat crag bar = (a) | |
| 12. bay they weigh fail tale... = (ee) | |
| 13. met sweat head bread ... = (e) | |

Add to the above the indistinct sound, marked with a cypher thus [o], as practised in the colloquial utterance of the particles *a* and *the*, the last syllables of the words ending in *en*, *le* and *re*; as *a garden*, *the castle*, etc., also in the syllable frequently sunk in the middle of words of three syllables, as *every*, *memory*, *favourite*, etc., which are in

¹ *William Kenrick, LL.D.* A New Dictionary of the English Language; containing not only the *Explanation* of Words, with their *Orthography*, *Etymology*, and *Idiomatical Use* in Writing; but likewise their *Orthoepia* or Pronunciation in SPEECH, according to the present Practice of polished Speakers in the Metropolis, which is rendered

obvious at sight in a manner perfectly simple and principally new. Lond. 1773. 4to.

² An English Alphabet for the use of Foreigners, wherein the pronunciation of the Vowels or Voice-letters is explained in Twelve Short general Rules with their several Exceptions. 1786. 8vo. pp. 76.

versification sometimes formally omitted in writing, by the mark of elision.

Under one or other of the numbers composing the above table, are comprehended all the species of distinct articulate sounds contained in the English language. Not that they differ altogether equally in quality; several differing only in time. There are no more than eleven distinct vowel sounds of different qualities in English; ten of the numbers specified in the table being expressed by the long and short modes of uttering our five vowels; as exemplified in the following words:

A.	} short in	{	barr'd	} long in	{	bard
E.			met			mate
I.			hit			heat
O.			not			naught
U.	} short in	{	pull	} long in	{	pool

The other six sounds are either always short as *u* in *cur*, or always long as *o* in *note*, or double as *i* or *y* in *hire lyre*; *u* in *lure*; *ow* in *town* and *oi* in *joy*: most of which long sounds seem to partake of two qualities, not so equally blended in them all, as to pass without our perceiving the ingredients of the compound. Thus *I* or *Y* appear to be a commixture of the long *e* [previously defined as *a* in *mate*] and short *i* [in *hit*]; *U* of the long *e* [*a* in *mate*] and short *u* [in *pull*]; *OW* of the short *o* [in *not*] and long *u* [oo in *pool*]; and *OI* most palpably of the short *o* [in *not*] and *i* [in *hit*].

[Dr. Kenrick's appreciation of diphthongs was evidently very inexact. See numbers 2, 6, 9, 16, in the following explanatory remarks on the vowels in preceding table.]

1. [U in *cür*.] It is always short, and bears a near, if not exact, resemblance to the sound of the French *leur*, *cœur*, if it were contracted in point of time. [It is not to be supposed that the sound was exactly the French (æ) or (a). It is more probable that Kenrick pronounced the French sounds as (a) or (æ). G. Sharp says: "O has the sound of a short *u* in *af-front*, etc. (In the dialects of Lancashire and some other places the *o* is pronounced according to rule in many of these words) . . . *ców-er* . . . etc., and their compounds, etc., except *dis-ców-er*, *re-ców-er*, which are pronounced according to rule. . . . *One* is pronounced as if spelt *won*."]

2. [OW in *town*.] The long and broad *ow*, *ou*, and *u*, as in *tówn*, *nòun*,

cucumber [the old sound of this word remaining, notwithstanding the change of spelling. Sharp also says: "U is like the English *ou* in the first syllable of *cu-cumber*," p. 13.] This sound greatly resembles the barking of a full-mouthed mastiff, and is perhaps so clearly and distinctly pronounced by no nation as by the English and the Low Dutch. The nicer distinguishers in the qualities of vocal sounds consider it as a compound; but it has sufficient unity, when properly pronounced, to be uttered with a single impulse of the voice, and to pass for a distinct sound or syllable, I consider it only as such.

3. [U in *bull*.] The French have this sound in *fol*, *sol*, *trou*, *clou*; the Italians I think everywhere in their *u*.

4. [OO in *pool*.] Nearly as the sound of *douze*, *epouse*, *pouce*, *roux*, *doux*, and the plurals, *sols*, *fol*s, do from *sol*, *fol*, *trou*, etc. [The difference between 3 and 4 is only meant to be one of length. The French generally recognize the lengthening of the vowel as the mark of the plural. G. Sharp says: "OO is not pronounced so full, but partakes a little of the sound of a short *u* in *blood*, *flood*, *foot*, *good*, *hood*, *stood*, *soot*, *wood* and *wool*. OO has the sound of *o* long in *door* and *floor*. *Door* and *floor* are pronounced by the vulgar in the Northern parts of England as they are spelt, for they give the *oor*, in these words, the same sound that it has in *boor*, *moor*, *poor*," and "O is sounded like *oo* in *tomb* and *womb*, (wherein *b* is silent,) *lo-ser*, *gold*, *whom*, and *whose*. In the northern parts of England the words *gold*, *who*, *whom*, and *whose*, are pronounced properly as they are spelt."]

5 and 7. [A in *call* and O in *not*.] This sound is common in many languages, although the distinction of long and short is preserved in few or none but the English. The French have it exactly in the words *ame*, *pas*, *las*, etc. [This is a distinct recognition of the English habit of pronouncing French. See Sir William Jones's phonetic French, *suprà* p. 835. But it does not follow that the French said anything broader than (a). Mr. Murray, a native of Hawick, informed me that when he and a friend first studied my Essentials of Phonetics, they were exceedingly puzzled with the distinction I drew between (aa) and (AA). They could find no distinction

at all, and thought it must be fancy on my part. Mr. Murray now recognizes that he then pronounced (*aa*) in place of both sounds. Compare Prof. Blackie's confusion of (*aa*, *AA*), *suprà* p. 69, n. 3. G. Sharp calls the French *a* the "English diphthong *aw*," and says that *a* "has a medium sound between *aw* and the English *a*, in *fa-ther*, and the last syllable of *pa-pa*, *mam-ma*, and also in *han't* (for *have not*), *mis-ter* and *plis-ter*; and is like *aw* in *hal-ser* (wherein *l* is mute), *false* and *pal-sy*. *A* has the sound of *aw* likewise before *ld* and *lt*, as in *bald*, *cal-dron*, *al-tar*, etc., in all primitive monosyllables ending in *ll* (except *shall* and *mall*, which are pronounced according to rule), as in *all*, *gall*, *fall*, etc., and before *lk* (wherein *l* is mute), as *balk*, *stalk*, *walk*, *talk*, etc., but before *lf*, *ln*, *lve*, and before *nd* in words derived from the Latin word *mando*, it is sounded like the Italian *a*, only somewhat shorter, as in *half*, *calm*, *salve*, *command*, *demand*, etc." Here "English *a*" seems to mean (*ee*) and (*aa*) to be considered intermediate between (*ee*) and (*AA*).]

6. [EW in *new*.] This sound, variously denoted in letters, by *u*, *eu*, *ue*, *ew*, and even *ear*, as in *duty*, *feud*, *true*, *new*, *beauty*, when slowly uttered, is evidently a compound of the long *i* [*ea* in *heat*] and short *u* [*u* in *pull*]; but when pronounced sharp and quick with a single effort of the voice, is no longer a diphthong, but a sufficiently single and uniform syllable; whose quality is distinctly heard in the words above mentioned; as also in the French words *du*, *une*, *unir*, *prune*, *eu* (*yy*). [Now here we observe first that the analysis of the diphthongal sound is (*iu*), instead of (*eu*), as before, *suprà* p. 1051 c. 1, and secondly that the recognition of French *u* does not perhaps imply more than that the diphthong became extremely close (that is, both the elements and the connecting glide very short), and that Dr. Kenrick did not know any better way of pronouncing French *u*. That Dr. Kenrick generally recognized a close and open pronunciation of the diphthongs is evident from his remarks on 2 and 16. Still the cropping up of the French *u* a century after Wallis had apparently noted it for the last time, is curious and interesting. I have myself heard it sporadically, not reckoning provincialisms.]

8. [O in *no*.] The French have it in *Dôme*, *os*, *repos*, *faune*, *maux*, *faulx*. [This indicates a long (*oo*).]

9. [OY in *joy*.] This sound approaches the nearest to a practical diphthong of any in our language. . . . A vicious custom prevails, in common conversation, of sinking the first broad sound entirely, or rather of converting both into the sound of *i* or *y*, No. 16; thus *oil*, *toil*, are frequently pronounced exactly like *isle*, *tile*. This is a fault which the Poets are inexcusable for promoting, by making such words rhyme to each other. And yet there are some words so written, which, by long use, have almost lost their true sound. Such are *boil*, *join*, and many others; which it would now appear affectation to pronounce otherwise than *bile*, *jine*. [This is important in reference to rhymes.]

10, 11. [A in *hard* and *and*.] The French have it short in *alla*, *race*, *fasse*; long in *abattre*, *grace*, *age*, etc. The Italians have it long in *padre*, *madre*, and short in *ma*, *la*, *allegro*, etc. It is somewhat surprising that men of letters, and some of them even residing in the Metropolis, should mistake the simple and genuine application of this sound. "The native sound of A," says Dr. Bayly, "is broad, deep and long, as in *all*, *aw*, *war*, *daub*; but it hath generally a mixed sound, as in *man*, *Bath*, *Mary*, *fair*, which are sounded as if written *maen*, *baeth*, etc." But who, except flirting females and affected fops, pronounce *man* and *Bath* as if they were written *maen*, *baeth*, or like *Mary*, *fair*, etc. [Dr. Kenrick would seem therefore to have really pronounced (*a*) and not (*æ*), considering the latter sound as effeminate. It is curious to see Gill's *Mopeys* and Smith's *malierculæ* and *urbanius loquentes* (*suprà* p. 90) cropping up as Kenrick's *stirling females* and *affected fops*. In all ages refinement has apparently led to the same mincing, that is, closer form of vowel sounds, with the tongue more raised, or brought more forward. G. Sharp ought to agree with Kenrick, when he says: "*A* has a short articulation of the English *aw*, or rather of the Italian *a*, as in *add*, *bad*, *lad*, *mad*," for this seems to preclude (*æ*). He also says that *e* is like short *a* in *yellow*, known yet, but only as vulgarism.]

12, 13. [AY in *bay* and E in *met*.] The short sound is nearly or quite the

same as the French give to their *e* in the words *elle, net, poët*, etc. At the same time it is observable they give it to the combinations *ei* and *ai* and *oi*, as in *pleine, plaine, disoit*. The French extend it also nearly as much as the English long sound in the words *nès, dez, clefs, parler, fondés, amai, dirai*, etc. . . . The protracted or long sound of the short *e* as in *met, let*, etc., is in fact the slender sound of the *a*. [This confuses the close and open sounds, and renders it probable that Kenrick pronounced (*ee, e*), and not (*ee, e*).] *Break* is generally sounded like *brake, make, take*, but few, except the natives of Ireland or the provinces, say *ate, spake*; but *eat, speak*, agreeably to No. 14. [Here we have a recognition of the (*ee*) sound of *ea* still remaining, and of the occasional (ii) sound of *ea* in *break*, *suprà* p. 89. G. Sharp says that "*a* is like the French *ai* in *ân-gel, bass, côm-brick, Côm-bridge, dân-ger, and mân-ger*:" that *are* is spoken "*as if spelt air*," and that in *a-ny, ma-ny, a* "*sounds like a short e or foreign e*."] 14. [EE in *meet*. This was clearly (ii).]

15. [I in *fit*.] A contraction of the long sound of *e* or *ee* in *me* or *meet*. This is plain by repeating the words *fit* and *feet, pit* and *peat, mit* and *meat*; in which the similarity of sound is very perceptible. [This ought to give (i) and not (i), yet there is very little doubt that (i) was said, and the distinction not recognized. G. Sharp says that *e* is like *i* short in *England, pretty, yes* and *yet*.]

16. [Y in *why*.] As at present

uttered by the best speakers in the metropolis, it is the sharpest, shrillest, and clearest vowel in our language; altho it has the appearance, when slowly pronounced, of being a compound of the *a* or *e* and *i*. I do not know that any other language has it equally clear, single and distinct. I have elsewhere observed that our Scottish linguists say it has the sound usually denoted by *awee*, but the error of this is obvious to every Englishman. The French however come near it in the interjection *ahi*! which they pronounce quickly as one syllable, without the nasal twang that attends the words *fin, vin*, and some others, bearing a near resemblance. [Kenrick is very peculiar about his diphthongs. Many Englishmen, however, as we have seen in the case of Smith (p. 112) and Gill (p. 114), considered long *i* as a single sound. Kenrick's admissions point to (ai), rather than (æi) as his diphthong. G. Sharp is very peculiar, and would seem to have two pronunciations, possibly (ei, ai), or thereabouts, as in the present Scotch-English; he says: "There are two ways of sounding the long *i* and *y* (though both long), the one a little different from the other, and requiring a little extension of the mouth, as may be seen by comparing the following words, viz. *I* and *aye, high* and *high-ho, by't* (for *by it*) and *bite, sigh'd* and *side, strive* and *strife*, etc., but this difference, being so nice, is not to be attained but by much practice, neither is it very material. . . *I i* English, or long, like the Greek *ei*, or something like the French *i* before *n* in *prince*."]]

It did not enter into the scheme of either Buchanan or Kenrick to give specimens of pronunciation in a connected form, but an example of their two systems of pronunciation is furnished by the following transcription of the passage from *As you Like it*, which was given in Shakspeare's conjectured pronunciation on p. 986, and is here rendered according to the best interpretations I can effect of the symbolized pronunciation of each separate word in Buchanan's Vocabulary and Kenrick's Dictionary.

BUCHANAN, 1766.

:Aal dhii wôrld -z æ steedzh
Ænd Aal dhii men ænd wim'in
miir'li plee'arz.
Dhee hæv dheer ek'sits ænd
dheer en'trinsez,

KENRICK, 1773.

:Aal dhii wôrld-z ee steedzh
And Aal dhii men and wim'en
miir'li plee'arz :
Dhee hav dheer eg'zits ænd
dheer en'transez,

BUCHANAN.

Ænd wæn mæn in hiz taim pleez
 mæn'i pæarts,
 Hiz ækts bi'i'q sev'n eedzh'ez.
 Æt færst dhii in'fint
 Mi'u'l'iq ænd piuk'iq in hiz
 nærs'ez æærmz,
 Ænd dhen dhii whain'iq skuul'boi
 wiðh hiz sætsh'el
 Ænd shain'iq marn'iq fees,
 kriip'iq laik sneel
 ʒnwil'iqli tu skuul. Ænd dhen
 dhii læv'ir
 Sæith'iq¹ laik færn'is wiðh æ
 woo'ful bæ'l'id
 Meed tu hiz mis'tris æi'bræu.
 Dhen, æ sould'jir
 Ful ov streendzh oodhz, ænd
 bearded laik æ pærd,
 Dzhel'æs ov on'ir sæd'n ænd
 kwik in kwær'il
 Siik'iq dhii bæb'l repiutee'shæn
 liv'n in dhii kæn'ænz mæuth.
 Ænd dhen dhii dzhæst'is
 In feer ræund bel'i wiðh guud
 keep'n læind,
 Wiðh æiz siviir ænd beerd ov
 færmæl kæt,
 Ful of wæiz SAAZ ænd mæd'irn
 in'stænz,
 Ænd soo hii pleez hiz pæært.
 Dhii s'kst eedzh shifts
 In tu dhii liin ænd slip'ird pæn-
 tæluun',
 Wiðh spek'tikl'z on nooz, ænd
 pæutsh on soid,
 Hiz juuth'ful nooz wel seevd, æ
 wærl'd tuu wæid
 For hiz shræqk shæqk, ænd hiz
 big mæn'li vois,
 Tærn'iq ægen tu tshæild'ish
 treb'l, pæips
 Ænd whis'lz in hiz sæund. Læst
 siin ov AAL,
 Dhæt endz dh'is streendzh ivent-
 ful his'tari
 Iz sek'ænd tshæild'ishnes ænd
 miir obliiv'jæn,
 Sanz tiith, sanz æiz, sanz teest,
 sanz ev'ri thi'q.

KENRICK.

And wæn man in hiz taim pleez
 man'i paarts
 Hiz akts bi'i'q sev'n eedzh'ez.
 At færst dhii in'fant
 Myyling and pyyk'iq in dhii
 nærs'ez aarmz.
 And dhen dhii wain'iq skuul'bai
 with² hiz satsh'el
 And shain'iq mARN'niq fees,
 kriip'iq laik sneel
 ʒnwil'iqli too³ skuul. And dhen
 dhii læv'ær
 Sai'iq laik færnas, with a
 woo'fæl bal ad
 Meed too hiz mis'tris ai'brau.
 Dhen ee sool'jær
 Fuul av streendzh oodhz⁴ and
 biird'ed⁵ laik dhii paard,
 Dzhel'æs in hAN'ur,⁶ sæd'en ænd
 kwik in kwAA'æl,
 Siik'iq dhii bæb'l repyytee'shæn
 li-v'n in dhii kæn'ænz mæuth.
 And dhen dhii dzhæst'is,
 In feer raund bel'i with guud
 keep'n laind,
 With aiz seviir and biird av
 fAAR'mæl kæt,
 Fuul av wæiz SAAZ and mæd'ærn
 in'stansez;
 And soo hii⁷ pleez hiz paart.
 Dhii siksth⁸ eedzh shifts
 Inta dhii liin and slip'ærd pan-
 taluun',
 With spek'tak'lz an nooz and
 pautsh an said,
 Hiz jyyth'fæl⁹ nooz, wel seevd, æe
 wærl'd tuu wæid
 Far hiz shræqk shaqk; and hiz
 big man'li vAIS,
 Tærn'iq ægen toord¹⁰ tshæild'ish
 treb'l, paips
 And wist'lz¹¹ in hiz saund. Last
 siin av AAL,
 Dhat endz dhis streendzh event-
 fæl his'tari
 Iz sek'ænd tshæild'ishnes, and
 miir Abliv'jæn,¹²
 Sanz tiith, sanz aiz, sanz teest,
 sanz ev'ri thi'q.

Notes on the Preceding Specimens.

¹ This is the first sound Buchanan gives, but he adds that (səi'iq) is a better pronunciation.

² Kenrick says (with) or (widh), hence the first must be regarded as the pronunciation he prefers.

³ Kenrick says (too) or (ta), by the latter possibly meaning (to).

⁴ Kenrick gives (oath) as the singular, but says nothing of the change of the sound of *th* in the plural. He notes the change in the plural of *youth*, but not in those of *half*, *wolf*.

⁵ "(Biird), and sometimes, but I think wrongly (bærd)."—Kenrick.

⁶ Kenrick marks *h* mute in *honest*, but not in *honour*. This is probably the misprint of a Roman *H* for an italic *H*.

⁷ Kenrick has neglected to mark the pronunciation of this word.

⁸ Kenrick merely says: "from the adjective," and hence leaves it in doubt whether he said (sikst) or (siksth).

⁹ The initial (j) is retained, as Kenrick has not marked it mute.

¹⁰ Kenrick writes: "To'WARD, To'WARDS," and adds: "This word is not usually pronounced as one syllable." But then immediately writes "To'WARDS," which should imply one syllable having the vowel in *no*.

¹¹ Kenrick writes *WH*, but as he has nowhere explained what he means by this combination, and as almost all the words beginning with *wh* are spelled *WH*, where the *H* indicates that it is silent, it has been so assumed here.

¹² "Or (Abliiv'æn)."—Kenrick.

JOSHUA STEELE'S VOWEL SYSTEM, 1775.

Joshua Steele was an ingenious orthoepist, who, with much success, endeavoured to write down speech in respect to accent, quantity, emphasis, pause and force. It did not enter into his scheme to represent quality, but in the preface to his work he makes the following remarks, already partially quoted (*suprà* p. 980, note 1, col. 1), for the recognition of the French *u* in English, and worth preserving in their connection.

The complete title of the work is: *Prosodia Rationalis*; or, an Essay towards Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech, to be expressed and perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols. The second edition amended and enlarged. 4to. pp. xviii. 243. London, 1779. With dedication to Sir John Pringle, Bart., President of the Royal Society, from *Joshua Steele*, the author, dated Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, Sept. 25, 1775. It is in the form of remarks on "the musical part of a very curious and ingenious work lately published at Edinburgh, on *The Origin and Progress of Language*," and correspondence with the author of the same, who is not named, but only called "his l—p." A transcription of some of his examples of writing the melody of speech is given in my paper on *Accent and Emphasis*, art. 20, n. 1, *Philol. Trans.* 1873-4, p. 129. The following extract is from the preface of Steele's work, pp. viii—xiii.

The puzzling obscurity relative to the *melody and measure* of speech, which has hitherto existed between modern critics and ancient grammarians, has been chiefly owing to a want

of terms and characters, sufficient to distinguish clearly the several properties or accidents belonging to language; such as, *accent*, *emphasis*, *quantity*, *pause*, and *force*; instead of which *five terms*, they have generally made use of *two only*, *accent* and *quantity*, with some loose hints concerning *pauses*, but without any clear and sufficient rules for their use and admeasurement; so that the definitions required for distinguishing between the expressions of *force* (or loudness) and *emphasis*, with their several degrees, were worse than lost; their difference being tacitly felt, though not explained or reduced to rule, was the cause of confounding all the rest.

In like manner, there still exists another defect in literal language of a similar kind; that is, there are in nature, neither more, nor less, than seven *vowel sounds*, besides diphthongs; for which seven sounds, the principal nations in Europe use only five characters (for the *y* has, with us, no sound distinct from the *i*), and this defect throws the orthography and pronunciation of the whole into uncertainty and confusion.

In order to distinguish what are VOWELS and what are not, let this be the definition of a *vowel sound*; *videlicet*, a simple sound capable of being continued invariably the same for a long time (for example, as long as the breath lasts), without any change of the organs; that is, without any movement of the throat, tongue, lips, or jaws. [Mr. Melville Bell, to whose kindness I am indebted for the knowledge and use of this curious book, apparently had this passage in view when he wrote (*Visible Speech*, p. 71): "A 'Vowel' is a syllabic sound moulded by a definite and momentarily *fixed*, or tense, configuration of the free channel of the mouth, and creating no oral sibilation or friction in its emission. A vowel without a 'fixed' configuration loses its syllabic effect, and becomes a 'glide'; and a 'glide' with sibilation or friction in the oral channel becomes a 'consonant.' Consonants, like glides, are merely transitional sounds; but their configurations may be 'held' so as to receive syllabic impulse, in which case a consonant without a vowel has the effect of a syllable. All vowels make syllables." Both definitions miss the distinctive character of vowels, given *suprà* p. 51, and now capable of further discrimination, by Donders's and Merkel's recognition of a constant pitch for each vowel which modifies the *timbre* of the vowel at other pitches.]

But a *diphthong sound* is made by blending two *vowel sounds*, by a very quick pronunciation, into one.

So that to try, according to the foregoing definition, to continue a diphthong sound, the voice most commonly changes immediately from the first vowel sound of which the diphthong is composed, by a small movement in some of the organs, to the sound of the vowel which makes the latter part of the said diphthong, the sound of the first vowel being heard only for one instant. For example, to make this experiment on the English sound of *u*, as in the word *USE*, which is really a *diphthong* composed of these two English sounds *ee* and *oo*; the voice begins on the sound *ee*, but instantly dwindles into, and ends in, *oo*. [Presumably (*iu*).]

The other English sound of *u*, as in the words *UGLY*, *UNDONE*, *BUT* and *GUT*, is composed of the English sounds *au* and *oo*; but they require to be pronounced so extremely short and

close together that, in the endeavour to prolong the sound for this experiment, the voice will be in a continual confused struggle between the two component sounds, without making either of them, or any other sound, distinct; so that the true English sound of this diphthong can never be expressed but by the aid of a short energetic aspiration, something like a short cough, which makes it very difficult to our Southern neighbours in Europe. [Here he seems to confuse a diphthong, in which there is a real succession of vowel sounds and a connecting glide (*suprà* p. 51), with the attempt to pronounce two vowels simultaneously. Hence this sound of *u* should rather be written (*A*u*) with the link (***) p. 11, than (*Au*), which is a diphthong into which we have seen that many orthoepists analyse *ow*, certainly a very different sound from any value ever given to *u*. Now (*A*u*), if we omit the labial character of both vowels, as there is certainly nothing labial in *u*, gives nearly (*æ*æ*), which can scarcely differ from the sound (*æ*), which lies between them, as may be seen best by the diagrams on p. 14. Hence we must take this sound to be (*æ*), which still exists in very wide use.]

To try the like experiment on the English sound of *i* or *y*, as *i* in the first person, and in the words *MY*, *BY*, *IDLE*, and *FINE* (both of which letters are the marks of one and the same *diphthong sound* composed of the English sounds *au* and *ee*), the voice begins on the sound *au*, and immediately changes to *ee*, on which it continues and ends. [Presumably (*ai*), as defined also by Sheridan. It is curious that Steele has altogether omitted to notice *oy*, and hence escaped falling under the necessity of distinguishing *by*, *boy*, for example. Possibly he would have written (*ba*i*i*, *ba*a*i*), *suprà* p. 107, l. 4 from bottom of text. He was presumably an Irishman.]

The English sound of *e*, in the words *met*, *let*, *men*, *get*, is a diphthong composed of the vocal sounds *a* and *e* (being the second and third vowels in the following arrangement), and pronounced very short. [Here again his diphthong is used for a link, and the result seems meant for (*a*e*), and although this should give (*ah*), it is possible he meant (*ε*), see diagrams p. 14. He does not seem to have been

aware of the sound of (æ), or at any rate to have confused the sounds (a, æ).]

In order the better to ascertain the tones of the seven vocal sounds, I have ventured to add a few French words in the exemplification; in the pronunciation of which, I hope, I am not mistaken. If I had not thought it absolutely necessary, I would not have

presumed to meddle with any living language but my own; the candid reader will therefore forgive and correct my errors, if I have made any in this place, by substituting such other French syllables as will answer the end proposed. [A palaeotypic interpretation is annexed. We must suppose that his French pronunciation was imperfect.]

The seven natural vowel sounds may be thus marked and explained to sound

in English as the words.

α = all, small, or, for, knock, lock, occur = (A, o)

a = man, can, cat, rat = (a)

e = may, day, take, nation = (ee)

i = evil, keen, it, be, iniquity = (ii)

o = open, only, broke, hole = (oo)

ω = fool, two, rule, tool, do = (uu)

u = $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{superfluous,} \\ \text{tune, supreme,} \\ \text{credulity} \end{array} \right\} \text{very rare in English} = (y)$

in French as the words.

en, grande.

Paris, habit, pardon.

ses, et.

Paris, habit, ris, dit, il.

soldat, côtes, offrir.

ou, vous, jour, jaloux.

du, plus, une.

Diphthong sounds in English.

ai = I, fine, hire, life, ride, spy, fly (a long sound) = (Aii)

ae = met, let, get, men (a short sound) = (a* e, e)

iw = you, use, new, due, few (a long sound) = (iuu)

aw $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{makes the English sound} \\ \text{of un or ug, and is pro-} \\ \text{nounced extremely short} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{unkind, undone, begun} \\ \text{ugly, but, shut, gut} \end{array} \right\} = (A^* u, a)$

ow = how, bough, sow, hour, gown, town (this diphthong is sounded long, dwelling chiefly on the latter vowel) = (Auu).

The letters and sounds, which in modern languages pass under the names of diphthongs, are of such different kinds, that they cannot properly be known by any definition I have seen: for, according to my sense, the greatest part of them are not diphthongs. Therefore, that I may not be misunderstood, I will define a *proper diphthong* to be made in speech, by the blending of *two vowel sounds* so intimately into *one*, that the ear shall hardly be able to distinguish more than one uniform sound; though, if produced for a longer time than usual, it will be found to continue in a sound different from that on which it began, or from its *diphthong sound*. [This shews a perfect confusion between linking two sounds into one, and gliding on from one sound on to another.]

And therefore the vowels, which are joined to make diphthongs in English, are pronounced much shorter, when so joined, than as single vowels; for if the vowel sounds, of which they are

composed, especially the initials, are pronounced so as to be easily and distinctly heard separately, they cease to be diphthongs, and become distinct syllables.

Though the grammarians have divided the vowels into three classes; long, short, and doubtful; I am of opinion, that every one of the seven has both a longer and shorter sound: as α is long in *all*, and short in *lock* and *oc* (lack and ac) = (AA, A P).

A is long in *arm*, and short in *cat* = (aa, a P).

E is long in *may* and *make*, and short in *nation* = (ee, e P).

i is long in *be*, and short in *it* = (ii, i P).

o is longer in *hole* than in *open* [often (ɔp'n) dialectally]; long in *corrode*, short in *corrosive* [which Lediard accents corrosive suprâ p. 1048, c. 1, l. 5 from bottom.] = (oo, o P).

ω is long in *fool*, short (by comparison) in *foolish* = (uu, u P).

u is long in *tune* and *plus*, and short in *super* and *du* = (iu, y P).

But the shortest sounds of *o*, *ω*, and *u* are long in comparison with the short sounds of the four first vowels [that is, are medial ?].

The French, the Scotch, and the Welsh, use all these vowel sounds in their common pronunciation; but the English seldom or never sound the *u* in the French tone (which I have set down as the last in the foregoing list, and which, I believe, was the sound of the Greek *ὑπειλδν*), except in the more refined tone of the court, where it begins to obtain in a few words.

I have been told the most correct Italians use only five vowel sounds, omitting the first and seventh, or the *α* and the *υ*. Perhaps the Romans did the same: for it appears by the words which they borrowed from the Greeks in latter times, that they were at a loss

how to write the *η* and the *υ* in Latin letters.

As the Greeks had all the seven marks, it is to be presumed that at some period they must have used them to express so many different sounds. But having had the opportunity of conversing with a learned modern Greek, I find, though they still use all the seven marks, they are very far from making the distinction among their sounds which nature admits of, and which a perfect language requires: but all nations are continually changing both their language and their pronunciation; tho that people, who have marks for seven vowels, which are according to nature the competent number, are the least excusable in suffering any change, whereby the proper distinction is lost.

§ 2. *Two American Orthoepists of the Eighteenth Century.*

i. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S PHONETIC WRITING, 1768.

Dr. Franklin's scheme of phonetic writing (*suprà* p. 48), though hasty and unrevised, is too interesting to be omitted. His correspondence with Miss Stephenson contains a common sense, practical view of the necessity and usefulness of some phonetic scheme, and gives short convincing answers to the objections usually urged against it. The spelling would have required careful reconsideration, which it evidently never received. But in the following transcript it is followed exactly. As a specimen of the English pronunciation of the earlier part, although written after the middle, of the XVIIIth century, it is of sufficient importance to justify the insertion of the paper at length in this place. The symbols are, as usual, replaced by their palaeotypic equivalents, and for convenience of printing the following table given by Franklin is somewhat differently arranged, although the matter is unaltered.

Table of the Reformed Alphabet.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Manner of Pronouncing the Sounds.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Manner of Pronouncing the Sounds.</i>
(o)	old. The first VOWEL naturally, and deepest sound; requires only to open the mouth and breathe through it.		quires the <i>lips</i> to be gathered up, leaving a small opening.
(A)	John, folly; awl, ball. The next requiring the mouth opened a little more, or hollower.	(ə)	um, un; as in umbrage, unto, etc., and as in <i>er</i> . The next a very short vowel, the sound of which we should express in our present letters, thus <i>uh</i> ; a short, and not very strong aspiration.
(æ)	man, can. The next, a little more.	(Hə)	hunter, happy, high. A stronger or more forcible aspiration.
(e)	men, lend, name, lane. The next requires the <i>tongue</i> to be a little more elevated.	(gi)	give, gather. The first CONSONANT; being formed by the root of the <i>tongue</i> ; this is the present hard <i>g</i> .
(i)	did, sin, deed, seen. The next still more.		
(u)	tool, fool, rule. The next re-		

- (ki) *keep, kick*. A kindred sound; a little more acute; to be used instead of hard *c*.
- (ish) [sh] *ship, wish*. A new letter wanted in our language; our *sh*, separately taken, not being the proper elements of the sound.
- (iq) [ng] *ing, repeating, among*. A new letter wanted for the same reason. These are formed *back in the mouth*.
- (en) *end*. Formed *more forward* in the mouth; the *tip of the tongue* to the *roof* of the mouth.
- (r) *art*. The same; the tip of the tongue a little loose or separate from the roof of the mouth, and vibrating.
- (ti) *teeth*. The tip of the tongue more forward; touching, and then leaving, the roof.
- (di) *deed*. The same; touching a little fuller.
- (el) *ell, tell*. The same; touching

- just about the *gums* of the *upper teeth*.
- (es) *essence*. This sound is formed by the breath passing *between* the moist end of the *tongue* and the *upper teeth*.
- (ez) [es] *wages*. The same; a little denser and duller.
- (eth) [th] *think*. The tongue under, and a little *behind*, the upper teeth; touching them, but so as to let the breath pass between.
- (edh) [dh] *thy*. The same; a little fuller.
- (ef) *effect*. Formed by the *lower lip* against the upper teeth.
- (ev) *ever*. The same; fuller and duller.
- (b) *bees*. The *lips full together*, and opened as the air passes out.
- (pi) *peep*. The same; but a thinner sound.
- (em) *ember*. The *closing* of the lips, while the *e* is sounding.

REMARKS [by Franklin, on the above table].

- (e) to (Hə). It is endeavoured to give the alphabet a *more natural order*; beginning first with the simple sounds formed by the breath, with none or very little help of tongue, teeth, and lips, and produced chiefly in the windpipe.
- (g, k). Then coming forward to those, formed by the roof of the tongue next to the windpipe.
- (r, n, t, d). Then to those, formed more forward, by the forepart of the tongue against the roof of the mouth.
- (l, s, z). Then those, formed still more forward in the mouth, by the tip of the tongue applied first to the roots of the upper teeth.
- (th, dh). Then to those, formed by the tip of the tongue applied to the ends or edges of the upper teeth.
- (f, v). Then to those, formed still more forward, by the under lip applied to the upper teeth.
- (b, p). Then to those, formed yet more forward, by the upper and under lip opening to let out the sounding breath.
- (m). And lastly, ending with the shutting up of the mouth, or closing the lips while any vowel is sounding. In this alphabet *c* is omitted as unnecessary; *k* supplying its hard sound, and *s* the soft; *k* also supplies well the place of *z* [evidently a misprint for *q*],

and with an *s* added in the place of *x*: *q* and *x* are therefore omitted. The vowel *u* being sounded as *oo* (*uu*) makes the *v* unnecessary. The *y*, where used simply, is supplied by *i*, and where as a diphthong [so spelled in the original], by two vowels: that letter is therefore omitted as useless. The jod *j* is also omitted, its sound being supplied by the new letter (sh) *ish*, which serves other purposes, assisting in the formation of other sounds;—thus the (sh) with a (d) before it gives the sound of the jod *j* and soft *g* as in “James, January, giant, gentle” (*dsheems, dshænueri, dshoiaent, dshentel*); with a (t) before it, it gives the sound of *ch*, as in “cherry, chip” (*tsheri, tship*); and with a (z) before it, the French sound of the jod *j*, as in “jamais” (*zshæme*). [Dr. Franklin's knowledge of the French sound must have been very inexact.] Thus the *g* has no longer two different sounds, which occasioned confusion, but is, as every letter ought to be, confined to one. The same is to be observed in *all* the letters, vowels, and consonants, that wherever they are met with, or in whatever company, their sound is always the same. It is also intended, that there be *no superfluous* letters used in spelling; i.e. no letter that is not sounded; and this alphabet, by six new letters [meaning

(A, ə, sh, q, th, dh)], provides that there be no distinct sounds in the language, *without letters* to express them. As to the difference between *short and long vowels*, it is naturally expressed by a single vowel where short, a double one where long; as for "mend" write (mend), but for "remain'd" write (remeen'd); for "did" write (did), but for "deed" write (diid), etc.

What in our common alphabet is supposed the third vowel, *i*, as we sound it, is as a *diphthong*, consisting of two of our vowels joined; (ə) as sounded

in "unto" and (i) in its true sound. Any one will be sensible of this who sounds those two vowels (ə i) quick after each other; the sound begins (ə) and ends (ii). The true sound of the (i) is that we now give to *e* in the words "deed, keep." [Here the editor observes: "The copy, from which this is printed, ends in the same abrupt way with the above, followed by a considerable blank space; so that more perhaps was intended to be added by our author. B. V."]

EXAMPLES.

So¹ hwen səm Endshel, bəi divəin kāmænd,
Uidh rəiziq tempests sheeks e gilti Lænd;
(Sətsh əz əv leet ɔr peel Britæniæ pæst,)
Kælm and siriin ni drəivs dhi fiuriəs blæst;
And, pliiz'd dh' almeitis ardərs tu pərfarm,
Rəids in dhi Huərluind and dəirekts dhi Starm.

¹ Dr. Franklin is not consistent in marking the long and short vowels. His peculiarities and errors are here all reproduced. Sir William Jones (Works, 4to. ed. 1799, i. 205), after giving his analysis of sound for the purpose of transliterating the Indian languages, adds: "Agreeably to the preceding analysis of letters, if I were to adopt a new mode of *English* orthography, I should write *Addison's* description of the angel in the following manner, distinguishing the *simple breathing* or first element, which we cannot invariably omit, by a perpendicular line above our first or second vowel:

Sò hwen sm énjel, bai divain
cāmánd,
Widh raisiñ tempests shécs a
gilti land,
Sch az əv lét ɔr pél Britanya
pást,
Cálm and sirín hi draivz dhi
fyúryas blást,
And plíz'd dh' álmaitiz árdərz
tu pərfórm,
Raids in dhi hwerlwind and
dairects dhi stārm.

This mode of writing poetry would be the touchstone of bad rhymes, which the eye as well as the ear would instantly detect; as in the first couplet of this description, and even in the last, according to the common pronunciation of *perform*."

The following is probably the meaning to be attached to Jones's symbols, leaving his errors as they stand, but supplying the (ə) occasionally omitted in accordance with Sanscrit custom, and not inserting accents. It is very possible that though he *wrote* signs equivalent to (a, i, ee, r), he actually *said* (æ, i, ee, r).

(Soo hwen səm eendzhel, bai
divain kamaand,
Widh raisiq tempests sheeks a
gilti land,
Sətsh az əv leet ɔor peel Britan-
ja paast,
Kaalm and siriin ni draivz dhi
fruuryas blaast,
And, pliizd dh- aalmaitiz aarderz
tu pərfóorm,
Raids in dhi hwerlwind and
dairects dhi stāarm.)

So dhi piur limpid striim, huen faul with steens
 av rəshiq Tarents ænd disendiq Reens,
 Uorks itself kliir; ænd æz it rəns rifəins,
 Til bæi digriis, dhe flətiq mirər shəins,
 Riflekts iitsh flaur dhæt an its bardər groz,
 And e nu hev'n in its feer Bəzəm shəz.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MISS STEPHENSON AND DR. FRANKLIN.

Diir Sər,

Kensiqtən, Septembər 26, 1768.

əi hæv trænskərb'd iur ælfæbet, &c., huitsh əi think mæt bi av sərvis tu dhəz, hu uish tæ ækuəir ən ækiuret prənənsieshən, if dhæt kuld bi fiks'd; bət əi si meni inkanviiniensis, æz uel oz difikəltis, dhat uuld¹ ætend dhi briqiq iur letərs and arthagræfi intu kamən iəs. aal aur etimalədshiz uuld be last, kansikuentli ui kuld nat asertən dhi miiniq av meni uərdz; dhi distinkshən tu, bituiin uərdz av difərənt miiniq ænd similær saund uuld bi distraəd, ænd aal dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi² iusles, ənles ui liviq rəiters pəblish nu iidishəns. In shart əi biliiv ui mæt let piipil spel an in dheer əld ue, ænd (æz ui fəind it iisiiest) du dhi seem aurselves. *With ease and with sincerity I can, in the old way, subscribe myself, Dear Sir, Your faithful and affectionate Servant,*
Dr. Franklin. *M. S.*

ANSWER TO MISS S * * * *

Diir Mædæm,³

dhi Abdshekshən iu meek to rektifəiiq aur ælfæbet, dhæt it uil bi ætended widh inkanviniensiz ænd difikəltiz, iz e næturæl uən; far it əluæz akərz huen eni refar-

Probably the difference between Franklin and Jones was more apparent than real. In *perform*, however, Franklin evidently adopted the pronunciation which Jones disliked. On Jones's sensitiveness to rhyme see *suprà* p. 866, note, where a line has been unfortunately omitted. For the sentence beginning on l. 7, col. 2, of that note, read: "THE SEVEN FOUNTAINS of 542 lines has only *afford-Lord*. THE PALACE OF FORTUNE of 506 lines has only *shone-sun*, and *stood-blood*."

The passage selected as an example by both Franklin and Jones is from Addison's *Campaign*, lines 287-291; and is parodied thus in Pope's *Dunciad*, 3, 261-264:

Immortal Rich! how calm he sits at ease
 'Mid snows of paper, and fierce hail of peace;
 And proud his Mistress' orders to perform
 Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

¹ Probably meant for (wuld). It is one of the inconveniences of the use of (i, u) for (j, w), together with (ii, uu)

for the long vowels, as in Franklin's scheme, that *ye, woo* (jii, wuu) must be written (ii, uu) or (iii, uuu). The latter form I have never seen employed. Hence there is always an ambiguity in such words.

² The words (distraəd, ænd aal dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi) are omitted in the copy of this letter in Franklin's works, vol. 2, p. 361, and are here restored from the quotations of Miss Stephenson's words in Dr. Franklin's reply, pp. 364-5, so that they contain his spelling rather than hers.

³ There are several letters preserved in Franklin's works addressed to Miss Stephenson or Stevenson. One dated 17th May, 1760, begins: "I send my good girl the books I mentioned to her last night," and gives advice in reading, shewing that she was then very young, but that Franklin had been in the habit of talking with her about literature and language.

meshən iz propoʒed; huedhər in rilidshən, gəvərnment, laz, and iven daun æz lo æz rōds ænd huil kæriddshiz. dhi tru kuestshən dhen, is nat hueddhər dhæer uil bi nō difikəltiz ar inkənvinienstiz, bət huedher dhi difikəltiz mē nat bi sərmaunted; and huedheər¹ dhi kanviniensiz uil nat, an dhi huol, bi grētər dhan dhi inkənvinienstiz. In dhis kes, dhi difikəltiz er onli in dhi biginiq av dhi prækstiz: huen dhē er uəns ovərkəm, dhi advantedshez er læstiq.—To øidhər iu ar mi, hu spel uel in dhi prezent mōd, øi imædshin dhi difikəlti av tshendiq² dhat mōd far dhi nu, iz nat so grēt, bət dhæt ui mōit pərfektli git ovər it in a uiiks rēitiq. Æz to dhoz hu du nat spel uel, if dhi tu difikəltiz er kəmpərd, viz., dhæt av titshiq dhem tru speliq in dhi prezent mōd, ænd dhæt av titshiq dhem dhi nu ælfæbet ænd dhi nu speliq ækardiq to it, øi æm kənfidēt dhæt dhi lætər uuld bi byi³ fər dhi list. dhē nætəræli fal into dhi nu mēthəd ælreadi, æz mətsh æz dhi imperfekshən av dher ælfæbet uil ædmit av; dhēr prezent bəd speliq iz onli bəd, bikaz kantreri to dhi prezent bəd ruls: øndər dhi nu ruls it uuld bi gud.—dhi difikəlti av lørniq to spel uel in dhi old uē iz so grēt, dhæt fiu ætēn it; thauzænds ænd thauzænds rēitiq an to old edsh, uidhaut ever biiq ebil to ækuəir it. 'Tiz, bisøidz, e difikəlti kəntinuæli inkriisiq, æz dhi saund græduæli veriz mōr ænd mōr fram dhi speliq; ænd to farenərz⁴ it mēks dhi lørniq to prōnans aur læquedsh, æz riten in aur buks, ælmast impasibil.

Nau æz to dhi inkənvinienstiz iu menshən.—dhi fərst iz, dhæt aal aur etimalōdshiz uuld bi last, kənsikuentli ui kuld nat asərteen dhi miiniq av meni uərdz.—etimalōdshiz er æt present veri ənsərteen; bət sətsh æz dhē er, dhi old buks uuld stil prizərv dhem, ænd etimolōdshiz⁵ uuld dhēr fōind dhem. Uərdz in dhi kōrs av tyim,⁶ tshendsh dher miiniqs, æz uel æz dher speliq ænd prōnənsiəshən; ænd ui du nat luk to etimalōdshi far dher prezent miiniqs. If øi shuld kal e mæn e Neev ænd e Vilen, ni uuld hærldi bi sətisfoid with⁷ mōi teliq nim, dhæt uən av dhi uərdz øridshinæli signifoid onli e læd ar sərævənt; ænd dhi ødhər, æn øndər plaumæn, ar dhi inhæbitænt av e viledsh. It iz fram prezent iusedsh onli, dhi miiniq av uərdz iz to bi dētərmind.

¹ This word seems to have exercised the Doctor very much, this is the third orthography in a few lines. He meant (whedhər) of course.

² Meaning (tsheendzh'iq) *changing*.

³ Franklin's character for (ə) is *y*, and consequently his printer easily confuses it with *y*; (byi) is an error for (bei). Several of the errors here copied may be due to his printer, and cannot be corrected by the original MS.

⁴ "Dr. Franklin used to lay some little stress on this circumstance, when he occasionally spoke on the subject. 'A dictionary, formed on this model, would have been serviceable to him, he

said, even as an American;' because, from the want of public examples of pronunciation in his own country, it was often difficult to learn the proper sound of certain words, which occurred very frequently in our English writings, and which of course every American very well understood as to their meaning. B. V.'"—Note to Dr. F.'s Works, vol. 2, p. 363.

⁵ Meaning, probably *etymologists* (etimalōdshists) in his spelling.

⁶ Meaning (təim) *time*. See above, note 3.

⁷ The (w) and the (th) are both slips. He meant (uidh) in his spelling.

Iur sekənd inkanviniens iz, dhæt dhi distinkshən bituiin uərdz av difərənt miiniq and similær saund uuld bi distraəid.—dhæt distinkshən iz alreadi distraəid in pronaunsiq dhēm; ənd ui riləi an dhi sens ələn av dhi sentens tō əsərtēn, huitsh av dhi severæl uərdz, similær in saund, ui intend. If dhis iz səfışent in dhi rəpiditi av diskərs, it uil bi mutsh mōr sō in riten sentenses, huitsh mē bi red lezshurli, ənd ətended tō mōr pærtikulærli in kes av difikəlti, dhæn ui kæn ətend tō e pæst sentens, huəl e spikər iz həriiq¹ əs ələq uith nu uəns.

Iur thərd inkanviniens iz, dhæt aal dhi buks əlredi riten uuld bi iusles.—dhis inkanviniens uuld ōnli kəm an græduəli, in e kōrs av edshes. Iu ənd əi, ənd əðhər nau liviq ridərs, uuld hærdli farget dhi ius av dhēm. Piipil uuld long lərn tō riid dhi əld rēitiq, dhō dhē præktist dhi nu.—Ənd dhi inkanviniens is nat greater, dhæn huæt hes əktuəli həpend in ə similær kes, in Iteli. Farmerli its inhəbitənts aal spək and rōt Lætīn: əz dhi ləquedsh tshendshd, dhi speliq falə'd it. It iz tru dhæt ət prezēt, e miir ōnlərn'd Italiē knat² riid dhi Lætīn buks; dhō dhe er stil red ənd əndərstud bəi meni. Bət, if dhi speliq həd nəvər bin tshendshed, hi uuld nau hev faund it mətsh mōr difikəlt tō riid and ryt³ niz ōn laquədsh; fər riten uərdz uuld hev həd nō rilēshən tō saunds, dhe uuld ōnli hev stud fər thiqs; sō dhæt if hi uuld ekspres in rēitiq dhi əidia hi hēz, huēn hi saunds dhi uərd *Vescovo*, hi mēst iuz dhi leterz *Episcopus*.—In shart, huətever dhi difikəltiz ənd inkanviniensiz nau er, dhe uil bi mōr iizili sərmaunted nau, dhan hirəftər; ənd sēm tēm ar əðhər, it mēst bi dən; ar aur rēitiq uil bikəm dhi seem uidh dhi Tshəiniiz, əz tō dhi difikəlti av lərnīq and iuzīq it. Ənd it uuld əlredi hev bin sətsh, if ui həd kantīnud dhi Saksən speliq and rēitiq, iuzed bəi ōur fərfadhers. əi əm, mēi diir frīnd, iurs əfekshənətli, B. Franklin.

Lōndən, Krevēn-strīit, Sept. 28, 1768.

ii. NOAH WEBSTER'S REMARKS ON AMERICAN ENGLISH.

Noah Webster's *English Dictionary* has so recently become popular in England that we can scarcely look upon him as belonging to the XVIIIth century. But having been born in Connecticut in 1758, his associations with English pronunciation in America are referable to a period of English pronunciation in England belonging quite to the beginning of the XVIIIth, if not even to the latter half of the XVIIth century. The recent editions of the Dictionary all shew a "revised" pronunciation, so that the historical character of the work in this respect is destroyed. The following extracts from a special and little known work by the same author are valuable for our purpose, as they convey much information on the archaisms which were at least then prevalent in America, and distinguish in many cases between American and English pronunciation.

¹ Either (həriiq) meaning (hər-əi, iq) or (həriiq) meaning (hər'i, iq).

² Probably (kənat) cannot.

³ Meaning (rēit) write, see p. 1062, n. 3.

Title. Dissertations on the English Language: with notes, historical and critical. To which is added, by way of Appendix, an Essay on a Reformed Mode of Spelling, with Dr. Franklin's Arguments on that Subject. By Noah Webster, Jun., Esquire. Printed at Boston for the Author, 1789. 8vo., pp. xvi., 410. Press-mark at British Museum, 825 g. 27. Dedicated "to his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., late President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Hartford.

In Franklin's Works (London, 1806, vol. 2, p. 351), under date 26 Dec. 1789, there is a letter from Franklin to Webster, acknowledging and praising this book, and drawing attention to the following Americanisms as having been adopted subsequently to 1723. *Improved* for employed or used, as "a country house many years *improved* as a tavern; a country gentleman for more than thirty years *improved* as a justice of the peace." "A verb from the substantive *notice*. I should not have *noticed* this, were it not that the gentleman, etc. Also another verb from the substantive *advocate*: The gentleman

who *advocates* or who has *advocated* that motive, etc. Another from the substantive *progress*, the most awkward and abominable of the three: the committee having *progressed*, resolved to adjourn. The word *opposed*, though not a new word, I find used in a new manner, as, the gentlemen who are *opposed* to this measure, to which I have also myself always been *opposed*. If," continues Franklin, addressing Webster, "you should happen to be of my opinion with respect to these innovations, you will use your authority in reprobating them." The words are still all in use in America; and *to notice*, *to advocate*, and *opposed* are common in England, where even to *progress* is heard. The point of interest is that in the use as well as in the pronunciation of words, elderly people are being continually offended by innovations which they look upon as deteriorations, but which constantly prevail in spite of such denunciations.

In the following paragraphs all is Webster's writing, except the passages between brackets and in palæotype. The pages of the original are also inserted in brackets as they arise.

[Note at back of contents, p. xvi.]

The sounds of the vowels, marked or referred to in the second and third dissertations, are according to the Key in the First Part of the Institute. Thus:

	a	e	i	o	u	y
First sound,	late,	feet,	night,	note,	tune,	sky
Second	hat,	let,	tin,	tun,	glory	
Third		law,	fraud			
Fourth		ask,	father			
Fifth		not,	what			
Sixth		prove,	room			

[p. 83] Thus *i* in *fit* has the same quality of sound as *ee* in *feet*. . . . The other vowels have also their short or abrupt sounds; *a* in *late* [p. 84] has its short sound in *let*; *a* in *cart* has its short sound in *carry*; *a* in *fall* has its short sound in *folly*; *oo* in *fool* its short sound in *full*. *O* is sometimes shortened in common parlance, as in *colt*; but the distinction between *o* in *coal* and *colt* seems to be accidental or caused by the final consonant, and not sufficiently settled or important to require a separate consideration. . . . [Here we have the usual difficulties (ii, i) or (i, i) ? (aa, a) or (aa, æ) ? (AA, A) or (AA, æ); (uu, u) or (uu, u) ? Perhaps *colt* was (kolt), not (kolt), in the pronunciation referred to. This point will

be again alluded to when touching on present American English, Chap. XI. § 1.]

The letters, *i*, *u* and *y* are usually classed among the vowels; but the first or long sound of each requires, in pronunciation, two positions of the organs of speech, or rather a transition from the position necessary to form one simple sound, to the position necessary to form another simple sound. We begin the sound of *i* nearly with the same aperture of the glottis, [a mere error arising from necessary ignorance of the mechanism of speech, the glottis being closed for all vowels,] as we do the broad *a* or *aw*. The aperture however is not quite so great. We rapidly close the mouth to the position where

we pronounce *ee*, and there stop the sound (*ai*?). This letter is therefore a diphthong.

U also is not strictly a vowel; nor is it, as it is commonly represented, composed [p. 85] of *e* and *oo*. We do not begin the sound in the position necessary to sound *ee*, as is obvious in the words *salute*, *salubrious*, *revolution*; but with a greater aperture of the mouth and with a position perfectly easy and natural. From that position we pass to the position with which we pronounce *oo*, and there close the sound. It must however be observed that when these letters *i*, *u*, are followed by a consonant, the two sounds of the diphthong are not clearly distinguishable. We do not, in *fight*, hear the sound of *ee*; nor the sound of *oo* in *cube*. The consonant compresses the organs and closes the sound of the word so suddenly, that the ear can distinguish but a simple vocal sound. And notwithstanding these letters are diphthongs, when considered by themselves, yet in combination with consonants, they are often marks of simple sounds or vowels. [This may only indicate an insufficient power of analysis. The diphthongs were perhaps only much shorter in these cases, that is, had the second element, and the connecting glide much shorter, giving a compressed effect. But *cube*, which is now really (*kidub*), with a long second element, may have been squeezed into (*kyb*), by the "linking" of its elements as (*i*u=y*) very nearly. Similarly *fight* may have reached (*fet*), as (*a*i*) = (*æ*) very nearly. See further remarks on long *u* near the end of these extracts, *infra* p. 1069.]

The short sound of *i* and *y* is merely short *ee*. The sound of *u* in *tune* is a separate vowel, which has no affinity to any other sound in the language. [Can this be (*yy*)? Compare Steele's *tune*, p. 1057, and Kenrick, p. 1052, No. 6.]

The sound of *oi* or *oy* is diphthongal, composed of the third or broad *a* and *ee*. [We have then the old difficulty in separating long *i* from *oy*, both being made (*ai*) or (*ai*). p. 86] The sound of *ou* or *ow* is also diphthongal, compounded of third *a* and *oo*. The sound however does not require quite so great an aperture of the mouth as broad *a*; the position is more natural, and the articulation requires less exertion (*au*?).

[p. 88] The vowels therefore in

English are all heard in the following words, late, half, hall, feet, pool, note, tun, fight, truth. The five first have short sounds or duplicates, which may be heard in let, hat, hot, fit, pull; and the letters *i* and *u* are but accidentally vowels. The pure primitive vowels in English are therefore seven.

The diphthongs may be heard in the following words: lie or defy, due, voice or joy, round or now. To these we may add *ua* in *persuade*; and perhaps the combinations of *w* and the vowels, in *well*, *will*, etc.

[p. 92 Webster remarks that *i* has its first sound in bind, find, mind, kind, blind, grind. But *wind* has the second short sound of *i*. Then in a footnote, p. 93, he adds:] On the stage, it is sometimes pronounced with *i* long, either for the sake of rhyme, or in order to be heard. Mr. Sheridan marks it both ways; yet in common discourse he pronounces it with *i* short, as do the nation in general.

[Cambridge, danger, and perhaps manger. Also angel, ancient have (*ee*).] In this all the standard authors [p. 94] agree, except Kenrick and Burn, who mark *a* in *ancient* both long and short. The English pronunciation is followed in the middle and southern states [of America]; but the eastern universities have restored these words to the analogy of the language, and give *a* its second sound (*æ*). It is presumed that no reason can be given for making these words exceptions to the general rule, but practice; and this is far from being universal, there being many of the best speakers in America, who give *a* in the words mentioned the same sound as in *anguish*, *annals*, *angelic*, *antiquity*.

In the word *chamber*, *a* has its fourth sound (*aa*). It is necessary to remark this, as [p. 95] there are many people in America who give *a* its first sound (*ee*), which is contrary to analogy and to all the English authorities. [Mr. White, *supra* p. 968, c. 1, in a note on LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 22), says: "The isolation of the Englishmen of New England, and their consequent protection from exterior influences, caused changes in pronunciation, as well as in idiom, to take place more slowly among them than among their brethren who remained in the mother-country; and the orthoepy for which the worthy pedant contends, is not very far removed from that of the grandfathers

and great-grandfathers of the present generation in the more sequestered parts of the eastern states. The scholars among these, as well as those who had received only that common-school education which no Yankee is allowed to lack, did not, for instance, in Holofernian phrase, speak *coud* and *woud* fine, but pronounced all the consonants, *could* and *would*; they said *sword*, not *sored*; they pronounced 'have' to rhyme with 'rave,' not *hav*, —'jest,' which used to be written *jeast*, *jeest* to rhyme with 'yeast,' — 'pert,' which of old was spelled *pear* *t*, *peert*: and in compound words they said for instance 'clean-ly,' not *clen-ly*, and, correctly, 'an-gel,' 'cham-ber,' 'dan-ger,' not *ane-gel*, *chame-ber*, *dane-ger*. Their accents yet linger in the ears of some of us, and make the words of Shakespeare's pedagogue not altogether strange." As regards *chamber* see Moore's rhyme: *amber chamber*, *suprà* p. 859, col. 1.]

[p. 96] I consider these terminations *tion*, *sion*, *cion*, *cial*, *cian*, as single syllables.

[p. 103] In the eastern states there is a practice prevailing among the body of the people of prolonging the sound of *i* in the termination *ive*. In such words as *motive*, *relative*, etc., the people, excepting the more polished part, give *i* its first sound (*ai*?). This is a local practice, opposed to the general [p. 104] pronunciation of English on both sides of the Atlantic. . . . [In footnote to p. 104] The final *e* must be considered as the cause of this vulgar dialect. It is wished that some bold genius would dare to be right, and spell this class of words without *e*, *motiv*. . . .

[p. 105] In the middle states . . . many people pronounce *practise*, *prejudice* with *i* long. I know of no authority for this beyond the limits of two or three states.

Another very common error, among the yeomanry of America, and particularly in New England, is the pronouncing of *e* before *r*, like *a*; as *marcy* for *mercy*. This mistake must have originated principally in the name of the letter *r*, which, in most of our school-books, is called *ar*. This single mistake has spread a false pronunciation of several hundred words among millions of people. [In a footnote] To remedy the evil in some degree, this letter is named *er*, in the Institute.

In a few instances this pronunciation is become general among polite speakers, as clerks, sergeant, etc. [In text] To avoid this disagreeable singularity, some fine speakers have run into another extreme, by pronouncing *e* before *r*, like *u*, *marcy*. This is an error. The true sound of the short *e*, as in *let*, is the correct and elegant pronunciation of this letter in all words of this class. [But (*mer-si*) can now only be heard in Scotland.]

[p. 106] There is a vulgar singularity in the pronunciation of the eastern people, which is very incorrect, and disagreeable to strangers, that of prefixing the sound of *i* short or *e*, before the diphthong *ow*; as *kiow*, *piow* or *peow*. This fault usually occurs after *p*, *c* hard, or those other consonants which are formed near the seat of *ee* in the mouth. . . . But the most awkward countryman pronounces *round*, *ground*, etc., with tolerably propriety.

[Webster then remarks on the New England drawl, and attributes it to its "political institutions" !]

[p. 108, note, he speaks of] the surprising similarity between the idioms of the New England people and those of Chaucer, Shakespear, Congreve, etc., who wrote in the true English style.

[p. 109, he speaks of] the very modern pronunciation of *kind*, *sky*, *guide*, etc., in which we hear the short *e* before *i*, *keind*, or *kyine*, *skey*, etc. [he compares it to the eastern *keow*, *veow*, and adds:] Yet, strange as it may seem, it is the elegant pronunciation of the fashionable people both in England and America [but he strongly disapproves of it].

[p. 110] Some of the southern people, particularly in Virginia, almost omit the sound of *r*, as in *ware*, *there*. In the best English pronunciation the sound of *r* is much softer than in some of the neighbouring languages, particularly the Irish and Spanish, and probably much softer than in the ancient Greek. . . . [This omission of the *r*, or its degradation to (*i*, *ə*, ')] is still very prevalent in America as in England, if we may judge from Yankee books of drollery, but its prevalence in Webster's time indicates that it was at least well known in England in the xviith century. See *suprà* p. 974.]

It is a custom very prevalent in the middle states, even among some well-bred people, to pronounce *off*, *soft*, *drop*,

crop, with the sound of *a*, *aff*, *saft*, *drap*, *crap*. [p. 111] This seems to be a foreign and local dialect; and cannot be advocated by any person who understands correct English. [In a note on this passage, p. 383, he adds:] The dialect in America is peculiar to the descendants of the Scotch Irish. [In Sheridan's *Trip to Scarborough*, acted in 1777, a refashionment of Vanbrugh's *Relapse*, 1697, we still meet with, *rat*, *lard*, *stap*, *Gad* in oaths, and *Tam* in an address; *egad* is in the *School for Scandal*, and may be heard still, and in Dorsetshire we shall find many such cases.]

[p. 111] In the middle states also, many people pronounce a *t* at the end of *once* and *twice*, *oncet* and *twicet*. This gross impropriety would not be mentioned, but for its prevalence among a class of very well educated people; particularly in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Fotch for *fetch* is very common, in several states, but not among the better classes of people. *Catched* for *caught* is more frequent, and equally barbarous.

Skroud and *skrouge* for *croud*, are sometimes heard among people that should be ashamed of the least vulgarity.

Mought for *might* is heard in most of the states, but not frequently, except in a few towns.

Holpe for *help* I have rarely heard, except in Virginia, [where, in a note, p. 384, he says] it is pronounced *hope*. "Shall I hope you, sir?"

Tote is local in Virginia and its neighbourhood. In meaning it is nearly equivalent to *carry*.

Chore, a corruption of *char*, is perhaps confined to New England.

[In a note on this passage, p. 385, he remarks the use of *dern* pronounced *darn* for *great*, *severe* in New England; also *ax* for *ask* there.]

[p. 388] *Shet* for *shut* is now become vulgar. In New England we frequently hear *becase* to this day. It is pronounced *becaze*. The vulgar pronunciation of *such* is *sich*.

[p. 112] The pronunciation of *w* for *v* is a prevailing practice in England and America; it is particularly prevalent in Boston and Philadelphia. [p. 113] Many people say *veal*, *wessel*, for *veal*, *vessel*. [In a footnote he says:] I am at a loss to determine why this practice should prevail in Boston and

not in Connecticut. The first and principal settlers in Hartford came from the vicinity of Boston. Vast numbers of people in Boston and the neighbourhood use *w* for *v*, yet I never once heard this pronunciation in Connecticut.

[p. 114] The words *shall*, *quality*, *quantity*, *qualify*, *quandary*, *quadrant*, are differently pronounced by good speakers. Some give *a* a broad sound as *shol*, *quolity*, and others its second sound as in *hat*. With respect to the four first almost all the standard writers [who in a footnote are named as Kenrick, Sheridan, Burn, Perry and Scott] agree to pronounce *a* short as in *hat*, and this is [p. 115] the stage pronunciation. It is correct, for it is more agreeable to the analogy of the language; that being the proper sound of the English *a* which is heard in *hat* or *bar*. [Hence Webster ought to have said (hat) and not (hæt), like Kenrick.] With respect to the two last, authors differ; some give the first (*ee*), some the second (*æ*), and others the fifth sound (*o*). They all pretend to give us the court pronunciation, and as they differ so widely, we must suppose that eminent speakers differ in practice. In such a case, we can hardly hesitate a moment to call in analogy to decide the question, and give *a* in all these words, as also in *quash*, its second sound (*æ*). [In a footnote he observes:] The distinction in the pronunciation of *a* in *quality* when it signifies the property of some body (*o* ?), and when it is used for high rank (*æ* ?), appears to me without foundation in rule or practice.

[p. 115 text] The words *either*, *neither*, *deceit*, *conceit*, *receipt*, are generally pronounced by the eastern people *ither*, *nither*, *desate*, *consate*, *re-sate*. These are errors; all the standard authors agree to give *ei* in these words the sound of *ee*. This is the practice in England, in the middle and southern States.

[p. 116] *Importance* is by a few people pronounced impo'rtance, with the first sound of *o* (*oo*). . . . It seems however to be affectation, for the standard writers and general practice are opposed to it.

Decis-ive for *deci-sive* is mere affectation.

Reesin for *raisin* is very prevalent in two or three principal towns in America.

Leisure is sometimes pronounced

leasure and sometimes *lezsure*; the latter is the [p. 117] most general pronunciation in America.

Dictionary has been usually pronounced *dicsionary*.

One author of eminence pronounces *defile* in three syllables *def-i-le*. In this he is singular; . . . all the other authorities are against him.

With respect to *oblige*, authorities differ. The standard writers give us both *oblige* and *obleege*, and it is impossible to determine on which side the weight of authority lies.

[p. 118] Some people very erroneously pronounce *chaise*, *sha* in the singular and *shaze* in the plural. [The pronunciation (*poo shee*) for *post chaise* was familiar to me in London fifty years ago.]

Our modern fashionable speakers accent *European* on the last syllable but one. This innovation has happened within a few years. [p. 119] Analogy requires *Euro-pean* and this is supported by as good authorities as the other. [Footnote p. 118] *Hymenean* and *hymeneal* are, by some writers, accented on the last syllable but one, but erroneously; other authorities preserve the analogy.

[p. 119] *Rome* is very frequently pronounced *Room*, and that by people of every class. The authors I have consulted give no light upon this word except Perry, who directs to that pronunciation. The practice however is by no means general in America. There are many good speakers who give *o* its first sound (*oo*). It seems very absurd to give *o* its first sound (*oo*) in *Romish*, *Romans*, and pronounce it *oo* in *Rome*, the radical word.

[p. 120] In the pronunciation of *arch* in many compound words, people are not uniform. The disputed words are *archangel*, *archetype*, *architecture*, *architrave*, *archives*. . . . The sound of *ch* in *chart* is likewise disputed.

[p. 121] There are many people who omit the aspirate in most words which begin with *wh*, as *white*, *whip*, etc., which they pronounce *wite*, *wip*, etc. To such it is necessary to observe that in the pure English pronunciation both in Great Britain and New England, for it is exactly the same in both, *h* is not silent in a single word beginning with *wh*. In this point our standard authors differ; two of them aspirating the whole of these words, and three mark-

ing *h* in most of them as mute. [Kenrick always marks *h* as mute, or *wh*=(*w*).] But the omission of *h* seems to be a foreign corruption; for in America it is not known among the unmixed descendants of the English. . . . In this class of words *w* is silent in four only, with their derivatives; viz. *who*, *whole*, *whoop*, *whore*.

[p. 122] One or two authors affect to pronounce *human* and about twenty other words beginning with *h*, as though they were spelt *yuman*. This is a gross error. The only word that begins with this sound is *humor*, with its derivatives. In the American pronunciation *h* is silent in the following, *honest*, *honor*, *hour*, *humor*, *herb*, *heir*, with their derivatives. To these the English add *hospital*, *hostler*, *humble*; but an imitation of these, which some industriously affect, cannot be recommended, as every omission of the aspirate serves to mutilate and weaken the language.

[p. 123] The word *yelk* is sometimes written *yolk* and pronounced *yoke*. But *yelk* is the most correct orthography, from the Saxon *gealkwe* [spelled *geoleca*, *geolca*, from *geolu* yellow, in Ettmüller, p. 418]; and in this country it is the general pronunciation.

Ewe is, by the English, often pronounced *yo*; which is sometimes heard in America. But analogy and the general corresponding practice in this country, . . . decide for *yew*.

The English speakers of eminence have shortened the vowel in the first syllable of *tyranny*, *zealous*, *sacrifice*, etc. . . . [that is, made it (*i*, *e*, *æ*) respectively, as is now the general English custom]. This pronunciation has not spread among the people of this country [that is, presumably, they make it (*ai*, *ii*, *ee*) respectively]. . . . Many people in America say *pat-ron*, *mat-ron*; whereas the English say either *pa-tron* or *pat-ron*, *ma-tron* [p. 124] or *mat-ron*, but all agree in saying *pat-ronage*. In *patriot*, *patriotism*, the English give *a* its long sound, but a great part of the Americans, its short sound. [This is similar to the use of *pro-verbs* for *prov-erbs* which Mr. White, Shakspeare's Works 3, 226, says "still lingers in New England."]

Wrath the English pronounce with the third sound of *a* or *aw* (AA), but the Americans almost universally preserve the analogous sound, as in *bath*, *path* [(aa) or (æ) i].

[p. 125] In the middle and southern states, *fierce*, *pierce*, *tierce*, are pronounced *ferce*, *peerce*, *teerce*. To convince the people of the impropriety of this pronunciation, it might be sufficient to inform them, that it is not fashionable on the English theater.

[p. 126] The standard English pronunciation now is *ferce*, *perce*, *terce* [which is now, 1871, unknown in the South of England; see *suprà* p. 105, n. 1], and it is universal in New England.

The English pronounce *leap*, *lep*; and that in the present tense as well as the past. Some of our American horsemen have learnt the practice; but among other people it is almost unknown.

In the fashionable world, *heard* is pronounced *herd* or *hurd*. This was almost unknown in America till the commencement of the late war [that of Independence], and how long it has been [p. 127] the practice in England I cannot determine. . . . That *herd* was not formerly the pronunciation, is probable from this circumstance; the Americans were strangers to it when they came from England, and the body of the people are so to this day. To most people in this country the English pronunciation appears like [p. 128] affectation, and is adopted only in the capital towns. [It is implied that the Americans say *heerd*, like Dr. Johnson, *suprà* p. 624, note, c. 2.]

Beard is sometimes, but erroneously, pronounced *beerd*. General practice, both in England and America, requires that *e* should be pronounced as in *were*, and I know of no rule opposed to the practice.

Deaf is generally pronounced *deef*. It is the universal practice in the eastern states, and it is general in the middle and southern; though some have adopted the English pronunciation *def*. The latter is evidently a corruption.

[p. 131] *Gold* is differently pronounced by good speakers. [He decides for (*gould*) in preference to (*guuld*).]

[p. 133] Similar reasons and equally forceable are opposed to the modern pronunciation of *wound* [as (*wuund*)]; he decides for (*waund*). p. 134] There is but a small part even of the well-bred people in this country, who have yet adopted the English mode [(*wuund*)].

[p. 136] *Skeptic* for *septic* is mere pedantry. [He apparently refers only

to the spelling, but as he instances the spelling *scene*, *scepter*, he perhaps said (*sep-tik*).]

[p. 137] *Sauce* with the fourth sound of *a* (*aa*), is accounted vulgar; yet this is the ancient, the correct and most general pronunciation. The *aw* of the North Britons is much affected of late; *sawce*, *hawnt*, *vawnt*; yet the true sound is that of *aunt*, *jaunt*, and a change can produce no sensible advantage.

[He decides in favour of accenting *advertisement*, *chastisement* on the last syllable but one, and *acceptable*, *admirable*, *disputable*, *comprable* on the last but two, and says, p. 141:] The people at large say *admireable*, *disputable*, *comprable*, and it would be difficult to lead them from this easy and natural pronunciation, to embrace that forced one of *admirable*, etc. The people are right, and, in this particular, will ever have it to boast of, that among the unlearned is found the purity of English pronunciation. [He admits *reputable* as an exception. He decides for *accessary*, p. 142.]

[p. 143] *Immedyate* is so difficult, that every person who attempts to pronounce it in that manner will fall into *immejate*. Thus *commodious*, *comedian*, *tragedian*, are very politely pronounced *commojus*, *comejan*, *trajejan* [which he denounces, and requires *-di-* to form a distinct syllable].

[On pp. 147-179, he has a disquisition on the pronunciation of *d*, *t*, and *s* before *u*, as (*dz*h, *tsh*, *sh*), to which he is strongly opposed. The argument goes to shew that it was then common in England and not in America. But the only parts which it is necessary to quote are the following. After citing Wallis's account of long *u* (*suprà* p. 171), he says on his p. 151:]

This is precisely the idea I have ever had of the English *u*; except that I cannot allow the sound to be perfectly simple. If we attend to the manner in which we begin the sound of *u* in *flute*, *abjure*, *truth*, we shall observe that the tongue is not pressed to the mouth so closely as in pronouncing *e*; the aperture of the organs is not so small; and I presume that good speakers, and am confident that most people, do not pronounce these words *fleute*, *abjeure*, *treuth*. Neither do they pronounce them *floote*, *abjoore*, *trooth*; but with a sound formed by

an easy natural aperture of the mouth, between *iu* and *oo*; which is the true English sound. This sound, however, obscured by affectation in the metropolis of Great Britain and [p. 152] the capital towns in America, is still preserved by the body of the people in both countries. There are a million descendants of the Saxons in this country who retain the sound of *u* in all cases, precisely according to Wallis's definition. Ask any plain countryman, whose pronunciation has not been exposed to corruption by mingling with foreigners, how he pronounces the letters *i*, *r*, *u*, *th*, and he will not sound *u* like *eu*, nor *oo*, but will express the real primitive English *u*. Nay, if people wish to make an accurate trial, let them direct any child of seven years old, who has had no previous instruction respecting the matter, to pronounce the words *suit*, *tumult*, *due*, etc., and they will thus ascertain the true sound of the letter. Children pronounce *u* in the most natural manner; whereas the sound of *iu* requires a considerable effort, and that of *oo*, a forced position of the lips. Illiterate persons therefore pronounce the genuine English *u* much better than those who have attempted to shape their pronunciation according to the modern polite practice. [p. 189] In modern times, we have, in many words, blended the sound of *u* with that of *ew*, or rather use them promiscuously. It is indifferent, as to the pronunciation, whether we write *fuel* or *fewel*. And yet in this word, as also in *new*, *brew*, etc., we do not hear the sound of *e*, except among the Virginians, who affect to pronounce it distinctly, *ne-ew*, *ne-oo*, *fe-oo*. This affectation is not of modern date, for Wallis mentions it in his time and reprobates it [suprà p. 139].

[It would be difficult to imagine the sound from the above description. Years ago the sound was a source of great difficulty to me, because Americans refused to consider *u* as (*iu*) or (*ju*). I have not been able to study the sound sufficiently, but it sometimes seems to be (*eu*), at others (*yu*) or (*œu*). See suprà p. 980, n. 1. Webster says in a

footnote, p. 127:] The company that purchased New England was, indeed, called the *Plymouth Company*, being composed principally of persons belonging to the County of Devon. But many of the principal settlers in these states came from London and its vicinity; some from the middle counties, the ancient kingdom of Mercia; and a few from the northern counties. [And he adds:] There is not the least affinity between the languages of New England and the specimens of the Devonshire dialect given in the English Magazines. [But this sound of *u* seems to be in favour of a West of England origin; as it is not pure xvii th century. The next point of importance is, p. 156:]

But another inconsistency in the modern practice is the introducing an *e* before the second sound of *u* in *tun*; or rather changing the preceding consonant; for in *nature*, *rapture*, and hundreds of other words, *t* is changed into *tsh*; and yet no person pretends that *u* in these words has its dipthongal sound. . . . [p. 157] I believe no person ever pretended that this sound of *u* contains the sound of *e* or *y*, . . . and I challenge the advocates of the practice to produce a reason for pronouncing *natshur*, *raptshur*, *captshur*, which will not extend to authorize not only *tshun*, *tshurn* for *tun*, *turn*, but also *fatshal* for *fatal* and *immortshal* for *immortal*. Nay the latter pronunciation is actually heard among some very respectable imitators of fashion; and is frequent [p. 158] among the illiterate, in those states where the *tshu*'s are most fashionable. . . . I am sensible that some writers of novels and plays have ridiculed the common pronunciation of *creatur* and *natur* by introducing these and similar words into low characters, and spelling them *creuter*, *nater*, [which he considers a mistake, because the sound is *-ur* and not *-er* final, even when written *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*; adding, p. 159:] Liar, elder, factor are pronounced *liur*, *eldur*, *factur*, and this is the true sound of *u* in *creature*, *nature*, *rapture*, *legislature*, etc. [See suprà p. 973, under URE.]

§ 3. *Noteworthy Pronunciations and Rhymes of the Eighteenth Century, collected from the Expert Orthographist 1704, Dyche 1710, Buchanan 1760, Franklin 1768, and Sheridan 1780, and various poets.*

NOTEWORTHY PRONUNCIATIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

To form a better notion of the melting of the pronunciation current in the xviiith century into that of the xviiith, which is the direct source of the pronunciation now in use, I have collected many noteworthy pronunciations from the writers above named.

1) The *EXPERT ORTHOGRAPHIST*, 1704, exhibits an early form of the genuine xviiith century pronunciation, which partly was an anticipation of what became current fifty years later, and partly retained the old forms. The marked peculiarity is in the words containing *ea*, which were forced into (ii) beyond what afterwards received the sanction of use. Not too much value is to be attributed to this writer as representing the general pronunciation of the period. At most he bears the same relation to Jones, that Hart did to Smith in the xviith century. But there is this difference, that Hart was a travelled, educated man, and the *Orthographist* was evidently a third-rate English teacher, unused to educated society.

2) *DYCHE*, 1710, is of but very limited use, as he merely describes the sounds in the accented syllables of a few words, and does not symbolize them with sufficient accuracy. The sounds here given are therefore rather guesses than transcripts in several instances.

3) *BUCHANAN*, 1766, was not only a Scotchman, but had many Scotch proclivities, which render his vocabulary suspicious in parts. Thus, it cannot be supposed that the English language had short (i) and not (i), in competition and similar words, which is a thoroughly Scotch peculiarity, or that any but a Scotchman called *drunken* (drɔk'n). There seems reason to suppose that many, perhaps most, perhaps all, of Buchanan's short o's, here marked as (o), were pronounced by him as (o), thus *post* could hardly have been (pɔst), although it could not be marked otherwise in accordance with his notation, as this pronunciation will not harmonize at all with (puust, poost) given by others, whereas (pɔst) would only be a Scotch pronunciation of (poost). Nevertheless, the completeness and early date of this attempt to "establish a standard for an elegant and uniform pronunciation of the English language," has rendered it necessary to go through the whole, and select such words as on any account seemed worthy of preservation.

4) *FRANKLIN*, 1768, has only left us the fragment printed in the preceding section. A few words have here been selected, and their orthography has been corrected so as to represent what Franklin apparently meant to convey.

5) *SHERIDAN*, 1780, commences a series of pronouncing dictionaries, which will here be carefully passed over, but his near approach to Buchanan and Franklin, and his peculiarities, which must represent some pronunciations current during that period, dashed

though they be with his own orthoepistic fancies, rendered him the proper termination of these researches. All the words taken from Buchanan have therefore been compared with Sheridan. Kenrick's peculiarities can be sufficiently judged from his descriptions of the vowels, given above. Hence it has not been thought necessary to add his pronunciations to Sheridan's, with which they were so nearly contemporary.

Lediard's were collected subsequently to the completion of this index, and have not been added, they are however so arranged on pp. 1040-9, that they can be easily referred to.

The letters O, D, B, F, S, placed after the pronunciations, refer to these authorities in order. The transcript has been made after much consideration, but there are some doubtful points. It is probable that the (o) assigned to the Orthographist and Dyche, did not differ from Sheridan's (A). It is only Buchanan who seems to make a difference between (o) and (A), and, as we have seen, this may have arisen from his saying (o) and (A).

A

- abeyance* æbii·jæns S
ablution æbliu·shən B, S
abroad əbrʌd· B, S, O
abstruse æbstriu·z· B, æbstruus· S
absune æbsium· B, S
abundant æbʊnd·ənt B, æben·dənt S
academial ækædem·jəl B, ækædiim·jæl S
academician ækædemish·in B, ækædee·mish·ən S
acclaim ækleem· B, S
acclamation æklimee·shən B, æklæmee·shən S
activity æktiv·iti B, ækliv·iti S
ache eek B, S
acknowledge æknəl·idsh B, æknal·ədzh S
acres eek·əz O, B, S
actual æk·tʃuəl B, ækt·iuəl S
adagio ædee·dzhiə B, ædæ·dzhoə S
adhere ædhiir· O, B, S
adjudicate æddzhuur·dikeet B, S
adjure æddzhuur· B, S
adulation ædjulee·shən B, S
adventure ædvent·yər B, ædven·tʃər S
aerial eeiir·jəl B, eeiir·jæl S
aerie eeiir·i B, eeri S
again ægen· O, B, S
agio eedzhiə B
ah æə B, S
alien æli·ən O, eel·jən B, ee·ljen S
all ʌl B, S
almond ʌl·mænd O, æel·mænd B, æə·mænd S
almoner æel·munir B, æl·moonir S
almost ʌmoost· D, ʌlmoost B, S
alms æelms B, æænz S
alternate ʌltern·it B, ælternæt S
amatory eemætori B, æmæteri S
amber æm·br B, æm·bər S
amenable æmin·əbl B, æmii·næbl S
amiable eemij·əbl B, eemjæbl S
amnesty æn·sti B, æm·næsti S
among æmæg· O, S
amour æmoor· B, æmuur· S
anarch ee·nærk B, æn·ærk S
angel ændzhəl B, een·dzhel F, een·dzhel S
anoint ænəint· O, ænoint· B, ænəaint· S
answer æn·sər B, æn·ser S
ant ænt B, S
antic æntik· B, S
antique æntik· B, æntiik· S
anxious ægk·ʃəs B, ægk·ʃəs S
any æn·i B, S
aorist ee·rist B, ee·oorist S
apostle æpos·l B, æpas·tl S
appoint æpoint· O, æpoint B, æpəaint S
apparel æper·əl B, æpær·əl S
approve æprəv· O, æpruuv· B, S
April ee·prəl B, ee·pril S
apron ee·pərn O, æp·ərn B, ee·prən S
aquatic ækwæt·ik B, S
arable eer·əbl C, æræbl S
arch æərth B, S
architect ærk·itekt D, B, æærk·itekt S
are er B, eer F, ær S
area eer·iə B, S
arm æərm B, S
armada æərmee·də B, S
arsenal eers·nəl B, æərs·næl S
Asia æsh·iə B
ask æsk B, S
askance æskæns· B, æskæns· S
aslant æslæənt· B, æslænt· S
ass æs B, S
asthma æst·mæ D, B, æs·mæ S
asylum æs·iləm B, æsai·ləm S
athletic æthli·tik B, æthlet·ik S

atrocious ætroo'shəs B, S
augury AA'gəri B, AA'giuri S
aunt ænt D, æənt B, ænt S
austere AASTiir' O, B, S
avenue æv'niu B, æv'iiniu S
avoirdupoise æv'erdəpəiz' B, æv'erdə-
 pAAiz' S
await eweet' B, æweet' S
awkward AAK'ird B, AA'kərd S
awl AAL B, S
axiom æk'siəm B, æk'shəm S
azure eez'jər B, eez'hər S

B

bacchanals bæk'iniz B, bæk'ænəlz S
bacon beek'n B, S
bagnio bænjə B, bænjoo S
balcony bal'koni B, bælkooni S
bald baald D, B, S
balderdash bal'dirdəsh B, baal'derdəsh
 S
ball baal D, B, S
balm bæəm B, S
banquet bæqk'et D, bæqk'it, B, bæqk'-
 wit S
baptize bæptəiz' B, bæptaiz' S
bard bæərd B, S
barrier bæriir' B, bæ'rjər S
base bees B, S
basin bees'n B, S
basis beez'iz B, beez'is S
bass bæəs in music, bəs a mat, S
baste beest B, S
bastion bæst'jən B, bæst'shən S
bath bæth B, bæəth S
bathe beedh D, B, S
bear beer O, B, D
beard bərd O, beerd B, bərd S
Bede Biid O
behave bihuuv O, S
benign binein' B, biinain' S
bequeath bikweedh' B, biikwiidh' S
besom biiz'on D, biiz'em B, S
bestiality bestjAA'liiti B, bestshæl'iti S
beyond biyənd' O, biijənd' B, biijənd' S
bind bəind D, bəind S
bird bərd B, S
blanch blæəns B, blæntsh S
blank blæəqk B, blæqk S
blast blæst B, S
blaspheme blæsfiim' O, B, S
blood bləd O, B, S
boatswain boos'in B, boos'n S
boil bəil O, bail B, bail S
bold bould B, boold S
boltspit boos'pɹit B, S
bolster bəl'stir B, bool'stər S
bolter BOULTER bəul'tər O, bool'tər S
bombard bəmbəərd' B, bəmbəərd' S
bombazine bəmbəziin' B, S
book buuk B, S

borage bər'idzh B, S
border bər'dir B, bAA'r'dər S
bore boər B, S
born bərn B, bAArn S
borne buərn O, boərn S
borough bər'ə B, bər'oo S
bosom bəz'em B, bəz'em F, buu'zəm S
bough boo B, bau S
bought boot O?, bat B, baat S
boul bəul B, boolt S
ourn bərn B, buərn S
bouze həuz B, buuz S
bouze BOOSE buuz B, S
bow boo bau B, boo bau S
bowl bəul O, (globe) bəul, (vessel) bool
 D, bəul B, bool S
boy bəi B, bAAi S
branch brAANsh O, bræəns B, brəns B
 S
brass bræs B, S
brasier breez'jir B, bree'zhər S
bravo bræv'ə B, bree'voo S
break briik O, B, S
breakfast bræk'fæst O, bræk'fist B,
 bræk'fæst S

brecches BREETCHES britsh'iz B, S
Bristol Bristo O, D
broad brood B, brAAD S
brocade brəkeəd' B, brookeəd' S
broil brəil O, brəil B, brail S
brooch bruutsh B, S
broth brəth B, brAath S
brought broot O?, brat B, brAat S
bruise briuz O, bruuz B, S
brute bruut B, S
brumal briu'məl B, bruu'mæl S
build bild O, B, S
buoy bəi B, bwii S
burgh bər'ə B, bər'oo S
burglary bərgleəri B, bərgləri S
burial bir'æl D, ber'izil B, ber'jæl S
bury bir'i D, ber'i B, ber'i S
bush bush B, S
bustle bəs'l B, S
busy biz'i B, biz'i S
butcher butsh'ir B, butsh'ər S

C

cabal kæbaal' B, kæbæl' S
cadaverous kædəv'rəs B, kædəv'eərəs S
cadet keəd'it B, kædet' S
cadi kædi' B, keəd'i S
Calais kæləis D
calculate kælk'kjuleet B, kælk'kjuleet S
caldron kældrən B, kAAldrən S
calf kAAf O, kæəf B, S
caliber kæli'bər B, kæli'bər S
calk kAAf B, S
call kAAf D, B, S
calm kAAm O, kæəm B, kælm F,
 kæəm S

- calx* kAAks B, kælks S
cambric kæm'brík B, keem'brík S
Canaan kee'næn D
canine keenain' B, kænain' S
canoe kænoo' B, kænuu' S
cantata kanteetæ B, S
capacious kæpæsh əs B, kæpee'shəs S
capillary kæp'il'eeri B, kæp'il'æri S
capouch kæpoutsh' B
caprice keepriis' B, kæpriis' S
capricious kæprish'əs B, S
capture kæp'tər B, kæp'tshər S
capuchin kæp'iushiin D, kæpashiin' B, kæpiushiin' S
capricorn kee'prikorn B, kæp'rikarn S
carabine kææbəin B, kææ'bain S
carabineer kææribiniir' B, kærbiniir' S
carat kæ'rət B, kæ'ræt S
caravan kæævæn B, S
caraway kææ'wee B, kææ'wee S
card kæærd B, S
carmine kææ'min B, kææ'r'main S
carnelion kæænel'jən B, kææniil'jən S
carte-blanc kært-blæns B, kæært blæntsh S
cartouch kærtoutsh' B, kærtuutsh' S
carriage kææ'edzh O, kææ'edzh D, kææ'idsh B, S
carriage kææ'in B, kææ'jən S
castle kæs'tl B, kæs'l S
casual kææ'iuəl B, kææ'iuæl S
casually kææ'iuəl B, kææ'iuæli S
casualty kææ'iuəlti B, kææ'iuælti S
casuist kææ'iuist B, S
catarrh kææ'tər B, kææ'tər S
causeway kAA'si B, kAA's'wee S
cavil kæv'l B, kæv'il S
ceiling CIELING sii'lin B, sii'liq S
cement n. sim'ənt B, sem'ənt S
cement v. simənt' B, siimənt' S
censure sen'sər B, sen'shər S
centenary sen'tneeri B, sen'tiineri S
ceruse siir'əs B, seri'us S
chaff tshæf B, S
chagrin shægrin' B, S
chair tshēr B, S
chaise sheez D, B, S
chaldron tsAA'dərn D, tshAA'drin B, tshAA'drən S
chamber tshææm'bər B, tshææm'bər S
campaign shæmpeen' B, S
chandelier CHANDELIER shandee'liir' S
chandler tshænd'liər B, tshænd'lar S
change tshændzh D, tshændsh B, tshændzh S
chant tshæənt B, tshænt S
chaos kææ'əs B, kee'as S
chaplain tshæp'lin D, B, S
chaps tshæps B, tshaps S
charriot tshææ'it D, B, tshææ'rət S
charrioteer tshææ'tiir' B, tshææ'ootiir' S
chart kæært B, S
charter tshææ'tir B, tshææ'r'tər S
chasm kææ'm B, kææ'm S
chasten tshæst'in B, tshæst'n S
chastisement tshæstəiz'mənt B, tshæst'iz-mənt S
charlatan tshær'litin B, tshææ'r'lætən S
charcoal tshær'kəl B, tshææ'r'kool S
Cherubim Tsheriubim D, B, Tsheriubim S
chevalier shevæ'liir' D, shevæ'liir' S
chew tshuu B, tshuu tshAA S
chicane tshikeen' B, shikeen' S
chicanery tshikeen'ri B, shikeen'ri S
chicken tshik'n B, tshik'in S
chimera kəimii'ræ B, kaimii'ræ S
china tshin'i B, tshæ'ni S
Chinese Tshəiniiz' F
chirp tshirp B, tsherp S
chives tshəivz B, shəivz S
chocolate tshək'lit B, tshək'let S
choir kwəir D, kəir B, kwəir S
choler koo'liər B, kal'ər S
cholic kəl'ik B
chord kard B, kAard S
chorister kwə'r'istər O, D, kə'r'istər B, kə'r'istər S
chorus kərəs B, koo'rəs S
chough tshəf B, S
Christ Kriist B
christen kris'in B, kris'n S
-cial = -shæl O
-cian = -shæn O
-cient = -shent O
-cious = -shəs O
circuit ser'kit O, sər'kiut B, sər'kiut S
citron sit'ərn O, sit'rən B, S
civet siv'it B, S
civil siv'l D, B, siv'il S
civilly siv'li B, siv'ili S
claret klær'it B, klær'it S
Claude klood D
cleanly kliin'li B, kliin'li S
cleanse kliinz B, klēnz S
clerk klærk B, klæærk S
climb kləim D, B, S
close klooz B, S
closely kləs'li B, kloos'li S
cloth kləth B, klAAth S
clothe kloodh B, S
clothes klooz, B, S
clyster glis'tir B, glis'tər S
cockswain kək'sin B, kək'sən S
cohere koo'niir' O, B, S
coin kəin O, kəin B, kAAin S
colander kəl'əndər O, kəl'indər S
cold kould B, koold S
colon kəl'in B, koo'lan S
colonel kər'onel D, kər'nəl B, kər'nəl S
colony kəl'əni O, kəl'əni B, kəl'əni S
colour kəl'ər O, kəl'ir B, kəl'ər S

coll kolt B, koolt S
colter koul'tir B, kool'tər S
columbine kal'əmbəin O, kal'əmbəin B, kal'əmbain S
comb kuum O, koom D, B, S
combat kəm'bæt O, kəm'bīt B, kəm'bæt S
comfort kəm'fərt O, B, S
command kəmaand O, kəməənd' B, kāmənd' F, kəməənd' S
committee kəmit'i B, kəmit'i S
companion kəmpən'jən B, kəmpən'jən S
company kəm'pəni B, kəm'pəni S
compass kəm'pəs B, kəm'pəs S
competition kəmpitish'ən B, kəmpeeti-sh'ən S
complacency kəmpləs'insi B, kəmplee-sensi S
complaisance kəmplizəns' B, kəmplee-zəns' S
complete kəmpliit' O, B, kəmpliit' S
completion kəmplish'ən B, kəmpliish'ən S
compose kəmpooz B, kəmpooz S
conceit kənsiit' O, B, kənsiit' S
conchoid kən'kəid B, kəq'AAID S
concise kənsəiz' B, kənsais' S
conclude kənkliud' B, kənkliud' S
condign kəndəin' B, kəndain' S
conduit kəndit' O, D, B, kəndwit S
coney kən'i B, kəny kən'i S
congé kən'dzhi B, kəon'dzhii S
congeries kəndzhii'riz B, kəndzhii'rjīs S
conic kən'ik B, kən'ik S
conjecture kəndzhek'tər B, kəndzhek-tshər S
conjure v.n. kən'dzhər D, B, S
conquer kəqk'ər D, kəqk'wər B, kəqk'ər S
conscience kən'shinz B, kən'shens S
conscientious kənsien'shəs B, kənsheu-shəs S
constable kən'stəbl B, kən'stəbl S
construe kən'stru B, kən'stər S
contrite kəntreit' B, kən'trait S
conversant kənvərsənt B, kənvərsent kənvərsent S
converse kənvərs' kənvərs' B, kənvərs' S
coquette kək'et B, kək'et S
corn kərn B, kəarn S
coroner krəuənər D, kər'ənir B, kər'onər S
corps kərpəs B, koor S
corse kərs B, koor S
cost kast B, S
cotton kətn B, kətn S
covenant kəv'nənt B, kəv'eenənt S
covey kəvi kəv'i B, kəv'i S
coward kəu'ərd B, kəu'ərd S
cowardice kəu'ədis B, kəu'ədis S
Coveper kəu'pər D
coy kəi B, kəai S

coyness kəi'nis B, kəai'nis S
couch kəutsh B, kəutsh S
cough kəf O, D, B, kəf S
could kuud B, kud S
coulter kəul'tər O, B, kəul'tər S
country kən'tri B, kən'tri S
couple kəpl B, S
courier kər'ier B, kəu'rjeer S
course koor S, F, S
court kuurt O, koor B, S
courtezan kərtizən' O, kərtizən' B, kərtizən' S
cousin kəz'n O, kəz'in B, kəz'n S
creature krii'tər O, krii'tər B, krii'tshər S
Crete Kriit O
crew kriu B, kruu S
crony krən'i B, kroo'ni S
croup krəp B, kruup S
croupade krəped' B, kruuped' S
crude kriud B, kruud S
cruise kriuz B, kruuz S
cuckold kək'əld B, S
cuckow kək'uu B, kukuu' S
cucumber kəu'kəmbər O, kəu'kəmbir B, kəu'kəmə S
cuirass kiurəs' B, kiurəs S
cuirassier kiurəs'ir B, S
culture kəl'tiur B, kəl'tshər S
cupboard kəp'boord B, kəb'ərd S
czar zər B, zəər S

D

damn dəm B, S
damosel dəm'sel D, dəm'səl B, dəm'zəl S
dance dəns B, S
danger dən'dzhər B, dəəndzhər S
daughter dəa'tər D, dəa'tir B, dəa'tər S
deaf diif O, def B, def S
deanery diin'ri B, diin'eri S
debauch dibaatsh' B, S
debauchee debəshii' D, debəshii' B, debəshii' S
debenture diben'tər B, diiben'tshər S
debt det D, B, det S
decade dik'əd B, dek'əd S
deceit disiit' O, B, S
decision disiz'jən B, diisizh'ən S
decisive disiz'iv B, diisai'siv S
deign deen D, B, S
deluge dəl'ədsh B, dəliudzh S
dernier dəniir' B, dənjəer' S
desert DESART dəz'irt B, dəz'ert S
deserve dizərv' dizərv' B, dizərv S
despotic dispətik B, despat'ik S
destroyed distroid' B, distraəd' F, distraaid' S
devil dev'l D, B, S
devious dev'əs B, dii'vəs S
diamond dəi'mənd B, dai'mənd S

different difrɪnt B, difeərənt S
diocesan daɪəsɪən B, daɪəs'esæn S
diphthong dif'thəq B, dip'thəq S
dirge dər'dʒhi O, dɪrdʃ B, dɛrdʒh S
discern dɪsɜ:n B, dɪzɜ:n S
discipline dɪs'iplɪn B, dɪs'iplɪn S
discomfit dɪskəm'fɪt B, dɪskəm'fɪt S
discourse dɪsku:rs O, dɪsko:rs B, S
dishabille dɪsæbiil' B, dɪshæabiil' S
dishevelled dɪshev'lid B, dɪsshev'ɪ S
diverse daɪ'vɜ:s B, daɪ'vɜ:s S
divorce daɪvu:rs O, dɪvɜ:rs B, dɪvo:rs S
dole dul B, dool S
doleful dul'fʊl B, dool'fʊl S
dolt dɒlt B, doolt S
door door O, B, S
drama dræm'æ B, drææ'mæ S
draught draʊt O, drəʊt B, draʊt S
droll drɒl B, drool S
drollery drɒl'ri B, drool'eri S
drought draʊt B, draʊt S
droughty drəʊt'i B, draʊ'ti S
drunken drʌk'n B, dræq'n S
drunkenness drʌk'nɪs B, dræq'n'nɪs S
dwarf dwɑ:rf, B, S

E

-ea- (e, ii) as in XIXth century, except
 in the words cited

ebon ɛb'ən S
ebony iɪ'bɒni B
Eden i'den O
Edinburgh Ed'ɪnbərə D
effigies ɛfɪdʒɪz B, ɛfɪ'dʒhees S
effort ɛfɔ:t O, ɛfɔ:t B, ɛfɔ:t S
effrontery ɛfrɒn'trɪ B, ɛfroon'teeri S
egotism ɪgɒ'tɪzəm B, iɪ'gootɪzəm S
ei = *é* in *veil*, *either*, *key*, *convey* (ii) ? D
eighth eeth B, eeth S
either iɪ'dhər O, ɛi dher B, F, iɪ'dhər S
eleven ilev'n O
encore æqko:rs B, æqko:rs S
endeavour ɪndɪi'vər O, ɛndev'ər B,
 ɪndev'ər S
engross ɪnɡru:ns O, ɛnɡrɜ:s B, ɪnɡro:rs S
enough enəf O, D, B, ɛenəf S
enow enɪu B, ɛenau S
enpassant æp'pæsæq B
enrol enrɒl B, ɪnrɒl S
environ ɪnvɔɪ'rən O, ɪnvai'rən S
ere iɪr O, S
eremite ɛr'mɛɪt B, ɛr'eemait S
eschalot shælɒt B, shælət S
eschar skær B, eskær S
eschew ɛshɪu B, ɛstshuu S
espalier ɛspæliɪr B, ɛspæl'jer S
even iiv'n O, B, S
executor ɛksek'ʊtɪr B, ɛgzek'iutər S
executer ɛks'ɪkiutɪr B
exert egzert B, S

exhaust ɛksaast B, ɛkshaast S
exhort egzɔ:t B, ɛgzhaast S
exit egzɪt B, ɛksɪt S
extreme ɛkstriim O, ɛkstrim B,
 ɛkstriim S
eyre ɛɪr B, eer S

F

fabric fæbrɪk B, fæb'ɪk S
falcon fæl'kɪn B, faal'tshən S
farther fæd'ɪr B, fæærdher S
farthing fæədɪn B, fæærdhiq S
fasten fæst'n B, fæs'n S
fatal feet'l B, fee'tæl S
father fæædɪr B, fæærdher S
fathom fæðəm B, fædhəm S
fatigue feetig B, fætiig S
fault faalt B, faat S
feodary fiu'dəri O, fiu'deeri B, fiu'dæri S
feoffee fefii O, fiifiu B, fefii S
fetid fit'id B, fet'id S
few fiu B, F, S
fewel fiu'ɪl B, S
fierce fers B, fers S
fire fæɪr O, fæɪr B, fair S
first fɜ:st B, S
flagon flæg'in D, B, flæg'en S
flea flɪi O, B, S
flood fləd O, B
flue flɪu B, fluu S
flook flɪuk B, fluuk S
flaunt flaant B, flænt S
fold fəʊld B, foold S
foliage fɒl'ɪdʃ B, foɒ'lædʒh S
folio fɒl'ɪo B, foɒ'lɔo S
folk fɒk B, look S
foot fət D, B, fʊt S
force fu:rs O, fɜ:s B, fo:rs S
ford fɜ:d O, fɒd B, foord S
forge fu:rdʒh O, fɜ:dʃh B, foordʒh S
fork fɜ:k B, faark S
form fu:rm O, fɜ:m B, foarm S
forth fu:ɜth O, foorth B, S
fought fu:t O, fat B, faat S
foul fu:l B, faul F, S
four fu:ɜ B, S
fourth fu:ɜth O, foorth B, S
fragile fræ'dʒɪl B, frædʒh'ɪl S
fragrant frææ'grɪnt B, frææ'grænt S
frequent adj. frɪk'wɪnt B, frɪk'kwent S
friend fri:nd O, frend D, B, S
front frɒnt B, frant S
frost frast B, S
full ful B, S
fulsome fʊlsəm B, S
furniture fɜ:nɪtər O, B, fɜ:nɪtshər S
further fæd'ɪr B, færdhər S
fusil fiu'zɪl B, fiuzɪl S
future fiu:tər B, fiutshər S

G

gallant adj. gæl'ɪnt B, gæl'ænt S
gallant n. gæl'ænt B, S
gallows gæl'əs B, S
gaol (GOAL in O) dzheel O, B, S
gap gæp B, S
gape gæp B, S
garden gær'dn D, gæər'din B, S
gauge geedzh D, gaa'dsh B, geedzh S
gentian dzhən'shin B, dzen'tshæn S
George dzhardsh B, dzhaardzh S
Ghent Gænt D
ghost guust O, goost B, S
gibbous dzhīb'əs B, gīb'əs S
gill dzhil B, S
gills gilz B, S
girl gerl B, gerl S
glebe gliib O, B, S
glede gliid O, S
glue gliu B, S
gnat næt D, B, S
gnaw naa D, B, S
gold guuld B, S
gone gən D, B, gan S
gossip gəs'əp O, gəs'ip B, gas'ip S
gouge gəudzh O, guudzh S
Gough Gof D
gourd guurd O, guurd B, guurd S
govern gəv'ɪn B, gəv'ərn S
government gəv'ɪnmɪnt B, gəv'ərnment S
grand grænd B, grænd S
grandeur græənd'jər B, green'dzhər S
grange greəndzh D, S
grant græənt B, S
grass græs B, S
great griit O, greet B, S
groat græat B, graat S
grocer grəs'ɪr B, groos'ər S
group grup B, S
groveling grəv'liq O, grəv'liq B, græv'liq S
guerdon gwer'den O, gwer'dən S
guttural gət'iurəl B, gət'iurəl S
gymnastic gimnæs'tik B, dzhimnæs'tik S

H

h—mute in honour, honourable, herb,
heir, honest, humble, D
habitual heeb'itjuəl B, hæbit'iuəl S
haft hæft B, hæft S
half haaf O, hæf B, S
halfpenny hee'pɪni B, hee'pɪni S
hallelujah hælii'udzha B, hælelu'jah S
handkerchief hænd'kɜrtshɪr B, hæq'kɜrtshɪf S
handsel hænsəl B, C
harlequin hærl'ikɪn B, hæər'lekiin S
haste heest D, B, S
hasten hees'tn D, B, S

haunch (HANCH in O), haansh O, B, hæntsh S

haunt haant B, hænt haant S
hautboy hoo'boi B, hoo'baai S
hearken hærk'n O, hæər'kn B, S
heart hært O, hæərt B, S
heaven hev'n O, D
height heet O, B, hait S
heinous hee'nəs B, hii'nəs S
heir eer O, B, S
hemorrhoids em'əroidz B, hem'ooraa'idz S
her hər B, S
herb erb D, B, herb S
herbage er'bɪdsh B, her'bɪdzh S.
herbal er'bɪl B, her'bæl S
here hiir O, B, S
heritable er'itəbl B, her'itəbl S
hero hira B, hii'roo S
heroine hir'oin B, her'oo'in S
heroism hir'oizm B, her'ooizm S
heron hir'ən B, heɪn S
heterogeneal het'ərogeniəl O, het'ə-dzhin'jɪl B, het'ərodzhii'njæl S
high hai D, B, hai S
hoard (HORD in O), hærd O, hoord B, S
Holborn hoo'bərn O, D
hold həuld B, hoold S
honest ən'ɪst B, an'ɪst S
honey həni B, həni S
honour ən'ɪr B, an'ər S
host həst B, hoost B
hostler əst'lɪr B, as'lər S
hough həf D, hak S
housewife həz'ɪf B, həz'wɪf S
hovel həvəl O, həv'l B, hav'el S
hover həv'ər O, həv'ɪr B, hav'ər S
huge hiudsh B, hiudzh S
humble əm'b'l D, həm-bl B, əm-bl S
humor iu'mər B, S
huzza həzæ' B, S
hyena həi'enæ B, haiji'næ S

I

idiot id'ɪət B, id'ɪət S
impugn impəq' B, impiun' S
incisive insɪz'ɪv B, insai'sɪv S
indict indɪt' B, indait' S
indictment indɪt'ment D
injure in'dzhər B, S
inspires inspə'ɪəz O, inspə'ɪəz B, inspə'ɪəz S
instead insti'id B, instəd' S
invalid adj. invæl id B, S
invalid n. invæli'id B, S
inveigh invēe' O, invii' B. invēe' S
inveigle invii'gl B, invēe'gl S
iron əi'ərn O, D, əirn B, əi'ərn S
is iz B, S
Isaac ɪzæk D

isle oil B, ail S
issue is'iu B, is'shu S
isthmus ist'mas B, is'mas S

J

James Dzhiimz O
jaunt dzhæənt B, dzhænt S
japan dzheepæn· B, dzhæpæn· S
jeopardy dzhepərdi O, dzhep·ardi B,
 dzhep·ardi S
jewel dzhuu·il B, S
John Dzhon J
join dzhoin O, dzhoin B, dzhain S
joint dzhoint O, dzhoint B, dzhaint S
jointure dzhoin·tər B, dzhaain·tshər S
jole, joll dzhoul B, dzhool S
jolt dzhault B, dzhoolt S
jostle dzhas·l B, S
juice dzhuus B, S
juncture dzhəqk·tər B, dzhəqk·tshər S
June Dzhuun B, S
juttle dzhas·l B, dzhas·l S

K

kali kee·lai B, kee·li S
key kii O, B, S
kiln kıl O, D, B, S
knave neev B, F, S
knoll nool noul O, nal S

L

lanch laansh O, læəns B, læntsh S
language læq·widsh B, læq·wedzh F,
 læq·gwidzh S
lath læth B, læeth S
laudanum laa·dınəm B, lad ænəm S
laugh læf O, D, lææf B, læf S
laundry LANDRY læən·dri B, læn·dri S
laurel laa·til B, lar·il S
learning læər·niq B, lərn·iq F, lern·iq S
levee lev·ii B, lev·i S
lecture lek tər O, lekt·jər B, lek·tshər S
leeward lii·ward B, liu·ərd S
leisure lee·zhər O, leez·jər B, lezh·ur F,
 lii·zhər S
leopard lep·ərd O, lep·ərd B, lep·ərd S
lessee (LEASSEE in O) liisii· O, lesii· B, S
lessor (LEASSOR in O) liisor· O, les·ar S
listen lis·n B, S
lieutenant liuten·ənt O, liuten·int B,
 liften·ənt S
loath lath B, looth S
loathe loodh B, S
loin loin O, loin B, laain S
London Lon·ən B
lost lōst B, last S
lough lof O, lak S
lustring liu·striq B, liut·striq S

M

machine mæshiin· D, B, S
magazine mægæziin· O, B, S
malign mæləin B, mælain· S
malikin maa·l·kin B, maa·kin S
mall maa·l B, mael S
malmsey mæə·msi B, mæəm·zi S
maniac mænəi·æk B, mee·njæk S
mare meeər O, meer B, S
marine mæriin· B, S
mareschal mærs'hæl D, mærs'hil B,
 mæər·shæl S
manger maa·n·dzhər O, meen·dzhər B,
 meen·dzhər S
mantua mæn·tə B, mæn·tə S
many mæn·i B, mæn·i S
marchioness mæərtshjonis B, mæər·
 tshənis S
marriage mæə·rdzh D, B, S
mash (MEASH in O) miish O, mæsh B, S
mass mæs B, S
meacock mii·kək O, mii·kak S
medicine med·sin O, B, S
mediocrity midjək·riti B, meedzhak·
 riti S
memoir maimoir· B, mee·maa·ir mii·
 mwa·ar S
mere miir O, B, meer S
miniature min·iētiur B, min·itshər S
minister min·istır B, min·istər S
minute adj. məiniut· B, miniut· S
minute n. min·ət B, min·it S
misery miz·ri B, miz·əri S
misprision mispriz·ən B, misprizh·ən S
mistress mis·tris B, S
moil mail O, mail B, maa·il S
moiety moo·iti B, maa·iēti S
Monday Mən·di B, Mən·dee S
Monmouth Mən·məth D
monsieur mən·siur B
moor moor O, B, S
more moor O, moor, S
most muust O, mōst B, moost B
mould mould B, moold S
moult mault B, moolt B
move məv muuv O, muuv D, B, S
mow n. mōu B, mau S
mushroom məsh·ruun B, məsh·ruum S

N

natural næt·iuril B, næt·urəl F, nætsh·
 ərel S
nature nee·tər O, neet·jər B, nee·tshər S
navy nev·i B, neev·i S
neigh nii B, nee S
neighbour nee·bər O, B, S
neither needh·ər O, nē·dhır B, nī·dher S
new niu B, nau F, niu S
nuncio nen·shə B, nən·shoo S [S
nuptial nəp·shəl O, nəp·shil B, nəp·shæ

O

oblige oblii'dzh· D, obləidsh· obliidsh· B
ooblaidzh· oobliidzh· S
oblique obliik· B, ooblaik S
obscene obsiin· O, B, Absiin· S
occasion əkeez·jən B, əkee'zhən S
of əv D, B, əv S
off of C, əf S
oil oil O, oil B, əil S
ointment əint·ment O, əint·mint B,
 əaint·ment S
once wəns B, wəns S
one ən wən D, wən B, wən F, wən S
one-eyed wən·ai·id B, wən·aid S
oneness wən·nis B, wən·nis S
onion ən·jən B, S
only ən·li B, ən·li S
ordeal ərd·jəl B, əard·jæl S
ousel əu·zel O, əu·sil B, u·zl S
oyer ə·jər B, əai·ər S
eyes oo·jis B, oo·jis S

P

palm pAAM O, pæəlm B, pæəm S
palsy pAAL·zi B, pAAL·zi S
parliament pæər·liment D, pæər·limint
 B, pæər·liment S
passed pæst B, F, S
patent peet·int B, pæt·ent S
patentee pætenti· B, pætenti· S
path pæəth B, S
perfect pər·fit D, pər·fet B, pər·fekt F,
 pər·fikt S
peremptory perem·təri B, pər·em·təri S
perfection pər·fek·shən D, B, pər·fek·
 shən S
perfectly pər·fiti B, pər·fektli S
perform pər·fərm· B, F, pər·fərm· S
periwig pəri·wig B, pəri·wig S
perjure pər·dzhər B, S
pervase pər·værs· pər·vers· B, pər·vers· S
pervert pər·vært pər·vert B, pər·vert S
pestle pest·l B, pest·l S
petal pit·əl B, pət·əl S
petard pit·ərd B, pēt·əərd S
phalanx fæl·əŋks B, fēl·əŋks S
Pharaoh Feer·o D
philosophy fīləs·əfi B, fīləs·afi S
phlegm flīm D, flem B, S
phlogiston flod·dhis·tən B, floogis·toon S
phthisis tiz·iz B, fthai·sis S
piazza piæz·ə B, piæz·ə S
picture pik·tər O, pikt·ər B, pik·tshər S
pier piir B, S
pierce piirs O, pers piirs B, pers S
pin pin B, pīn S
placard pleek·əərd· B, plæk·əərd· S
plait pleet B, S
plea plii O, B, S
plough plou B, plau S

point point O, point B, paa·int S
poison poi·zn O, poiz·ən B, paa·iz·n S
police pol·iis B, pooliis· S
poll pool pəul O, pool B, S
pomegranate pəm·græn·et O, poom·græn·
 eet B, pām·græn·et S
pommel pəm·əl D, pəm·əl B, S
pomp pamp B, S
poniard poin·jird B, pan·jerd S
poor poor O, puur B, S
porch poortsh B, S
porpoise pər·poiz pər·pəs B, paa·r·pəs S
port puurt O, pərt B, poort S
post puust O, pəst B, poost B
posture pəst·iur B, paa·stshər S
pothier pədh·ir B, pədh·ər B
poultrie pəul·tis O, pəul·tis B, pool·tis S
poultry pəul·tri O, pəul·tri B, pool·tri S
pour pəur O
precise pris·əiz· B, priis·ais· S
premier prem·iir B, prem·jiir S
prescience pris·əiins B, prii·shens S
pretty pret·i B, prit·i S
process prəs·es B, pras·is S
profile prəuf·il· B, prəufiil· S
prologue prəl·əg O, B, pral·əg S
prove prəv pruuv O, pruuv D, B, S
prowl prəul B, praul S
prude priud B, pruud S
psalm sAAM O, sæəm B, S
ptisan tēi·sən B, tiz·ən S
pudding pud·in B, pud·iq S
puisne piur·izn B, piur·ni S
pumice piur·mis B, S
pure piur O, piur B, S
pursue pərsiu· B, S
pursuivant pərs·ivənt B, pərs·wivənt S
push push B, S
put pət B, put S

Q

quadrangle kwēd·ræŋ·g·l B, kwəd·ræŋ·g·l
 S
quadrant kwēd·rənt B, kwēd·rənt S
quadrille kwēd·ril B, kəd·ril· S
quadruped kwəd·riuped B, S
quaff kwæf B, S
quality kwəl·iti B, kwəl·iti, kwal·iti
persons of high rank, S
qualm kwAAM O, kwAAM B, kwæəm S
quandary kwæn·deeri B, kwaund·eeri S
quantity kwæn·titi B, kwæn·titi S
quantum kwæn·təm B, S
quarrell kwær·il B, kwær·il S
quarry kwær·i B, kwær·i S
quart kwaart B, S
quarter kwaart·tir B, kwaart·tər S
quash kwaash B, kwash S
quarto kwær·tə B, kwær·too S
quatrain kwaa·treen B, kwaart·trēn S
quay kii O, kwee B, kee S

quean kwin B, kween S
queen kwiin B, S
question kwes'tʃən B, kwes'tʃən F,
 kwes'tʃən S
quire kair B, kwair S
quoif koif B, kwaaif S
quoit kait B, kwaait S
quoth kwōth B, kooth S

R

ragout reeguu' B, ræguu' S
raillery ree'liri B, ræl'eri S
raisin reez'n O, ree'sin B, ree'zn S
rant rænt B, rənt S
rapier ree'piir B, ree'piir S
rapine ræe'pin B, ræp'in S
rapture ræp'tiur B, ræp'tʃər S
ratio ræsh'ə B, ree'shoo S
reason ree'zən B, ri:zn S
receipt reseet' resiiit' O, risiit' B, riisiit'
 S
recipe res'ipi B, res'ipee S
reign reen O, B, S
rein reen O, B, S
renard renæærd' B, ren'erd S
rendevous ren'divuu B, ran'deevuu S
rere riir O, reer B
reserved riserv'id riserv'id B, rizerv'd S
resin rez'in B, S
resource risours' B, riisuurs' S
revert rivært' rivert' B, rivert' S
ribband rib'in D, rib'en B, rib'in S
rigging rig'in B, rig'iq S
roquelaure rok'eloo B, rak'loo S
roll rool raul O, raul B, rool S
romance roomæns' B, S
Rome Ruum Rəm O, Ruum B
ronion rən'jən B, ran'jən S
rost ruust O
rouge roudzh O, roudsh B, ruuzh S
rough raf O, D, B, S
rule riul B, ruul S
ruse riuz B
rustle rəs'l B, S
ruth rōth B, ruuth S

S

saffron sæf'ərn O, D, B, sæf'rən S
salmon saa'mən O, sæm'ən D, B, S
salt saalt B, S
salve saav O, sææv B, sælv S
sausage sææ'sidsh B, sæs'idzh S
scald skaald D, B, S
scarce skers O, skeers B, skers S
scath skæth, B, skeeth S
scene siin O, B, S
sceptic skept'ik D, B, skept'ik S
schedule sed'iul B, sædzh'uul S
scheme skiim O, B, S
schism sizm D, B, S

scoff skof B, skaf S
scold skould B, skould S
scotch skootsh skotsh B, skatsh S
scrivener skriv'nər O
scroll skrool skrəul O, skrəul B, skrool S
scourge skordzh O, skoordsh B, skərdzh S
scrutaire skriutoor B, skruutoor S
sea sii O, B, S
seamstress siim'stris B, sems'tris S
searce sers B
seize siiz O, B, S
sensuous sen'siuəs B, sen'shuəs S
serene siriin' B, F
sergeant særdzhint B, sæærdzhænt S
servant særvint særvint B, særvənt S
severe siviir' O, B, S
sew siu did sow O, soo does sew B, S
sewer shoor B, siu'ər waiter, shoor
watercourse, soo'ər one who sews S
shalt shaalt B, shælt S
shawm (SHALM in O), shaam O, B, S
shepherd shep'ird B, shep'ərd S
sherd sheerd B, sherd S
shew shiu did show O, shoo does show B, S
shire shiir O, B, shair S
shirt shert B, S
shoe shuu B, S
shorn shuurn O, sharn B, shaarn S
short shart B, shaart S
should shuud B, shud S
shoulder shaul'dər O, shauld'ir B,
 shoold'ər S
shrew shriu O, shriu B, shruu S
sigh saith, better sei B, saih S
sick sik B, sik S
sign sain D, B, sain B
signior siin'ior D
signiory sen'jori B, sin'joori S
sin sin B, sin S
since sins B, S
sirocco seirək'ə B, sirak'oo S
sirrah særæ O, særæ B, særæ S
sirup sir'əp B, sær'əp S
sixth sikst B, siksth S
skeleton (SCELETON in D), skel'etən D,
 skel'itən B, skel'itən S
slander slæen'dir B, slæn'dər S
slant slæent B, slənt S
sleight sləit B, slait S
slough sləf B, slau S
sloven sləv'in B, sləv'n S
smouldering smoul'diriq B, smool'deriq S
sojourn soo'dzhərn B, S
sold sould B, soold S
solder sad'ir B, sad'ər S
soldier sould'ir B, soold'zhər S
sonata sonee'tæ B, soonee'tæ S
soot sət D, B, S
sootiness sət'inis B, sət'inis S
sooty sət'i B, suut'i S
soul sool B, S

sous suus B, saus S
southerly sœdh'arli B, sœdh'arli S
sovereign sov'areen D, sœv'rîn B,
 sœv'ren S
sphere sfiir O, B, S
spinet spinet' B, S
sport spuurt O, spoort B, S
squab skwæb B, skwab S
squabble skwæb'l B, skwab'l S
squadron swææ'drœn B, skwaa'drœn S
squalid skwæl'id B, skwal'id S
squalor skwee'lœr B
squander skwaa'n'dær B, skwan'dær S
squash skwaa'sh B, skwash S
squirrel skwîr'îl B, skwer'îl S
staff stæf B, S
stalk staa'k B, S
stanch staa'nsh O, stææ'nsh B, stæntsh S
stiletto stœi'letœ B, stîlet'œœ S
stomach stœm'æk B, stœm'æk S
stomacher stœm'ætshær D, stœm'ætshær
 B, stœm'idzhær S
stood stuud B, stud F, S
stover stœv'ær O
strange streendzh D, streendsh B,
 streendzh S
stranger straa'n'dzhær O, streen'dzhær
 B, streendzhær S
stroll strœul B, strool S
subtile sæt'l D, B, sæb'tîl S
subtle sæt'l S
sudden sœd'n B, sœd'in S
sudorific siu'dœrif'ik B, shuudœrif'ik S
sudorous siu'dœrœs B, shuu'dœrœs S
sue shuu B, suu S
suet shuu'it B, S
suety shuu'iti B, shuu'iti S
sugar shuu'gîr B, shug'ær S
suicide shuu'isœid B, shuu'isaid S
suit shuut B, suut S
suitable shuut'îbl B, suut'êbl S
suite swiit S
suitor shuut'ær B, suu'tær S
suitress shuu'trîs B, suu'trîs S
Sunday Sœn'di B
super- siu'pîr- B, shuu'pær- S
superable siu'pîr'îbl B, shuu'pær'êbl S
superb siuperb' B, shuuperb' S
superior siupîr'ær B, shuupîi'rær S
supernal siuper nîl B, shuuper'nêl S
supine siupœin' B, shuu'pain n.
 shuupain' adj. S
supinity siupœi'nîti B, shuupîn'îti S
support, sœpuurt' O, sœpoort' B, S
supra- siu'pri- B, shuu'præ- S
supremacy siuprii'mæsi B, shuuprem'æsi
 S
supreme siupriim' O, B, shuupriim' S
sural siu'rîl B, shuu'ræl S
surance siu'rîns B, shuu'rens S
sure shuur B, S

surtout sœrtœut' B, sœrtuut' S
suture shuur'tær B, shuurtshær S
swab swæb B, swab S
swaddle swæd'l B, swad'l S
swag swæg B, S
swallow swaa'loo B, swal'œœ S
swam swæm B, S
swamp swaamp B, swamp S
swan swaan B, swan S
swap swaap B, swap S
ward swaard B, S
swarm swaarm B, S
swarth swaarth B, S
swash swaash B, swash S
swath swæth B
swear sweer O, B, S
swoon suun D, B, S
swarm swaarm B, S
 T
tabard tee'bærd B
talk taak B, S
task tæsk B, S
tea tii O, B, S
tear v. teer O, S
tenet tin'et B, tiin'et S
tenable tin'îbl B, tiinæbl S
tew tiu B
their dheer O, B, S
there dheer O, B, S
these dhiiz O, B, S
thought thoôt O, that B, thaat S
thousand thœu'zœnd O, thau'zænd F
threepence thrîp'îns B, thrîp'ens S
threepenny thrîp'îni B, thrîp'eni S
-tial = -shæl O
-tiate = -sheet O
-tion = -shæn O
tissue tis'iu B, tish'u S
toil tœil O
toilet toi'lît B, taaî'lît S
told tœuld B, toold S
toll tool tœul O, tœul B, tool S
tomb tuum B, S
tonsure tœn'siur B, tan'shær S
torn tuurn O, tarn B, toorn S
touch tœutsh O, tœtsh B, S
tough tæf O, D, B, S
tour tour B, tuur S
toupet tuupîi' B, S
tournament tœrn'emînt B, tuurnæmênt
 S
tournay tær'nee B, tuurn'nee S
touse tœuz B, tauz S
transient trœnz'jînt B, trœn'shênt S
trencher tren'shîr B, tren'tshær S
troll trœul B, trool S
trough trœf O, D, B, traf S
true triu B, truû F, S
truth truuth B, S
tuesday tiuz'di B, tshuuz'dee S

tulip tiu·líp B, tshu·líp S
tumid tiu·míd B, tshu·míd S
tumour tiu·mər B, tshu·mər S
tumult tiu·mɛlt B, tshu·mɛlt S
tune tiun B, tshuun S
tutor tiu·tər B, tshu·tər S
tyrant tai·rɪnt B, tai·rɛnt S
twelvemonth twel·mɛnth B, twel·mɛnth S
twelvepence twel·pɪns B, twel·pɛns S
twelvepenny twel·peni B, twel·peni S
twopence tɒp·pɪns B, tɒp·pɛns S
typify tai·pɪfai B, tip·ifi S
tyrannize tai·rænəɪz B, ter·ænəɪz S
tyrannous tai·rænəs B, ter·ænəs S
tyranny tir·æni B, ter·æni S

U

union iun·jən B, S
unlearned ən·læər·nɪd B, ən·lærnd· F,
 ən·lɛrnɪd S
untrue ən·tru· B, S
uphold əp·həʊld· B, əp·həʊld S
usquebaugh əskɪbæ· B, əskweebæ· S
usual iuz·ʃɪl B, iuz·huel S
usurer iuz·ʒərɪ B, iuz·ʒərɪ S
usurious iuzi·rɪəs B, iuzhu·rɪəs S
usury iuz·əri B, iuz·həri S

V

vacuous vee·kiuəs B, væk·iuəs S
valet væl·it B, væl·et val·e S
Vaughan VAAN D
vein veen O, B, S
venison ven·zən O, D, ven·ɪsən S
védict ver·dɪkt D, ver·dɪt B, ver·dɪkt S
verjuice vær·dzhuus B, ver·dzhuus S
vermicelli vermɪsɛl·i B, vermɪtshel·ii S
vicious vii·shəs B, S
victualler vit·lər D, vit·lɪr B, vit·lər S
victuals vit·lɪz D, B, S
village vil·idsh B, vil·edzh F, vil·idzh S
villain vil·in B, vil·en F, vil·en S
virile vɪr·ɪl B, vɪr·tɪl S
virility vɪrɪl·iti B
virtue vɪr·tiu B, vɛrtshu· S
viscount vɪ·kəʊnt B, vɪ·kaunt S
voyage voo·idsh B, vaa·idzh S

W

wabble wæb·l B, wab·l S
wad wəd B, wəd S
waft wæft B, S
waftage wæft·tɪdsh B, wæft·tɛdzh S
wainscot wen·skot O, ween·skot B,
 wen·skot S
walk wæak B, S
wallop wæl·əp B, wæl·əp S

wallow wæl·oo B, wæl·oo S
walnut wæal·nɛt B, S
wan wæn B, S
wand wænd B, wænd S
wander wæan·dɪr B, wæn·dər S
want wæant B, wænt S
wanton wæantən B, wæn·tən S
war wæar O, B, S
ward wæard O, B, S
warm wæarm O, B, S
warn wæarn O, B, S
warrant wæa·rɪnt B, wæ·rɛnt S
warren wæ·rən O, wæa·rɪn B, wæ·rɪn S
was wæaz B, wæz S
wash wæash B, wæsh S
wasp wæasp B, wæsp S
wast wæast B, wæst S
waste weest D, B, S
watch wæts O, wæatsh B, wæts S
water wæa·tər O, D, wæa·tɪr B, wæa·tər S
wattle wæt·l B, wæt·l S
weapon wiip·n O, B, wɛp·n S
wear weer O, B, S
Wednesday Wenz·dee D, Wenz·di B,
 Wenz·dee S
weight weet O, B, S
were weer O, wer B, wer S
where wheer O, B, S
whistle whis·l B, S
who hu· B, S
whole hool B, F, hool S
whom hum B, S
whore hoor O, B, hu·r S
whose huuz B, S
why whɪ B, hwai S
windpipe win·paip B, waɪnd·paip S
windlass win·lɪs B, win·lɛs S
windmill win·mɪl B, waɪnd·mɪl S
withhold with·həʊld· B, with·həʊld S
wold woold B, S
wolf wuulf O, B, wulf S
woman wɒm·ən O, wɒm·ɪn B, wum·ən S
womb woom D, wuum B, S
women wɒm·ɪn B, S
won wɒn B, wæn S
wont wɒnt B, wunt S
wool wuu B, S
word wuurd wərd O, wərd B, S
work wuuk wɜrk O, wɜrk B, S
world wuurd wɜrld O, wɜrld B, S
worm wuum wɜrm O, wɜrm B, S
worry wur·i O, wɜr·i B, S
worship wur·ʃɪp O, wɜr·ʃɪp B, S
worst wuurst wɜrst O, wɜorst B, wɜrst S
worsted wuurst wɜrsted O, wɜr·stɪd B,
 wus·tɪd S
wort wɜrt O, B, S
worth wuurt wɜrth O, B, S
would wuud B, wuld F, wud S
wound wəʊnd O, B, wuund S

wrath ræath O, rææth B, ræath S
wrestle res'l B, res'l S
wrought root O, rat B, ræat S

Y

yacht jaat B, jat S
yea jii O, jee B, S
yearn jiirn O, jern B, jern S
yeast jest B

yelek jelk B, jook S
yeoman jem'æn O, jem'æn B, jem'æn S
yes jes B, jis S
yield jield B, S
yolk jolk B, jook S
yule juul B

Z

zealot zii'lot O, zel'ot B, zel'ot S
zenith zin'ith B, zii'nith S

SELECT RHYMES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The following rhymes from poets of the XVIII th century have been collected from Walker and Prof. Haldeman (suprà p. 1035). The names and dates of the writers are :

Beattie	1735—1803	Falconer	1730—1769	Lytelton	1709—1773
Broome	1689—1745	Fenton	1683—1730	E. Moore	1712—1757
Churchill	1731—1764	Gay	1688—1732	Pope	1688—1744
Cotton	1707—1788	Gifford	1757—1826	Smollett	1721—1771
Cowper	1731—1800	Goldsmith	1728—1774	Somerville	1692—1742
Croxall	d. 1752	Gray	1716—1771	Tickell	1686—1740
Darwin	1731—1802	Hoole	1727—1803	Warton	1728—1790
Eusden	d. 1730	Johnson	1709—1781	Watts	1674—1748

It must not be forgotten that these writers were greatly influenced by the pronunciation of the XVII th century, in which some of them were born, and to which their parents all probably belonged, and hence they might be apt to consider those rhymes which would have been correct in their parents' mouths even more correct than others which they now permitted themselves. It was a century of transition for *ea* in especial, and probably also for *a*, the first travelling from (ee) to (ii), and the second from (ææ) to (ee). "Glorious John" Dryden, who died at the beginning of the century, was looked upon as a model of versification until Pope gained the ascendant, but Pope was certainly materially influenced by Dryden's usages. Bearing this in mind, we must expect the rhymes to present nearly the same character as those in the preceding century, and our examination of Tennyson and Moore (pp. 858-862) shews how potent the influence of the XVIII th century writers still remains.

The arrangement is therefore the same as for Dryden, p. 1034, and the XVII th century, suprâ p. 1036. The numbers point out the same groups as in those cases.

1. Car war, *Pope*. regards rewards, *Gay*. far war, *Darwin*. afar war, *Falconer*. star war, *Beattie*. care war, *Pope*. square war, *Darwin*. are war, *Couper*. safe laugh, *Pope*. glass place, *Pope*. mast plac'd, *Pope*. take track, *Pope*. past waste, *Pope*—would probably never have been used, had they not been an heritage from the preceding century. But Pope may have had an antique pronunciation.

2. As *ai* and *a* long had both become (ee), these rhymes need not be noticed.

3. Wear star, *Pope*. plain man,

Pope. remain'd land, *Pope*. air star, *Pope*. far air, *Johnson*. appear regular, *Pope*. err singular, *Pope*—must also seek their justification in the usages of the XVII th century. The pronunciation of the preceding or succeeding century only renders the rhymes worse.

4. Waves receives, *Pope*; take speak, *Pope*; shade mead, *Pope*; race peace, *E. Moore*; were now perfect rhymes, and past feast, *E. Moore*, was apparently justified on the authority of the preceding, although it had long ceased to have its old meaning (ææ, ee), and had

become (æ, ee) or (æ, ii). Obey tea, *Pope*; away tea, *Pope*; convey sea, *Warton*; fail'd reveal'd, *Gay*; display sea, *Gay*; airs, ears, *Gray*; sphere bear, *Pope*; sphere there, *Pope*; ear repair there, *Pope*; were all perfect, although the (ii) sound had begun to be acknowledged for (ea, e). But: there transfer, *Fenton*; here refer, *Pope*; were fear, *Eusden*; steer character, *Pope*; field held, *Pope*; were remnants of the xvii th century usage. Heath death, *Pope*; death heath, *Beattie*; drest feast, *Pope*; break neck, *Pope*; yet complete, *Cotton*; decay'd fled, *Lyttelton*; were all rhymes of a long and short vowel (ee, e); and: feel mill, *Pope*; ship deep, *Falconer*; rhymes of long and short (ii, i), doing duty for (ii, i). Perhaps: receives gives, *Pope*; steals hills, *Warton*; were (ee, i) standing for (ee, e), and: stretch beech, *Gray*, was a confusion of the two last cases.

5. No instances of (e, i) have been collected; but they were no doubt sufficiently common.

6. With: high pillory, *Somerville*; fry jealousy, *Pope*; buy dispensary, *Pope*; sky company, *Pope*; we may class: eyes rise precipice, *Pope*; rise precipice, *Pope*; wise inconsistencies, *Pope*; delight wit, *Pope*; revive live, *Pope*. But: winds finds, *Croxall*, is justified by the still persistent "poetic" pronunciation of *wind* as (woind). We of course find also: free liberty, *Pope*, and many such instances.

7. Joined mankind, *Pope*. refin'd join'd, *Tickell*. join divine, *Pope*. join line, *Pope*, *Churchill*, *Falconer*. shine join, *Beattie*. thine join, *Lyttelton*. join thine, *Gifford*. soil smile, *Falconer*. guile toil, *Smollett*. smile toil, *Johnson*. smiles toils, *Hook*. These were in accordance with received pronunciation, but: vice destroys, *Pope*, seems to be a liberty. Weight height, *Pope*, *Falconer*, was regular as (weet, heet).

8. Such rhymes as: none own, *Pope*, which was perfect, or else (oo, oou), seem to have led poets to use: known town, *Gay*; brow grow, *Pope*; brow woë, *Croxall*; vows woes, *Pope*; power store, *Beattie*; own town, *Pope*; adores pow'rs, *Pope*, although they were (oo, ou) at best. We have also (oo, o) treated as if it were a rhyme of a long and short vowel, in: sun upon none, *Pope*; lost boast, *Pope*; show'd trod, *Pope*; gross moss, *Pope*; coast tossed,

Falconer; thought wrote, *Broome*. Also the old rhymes of (oo, uu) depending upon the still older (oo, oo) in: took spoke, *Pope*; boor door, *Goldsmith*; and even: assure door, *Watts*. The usual confusions, likewise an old tradition, occur in: blood wood, *Pope*; blood good, *Pope*; stood blood, *Falconer*, *Pope*; mood flood, *Warton*; wood blood, *Gay*; wood blood, *Darwin*; brood flood, *Cotton*. And to the same tradition is perhaps due the rhymes of come with (oo) or (uu): home come, *Pope*; doom come, *Pope*; dome come, *Pope*; come room, *Pope*; come tomb, *Warton*; bloom come, *Gifford*. The following rhymes were perfect: doom Rome, *Pope*; tomb Rome, *Darwin*; gone stone, *Croxall*; house voss, *Pope*. Perhaps: house sous, *Churchill*—where *sous* is the French (su)—was only meant to be absurd; still it may have been in use as a slang term at the time.

9. No instances of (eu, iu) or (iu, uu) have been noted, but the latter were not all uncommon.

10. Groves loves, *Pope*. grove love, *Johnson*. rove love, *Smollett*. grove above, *Gay*. throne begun, *Pope*. moves doves, *Pope*. prove love, *Pope*. fool dull, *Pope*. These seem to have held their ground from pure convenience, as did also: flung along, *Pope*; long tongue, *Pope*; songs tongues, *Watts*. Full rule, *Pope*, is only a short and a long vowel rhyme (u, uu).

11. The influence of (r) is apparent in: horse course, *Pope*; sort court, *Pope*; board lord, *Pope*; resort court, *Pope*; borne return, *Pope*; worn turn, *Pope*. But in: observe starve, *Pope*; desert heart, *Pope*; ermine charming, *Gay*; we have also a xvii th century tradition.

12. Nature creature, *Gay*; nature satire, *Gay*, *Gray*; fault thought, *Pope*; were perfect rhymes (nee'ter kree'ter see'ter, faat thaat); and perhaps in: call equivocal, *Pope*, the last word was pronounced with (AA) for the occasion, at any rate such rhymes were an ancient tradition, as they were common in Spenser. Even: still suitable, *Pope*, is half justifiable, as the -ble here is only a -bil obscured. But could: caprice nice, *Pope*, have ever rhymed as (kæprais', nois) or as (kæpriis', niis)? Of course: eve grave, *Warton*, was a mere license, and: arms warns, *Goldsmith*, was perhaps meant for an assonance.

CHAPTER XI.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH DURING
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.§ 1. *Educated English Pronunciation.*

ON referring to Chapter I., pp. 18 and 19, the reader will see that in thus endeavouring to give an account of the Pronunciation of English at different periods, I have been throughout thoroughly aware that there was at no time any approach to a uniform pronunciation. On referring again to p. 408, it will be seen that my attempts were really limited to discovering the value of the letters employed, which I believed to be pretty uniform within the boundaries of England. This value of the letters seems to have been based on the ecclesiastical pronunciation of Latin, and considering that Latin letters were introduced by priests, and that priests were long the only scribes (shewn by our modern use of the word *clerk*); such a conclusion has some *à priori* probability. In Chap. VI. it will be seen that the actual diversity of pronunciation gradually overpowered orthography, which, after the successful phonetic effort of the xvth century in introducing the distinctions *ee*, *ea* and *oo*, *oa*, subsided into tradition and printing-office habits. In Scotland indeed an approach to systematic orthography developed itself at the conclusion of the xvth century, and this thenceforth distinctly separates the Scotch from the English orthography.¹

¹ Suprà p. 410, n. 3, and Mr. Murray's *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (1873, 8vo., pp. 251), p. 52, where he says that on "comparing the older extracts from the *Brus*, preserved by Wyntown, with the later MS. of 1489," we find "*ai ay*, *ei ey*, *yi*, *oi oy*, *ui*, *oui*, for the old *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ou*, Ags. *d*, *é*, *i*, *ó*, *ú*." And he attributes this to "a defective pronunciation of the diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, etc., whereby the second vowel was practically lost, and the combination treated as simple long *ā*, *ē*, *ō*," referring to a similar custom in Gaelic, and "even where the second vowel is audible, it is not with a distinct *i* sound as in Eng. *ay*, *oil*, . . . but rather an obscure vocal glide, like the *e* in the words *drawer*, *layest*, *weighed*, *sayeth*, *seest*, *prayer*, and so easily disappearing altogether. The same pronunciation appears to have been given in central and north-eastern Scotland to the Ags.

and French diphthongs," thus *awā-eh* for *away*, *rā-en* for *rain*, *chōes* for *choice*, etc., "imperfect diphthongs" which "still characterise the Scotch dialects." Then "*ay*, *oi*, *ei*, being looked upon merely as ways of expressing long *a*, *o*, *i*, they began to be extended to all words with long vowels, where there had been no original diphthong. . . . Hence the alternative forms *mad made maid mayd mayde*, *tas tase tais tays*, etc., found often in the same page of works belonging to the transition period." No reader of this work should fail to study Mr. Murray's, to which frequent reference must be made in the present chapter. The diphthongal theory here intimated will come again under consideration, when reviewing the dialectal relations of the vowels, in § 2, No. 6, iv. below; but as the other dialects were not literary after the fifteenth century, they did not influence orthography.

Orthoepists as a rule ignore all this. It would have been impossible to learn from Hart that *ai* had any other sound in his day than (ee), and yet we know from other sources that (ee) was not even the commonest pronunciation of *ai* at that time. The Expert Orthographist allowed only four words in *ea* to have the sound of (ee). No doubt he considered such a sound in other words to shew ignorance or vulgarity; for the "polite" sounds of a past generation are the *bêtes noires* of the present. Who at present, with any claims to "eddication," would "jine" in praising the "pints of a picter"? But certainly there was a time when "edduication, joyn, poyns, pictsher," would have sounded equally strange.

Moreover in past times we are obliged to be content with a very rough approximation to the sounds uttered. When in the xivth century I write (e), it is possible that speakers may have rather, or may have occasionally, said (e, ɛ, ɐ). My (o) in the xvth century may have been (o, ɔ), my (o) in the xviith may have been (ɛ, ɔ), and so on. But at the present day, with the language in the air around us, surely it must be easy to determine what is said? It is not at all easy. There is first required a power, not acquired without considerable training, of appreciating utterance different from one's own. It is indeed remarkable how unconscious the greater number of persons appear to be that any one in ordinary society pronounces differently from themselves. If there is something very uncommon, it may strike them that the speaker spoke "strangely" or "curiously," that "there was something odd about his pronunciation," but to point to the singularity, to determine in what respects the new sound differs from their own, baffles most people, even literary men, even provincial glossarists, who apply themselves to write down these strange sounds for others to imitate. At any rate there has been hitherto evinced a general helplessness, both of conception and expression, that shews how much special education is necessary before we can hope for real success in appreciating diversities of utterance.

But this overcome, the mere observation is beset with difficulties. The only safe method is to listen to the natural speaking of some one who does not know that he is observed.¹ If possible the pronunciation should be immediately recorded in some phonetical system intelligible to the listener, as in palaeotype, and the name of the speaker and date should be annexed. This is most conveniently done during the delivery of sermons or lectures. The only objection

¹ This rule is laid down by Klopstock, Ueber die deutsche Rechtschreibung, Fragmenten über Sprache und Dichtkunst, 1779, reprinted in his works, and the passage is so curious that I here transcribe it in the author's own orthography, employing italics for his underlined letters: "Ich habe, nach langem Herumhören, gefunden, dasz eu fon ä u (oder, wi man schreiben sollte eü, äü; hırfon hernach)

Leute fon läute nicht unterscheiden sei. Wār mir in disem Punkte, oder in andern nachuntersuchen wil, mus nicht fragen: Wi man dis oder jenes ausspreche? Sondern är mus zuhören, wi man es ausspricht, wen man nichz dafon weis, dasz darauf acht gegäben wird." Klopstock's Sämmtliche Werke, herausgegeben von A. L. Back und A. R. C. Spindler. Leipzig, 1830, vol. 14, p. 151.

to this course is that a preacher or lecturer knows that his style of speech is liable to be criticized, and he may therefore indulge in rather a theoretical than a natural delivery. This is especially the case with professed orthoepists, whose pronunciation will necessarily labour under the suspicion of artificiality. And again this plan is of course only possible with educated speakers, who are mostly fanciful in their pronunciation. It is never safe to ask such people how they pronounce a given word. Not only are they immediately tempted to "correct" their usual pronunciation, to tell the questioner how they think the word ought to be pronounced, and perhaps to deny that they ever pronounced it otherwise;¹ but the fact of the removal of the word from its context, from its notional and phonetic relation to preceding and following sounds, alters the feeling of the speaker, so that he has as much difficulty in uttering the word naturally, as a witness has in signing his name, when solemnly told to sign in his usual handwriting. Both forget what is their usual habit, because they have long ceased to be conscious of the required efforts in speaking and writing, as in any other ordinary exertion of the muscles. I have myself found it extremely difficult to reproduce, for my own observation, the sounds I myself ordinarily utter; and yet I have undergone some training in this respect for many years. Uneducated persons, from whom we thus endeavour to elicit dialectal sounds, are simply puzzled, and seldom give anything on which reliance can be placed.

Observations on such sounds are extremely difficult to make. It is only persons of phonetic training who have lived long among the people, and spoken their language naturally, such as Mr. Murray for Scotch, that have had a chance of acquiring a correct conception of the sounds by hearing them unadulterated, and even then there is danger of their not having been able to throw off their former habits enough to thoroughly appreciate the received English sounds with which they would compare them.² When a stranger goes among the country people, they immediately begin to "speak fine,"

¹ A dear old friend of mine called me to task many years ago for saying (lek-tshə), she had "never heard" (that's the usual phrase, and this lady, who was far from being pedantic, spoke with perfect sincerity, though in obvious error) "any educated person use such a pronunciation; she always said (lek-tʃuər) herself." Of course, as we were talking of lectures, in the next sentence she forgot all about orthoepy, and went on calmly and unconsciously talking of (lek-tshɪz) herself. This one out of many instances is recorded, because it made a great impression on me at the time.

² Hence one of the great difficulties of key-words. Each pronounces them according to his own habit, and thus

frequently confounds sounds essentially distinct. This has been a source of great difficulty to myself when endeavouring to collect information respecting English dialects, and is one of the impediments in the way of using a uniform spelling, as glossic, for dialectal purposes. Collecting country words is looked upon as an amusement, not as laying a brick in the temple of science; and, curiously enough, an accurate appreciation of their sounds is one of the last things thought of, and one which few glossarists give themselves any trouble about. Yet it requires great care and much practice, and its neglect renders the glossaries themselves records of unknown words, as for the extinct Forth and Bargo dialect.

or in some way accommodate their pronunciation to his, in order to be intelligible, or grow shy and monosyllabic. An attempt to note their utterances would drive many to silence. It is seldom an investigator is so fortunate as Mr. Nicolas Wyer, whose Dorset experiences I shall have to record. I endeavoured on one occasion to learn something by accompanying a gentleman, resident near Totness in Devonshire, while he was speaking to his own workmen, and listening with all my ears to their replies, noting them from memory immediately on my return to the house. But this is obviously a fragmentary, although a comparatively safe, method, and consumes much time. The usual and quickest, but not the safest plan, is to catch a person of education, as a clergyman or surgeon, who has had free intercourse with natives, or else a native born, and collect the sounds from his lips. In the first case, however, they are diluted by false impressions, as when one learns French pronunciation from a German. In the second they are apt to be faded memories, much spoiled by exposure to the light of received pronunciations. It is for these reasons perhaps that we seldom find *every word* in a dialectal specimen written phonetically. Many of the little words, which failed to attract attention, are passed over, and of those written phonetically only the most striking parts are indicated, and the writer seeks to deviate (like Mr. Barnes in his second series of Dorset poems) as little as possible from the usual orthography. This is all very well for one who knows the dialect already. For an outsider it is merely tantalising or misleading.¹

But, even with phonetic training, and willing and competent teachers, it is difficult to hear the sounds really uttered, if only a short time is at command. We know, by the frequent mishearing of names, or of unexpected words, although every sound in them is perfectly familiar, how extremely troublesome it is to catch *new* combinations of *old* sounds. When both sounds and combinations are strange, as in a dialect or foreign language, this difficulty is materially increased. The sounds of language are very fleeting. Each element occupies a very minute part of a second. Many elements are much hurried over, and all are altered by combination, expression, pitch, intonation, emotion, age, sex, national formation. We hear as much by general effect, rather than by the study of individual elements, as we often read a manuscript rather by the *look* of words than by the forms of their letters. Hence if the language is unknown, both spoken and written words become unintelligible. The ear must have *lived* among the sounds, to know them instantaneously at the most hurried encounter, to be able to

¹ See Mr. Murray's remarks on modern Scotch orthography (*ibid.* pp. 75-77), which, he says, "to the actual spoken language bears precisely the relation that is borne to Chaucer's English by a modernized version of his writings, using the present English spelling, except for obsolete words, or where prevented by the rhyme." In

fact, "three-fourths to nine-tenths of the words are old friends" to the *eye* of an Englishman; but if he gets a Scotchman to *read*, "not more than three words in a hundred would be *heard* as the same as the English words with which they are identified in spelling." Numerous corroborations will occur hereafter.

eliminate individualities and know generalities. One of the great dangers that we run in attempting to give a strange pronunciation, is to confuse the particular habit of the individual with the general habit of the district which he represents. Every speaker has individualities, and it is only by an intimate acquaintance with the habits of *many* speakers that we can discover what were individualities in our first instructor. Not only has age and sex much influence, but the very feeling of the moment sways the speaker. We want to find not so much what he *does* say, as what it is his *intention* to say, and that of course implies long familiarity, to be gained only by observation. (See especially the previous remarks on pp. 626-629.)

The difficulties of determining the *exact generic* pronunciation of any language or dialect at any time, the knowledge indeed that from individual to individual there are great specific varieties, by comparing which alone can the generic character be properly evolved, must make us content with a rather indefinite degree of approximation. It is not too much to say that most phonetic writing is a rude symbolisation of sound. It answers its end if it suffices to distinguish dialects, and to enable the reader to pronounce in such a way that the instructed listener shall be able to determine the dialect which the speaker means to imitate. Hence, really, only broad generic differences can be symbolised by an outsider. But the speakers themselves *feel*, rather than accurately understand, the errors committed in this imitation, are aware of differences, although they can seldom name them, which distinguish sub-dialects, villages, cliques, individuals. And these differences are as philologically important, as, geographically, the streamlets which, trickling down the mountain-side, subsequently develope into rivers. It is only by a strict investigation of the nature of fine distinctions that we can account for the existence of broad distinctions. Hence phonologists occasionally endeavour to symbolise even the smallest. Their success hitherto has not been too great. But they have at any rate produced weapons which few can wield. Hereafter, perhaps, when phonetic training is part of school education,—as it should be, and as it must be, if we wish to develope linguists or public speakers, or even decent private readers,—ears will be sharpened, and distinctions about which we now hesitate will become clear. Then we may learn to separate the compound speech-sounds heard into their constituents, as surely as the conductor of a band can detect the work of each instrument in a crashing chord. In the mean time we must do something, however little, vague, and unsatisfactory it may appear, or the foundations of our science will never be laid.

My object in the present section is to examine, so far as I can in a small compass, the pronunciation at present used by educated English speakers, without attempting to decide what is “correct.” That I have not even a notion of how to determine a standard pronunciation, I have already shewn at length (pp. 624-630). But such a determination is really of no interest to the present inquiry. We merely wish to know what *are* the sounds which educated

English men and women really use when they speak their native language. Considering that Mr. Melville Bell has noted sounds with greater accuracy than any previous writer, I shall take first the 26 words in which he condenses "the English Alphabet of Visible Speech, expressed in the Names of Numbers and Objects," and carefully examine them, not for the purpose of determining the values of the letters (*suprà* pp. 567-580), or the expression of the sounds (*suprà* pp. 593-606), although the tables of these already given should be constantly consulted, but of determining, so far as possible, the actual sounds used in speaking English, and the method of putting those sounds together. Properly speaking these lists should also be supplemented by another, containing those words which are variously pronounced, but to give this at full would be almost to write a pronouncing dictionary. I shall, however, furnish a few lists of varieties which I have actually heard and noted, and some passages carefully palaeotyped after Mr. M. Bell, Prof. Haldeman, Mr. Sweet and myself. After this consideration of educated, or artificial, literary speech, I will in the next section take up that of uneducated or natural or organic local speech, known as English dialectal pronunciation. Although my notes on this part of my subject may appear almost too full, yet they are really both imperfect and brief, considering that dialectal speech is of the utmost importance to a proper conception of the historical development of English pronunciation, just as an examination of the existing remains of those zoologic genera which descend from one geological period to another, serves to shew the real development of life on our globe.

The object of the following examination is to determine as precisely as possible the phonetic elements of received English pronunciation (23, *b*), and I shall for brevity constantly refer to the preceding pages where they have been already incidentally noted and explained, and shall adopt the style of reference employed in the indices. A number followed by the letters *a, b, c, d*, signifies the first, second, third, or fourth quarter of the corresponding page; the addition of *ab, ba; bc, cb; cd, dc*, indicating lines near the divisions of those quarters. If the letter is accented, the second column is referred to. Thus (23, *b*) means, page 23, second quarter, and (51, *d'*) page 51, fourth quarter, second column.

AN EXAMINATION OF MR. MELVILLE BELL'S TWENTY-SIX KEY-WORDS TO
ENGLISH SPEECH-SOUNDS, AND OF THE RELATIONS OF THOSE SOUNDS.

Summary of Contents.

1. *One.* (w wə uə'), relations of (w bh), Prof. March's (w), Welsh *w*, Latin *v*. (ə æ), Welsh *y*, Dutch *u*, French *eu*, German *ö*. (n), English and continental (t t, d d, n), Sanscrit cerebrals or coronals, and dentals. (d d, n, nnh). Synthesis (wən).
2. *Two.* (t t.). (uu, u'u u'u u'u). Synthesis (tuu, t̄uu, t̄̄uu, t̄̄̄uu, "iduu).
3. *Three.* (th th tth tth). Trilled and untrilled *r* (r r, r̄ r̄, r̄̄ r̄̄). (ii *i, i, i' i' i' i'*). Synthesis (thrii, thr̄rii, thd̄rii).
4. *Four.* (f th ph). Diphthongs with (ɹ, iɹ eɹ oɹ uɹ, i' e' o' u'), iɹ̄ eɹ̄ oɹ̄ uɹ̄, AA' AA'). Rapid (fa). Synthesis (foor), length of first element of (oor).
5. *Five.* Diphthongs of (əi) class, (ə'i əhi əi əi əi əi), English Greek *ei ai*, (ə'y əh'y əh'y əi aa').

- The (oi) series (úi, úi, úi, ói ói ó'i á'i). (v, f) relations to (bh, ph), German and Dutch *w*, *v*, *f*, (B), Hungarian *v*, *f*, Sanscrit *v*. Synthesis (fə'iv, fə'əivf), English final (-vf, -zs, -dhth, -zhsh), German initial (sz-).
6. *Six*. (s sh, s sh, t s t s) Spanish s, z, Basque s. (i i) Dutch i. (k k). Synthesis (siks).
7. *Seven*. (e e e e₁ e₂ e₃ e₄ ie). (n, nn 'n, 'l 'm 'n 'i). Synthesis (sev'n).
8. *Eight*. (ee éi éi éei éei éei ee'j) Dutch ee ei; when (ee) tends to (ee'j). Final mutes (t' tr' t' t' t₁). Glides > <, initial (t <), medial (> t <), final (> t <'). Synthesis (eet ee'jt), initial glottids (ee; ee jee).
9. *Book*. (p b, t d, k g, p ii b, ii, pii 'bii 'bmii, b,ii, 'b, 'p, b' bp'). Dutch rule for *p b*. (u u). (k g,) labialised (kw gw, tw dw, kw gw), palatalised (kj gj, tj dj), and labio-palatalised (kwj gwj, twj dwj). Synthesis (buk).
10. *Watch*. (A ə, əu əo), Diphthong (á'i) and German Diphthongs. (sh sh sh t sh d zh, sh t sh). Mr. Goodwin's (kj, gj), Sanscrit *c ch*, *j jh*, *ç sh*, Italian *ce, ge*, Polish *cz*. Synthesis, (w-ə > t < sh).
11. *Saw*. (AA, AA' AA[u]). Synthesis (saa).
12. *Feathers*. (dh .th, ddh, dh d). (v i, z s). Synthesis (f < e > dh < v > z-s).
13. *Tongs*. (q g, a, a₁ ag, aq, AAq əəq əq, əqg' əqk' -qg- -qth -qhth), French nasals. Synthesis (t < ə > q-z-s).
14. *Whip*. (wh), Mr. M. Bell's "rudimental symbols," supra p. 15, 9a, 5a, 9b, 9h, 9c, 9l and 9m, 9c + 9m, 10f and 5f, 10e, 10d; material of speech ('i 'h 'h 'h 'h 'h), Vowels, Glottids, (l, ; ; h jh gh g l, , , , h h h h h), Glides slurs breaks (> <) ~). Sanscrit aspiration, ūshman, soshman, anūshman, jih-vāmūliya, upadmanīya, spiritus as-
- per, spiritus lenis, visarjanīya. Japanese syllabary. English aspirate. Sanscrit *h*. English hisses and buzzes. Generated (lh rh mh nh), conversion of Sanscrit *m, n* into visarjanīya, (l-lh-t, l-l-d-t', sinhs sinzs), German initial *s*=(sz-). English final *z*=(sz-). Anglo-saxon *hw hr hl hm hn*. English *wh-* = (wh, jhw, whw), opinions of Professors Haldeman, March, Whitney. No (fv- thdh-sz-shzh-) in English, so that (whw-) would be anomalous. "Parasitic utterances." Varieties of *wheat* (huit, huiit, huiit, huiit, whiit, hwhiit, whwiit, wiit, kwhiit, phiit, fiit). Usage variable. (p), length of final consonants, Mr. Sweet's rule. Synthesis (wh < i > p < 'h).
15. *Lamp*. (l lh lhh lhh). Confusion of (d, l, r), Egyptian, Chinese, Japanese (lr), Sanscrit *lri, lri*, and *ri ri*. (æ e, ah a), Dutch *e*, Hungarian *e*, Danish *a* (a). Variable English *a* in *chaff pass ask bath chance* (æ a ææ ah). (m 'm mh mbp). Synthesis (l < æ > m-p').
16. *Onions*. (j jh, gjh kjh, gjh kjh), Brücke's, Merkel's, and Lepsius's theories. Relation of (j w) to diphthongs. Synthesis (ə > n-nj-j < v > n-s), (n, nj, nj).
17. *Boat*. (oo ou oo'w oo'o_u). Synthesis.
18. *Cart*. (k kj, aa aa'). Synthesis (k < aa > t').
19. *Tent*. (nt, nht). Synthesis (t < e > n-t').
20. *Houses*. (h nh). (au ə'u əhu ə'u ə'u ou əw'u). Synthesis.
21. *Dog*. (d, ə, g). Synthesis.
22. *Monkey*. (m, ə e, q qh, k, i). Synthesis (m < ə > q-k < i).
23. *Cage*. (k). (ee éi). (d, zh zh, zh sh). Synthesis (keed, zh sh).
24. *And*. (ah ə) (n, d). Synthesis.
25. *Bird*. (əi, i, er, ur). Quadrilinear arrangement of the 36 Visible Speech vowels by tongue heights. Synthesis of *bird bud* (bəəd, bəd).
26. *Canary* ('r). Synthesis (kəneə'ri).

1. ONE, Bell's (wən), my (wən). Prof. Haldeman notes (wən) as the pronunciation of Charles Kean, at the Princess's Theatre, London, 1859. Probably (wən, wən, wən) are all in use. I seem to have heard them from elderly educated people. Charles Kean's pronunciation was possibly an intentional stage archaism. Provincially all

and many others occur. Provincialities are, however, not considered here.

(w). No English speakers, so far as I can recall, say (uə'n) with a diphthong, although Mr. Murray (no doubt correctly) suggests its derivation from such a prefix, "like the provincial *wuts* for *oats*." We shall have many

1. (w)—*continued*.

examples of this introduced (u) hereafter; see the general remarks on dialectal vowel relations, § 2. No. 6. Much interest attaches for many reasons to the sounds (w, bh) (513, *d'*) and diphthongising (u) (185, *a*). Foreigners generally find considerable difficulty in pronouncing (w). Educated Germans domiciled in this country, even with English wives and families, are frequently unable to separate the sound of (w) from that of their own (bh), and Frenchmen, Italians, etc., substitute a diphthongising (u). That initial *w* is not (u) in English results almost with certainty from *woo*, *wood*, = (wu, wuud), the latter with a very long vowel. In *wood*, *would*, *woman*, = (wud, wu'men), it is conceivable that (uú, uú'men) might be said. Welshmen, untrained, say (uu), see (785, *e*, 101, *a*, *d'*) (uud), and (ud, u'men),—compare Sir Hugh Evans' *o'man*, as the fo. 1623 writes it in the Merry Wives, act 4, sc. 1,—and some Scotchmen and Englishmen say (wəd, wə'men) (176, *a*), just as we all now say (wə'ndɪ) and not (wu'ndɪ), but the Welshman Salesbury said (u'nder), see (777, *c*). An article which I wrote on the Latin *V* consonant in the *Academy* for 15th Jan. 1872, distinguishing a diphthongising or con-sonant (u) from the English consonant (w), induced Prof. March, of Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S., author of the well-known Anglo-Saxon Grammar, to write me a letter on 22nd March, 1872, of which the following are extracts. Not having been written for publication, they take the form of rough notes:

"We have here students of many nationalities. That makes it easy to get a general conception of almost any sound. Perhaps the mixture makes the sounds unreliable for so minute distinctions as you take note of. A native Welshman from South Wales, not yet having command of English, pronounces *w* just as I do, has no difficulty with *woman*, never did have, pronounces Welsh words beginning with *w* in the same way, never heard any other sound for them; so he says. Makes a good *v* for Welsh *f*, touches his teeth fairly; never knew any other way. But English was spoken as well as Welsh in his native place, and he has always heard it [1. See remarks at end of quotation].

1. (w)—*continued*.

"Our German professor does not make *w* exactly as I do. He says he was directed by his English teacher to begin with *oo* (u), and he does, following with a weak *v'* (bh) [2]. Practically it is a good *w* for us. I ought to say, however, that his German *w* is much nearer the English *w* than that of many Germans. The students who read German with him always catch from him *w*, and not *v*. It used to be the direction for German *w* at Harvard, to 'make English *w* without the initial *oo* sound' [3].

"All this about *w* I have mentioned as a kind of introduction to the statement that I always thought the Latin *v* was our *w*. Their having no separate letters for *u* and *v* seemed reason enough [4], before I thought of the German; and the apparently close analogy between the German hearing of our *w* and the Greek representation of the Latin *v*, i.e. the careless β in common nouns, the more careful $\upsilon\beta$, and the occasional refined $\upsilon\upsilon\beta$ in proper names, as well as the facts of phonetic change, seemed to speak for English rather than German.

"The distinction between English *w* and your diphthong con-sonant $\upsilon\upsilon$ I had not made [5], and I am not absolutely certain that I do not myself make what you would call the diphthongal $\upsilon\upsilon$ where you make a different sound as English *w*. The difference between my making *oui*, *we* and German *wie*, seems to me this. Set tongue and lips for *oo* (u) and issue breath (sonant), then without moving the lips change the tongue for *i*, and it gives *oui* [6]. Set as before and issue same sonant breath, but, with the change of tongue for *i*, move the lips, constricting slightly, and then quickly letting them fall loose, and you have English *we* as I make it [7]. The difference between *oui* and *we* seems to be essentially in the lip movement.

"For the German, omit the tongue-adjustment for *oo*, and make a lip-movement somewhat similar to the English; but in the English *w* the mouth is, even when nearest to closure, still open, and in the *oo* form; so that, if held steadily, a resonant *oo* might be made through the aperture [8]. In the German I draw my upper lip down to my lower lip till it just ticks and is kept from touching along a considerable line

1. (w)—*continued*.

by the buzzing breath. The difference here seems to be in the form of the lips at their nearest approach, the English being nearly *oo*, and the German nearer *ö*. To me the English *w*, as I make it, is one of the easiest of letters, and the German one of the hardest to make after *oo*, as in the German attempts at English *w*" [9].

On these careful observations I would remark, [1] that the fact of the Welshman having constantly heard English (w) rather disqualifies him for a test. See also [5] at end.

[2] The direction given to a German to begin with (u) and go on to a gentle (bh), that is to call *we* (u, bhii)—for see (419, d)—is merely a contrivance to make him raise the back of his tongue properly, (u*bh), or the *simultaneous* utterance of these two sounds being almost exactly (w), compare (762, d'). Compare also Lediard (1047, c). The old Greek *οὐβ* for Latin *v* consonant ought to point out the same thing. But here doubts arise into which I cannot now enter. That this German should be heard by American students to say (w) rather than (v) upsets the (v) theory of Brücke by a crucial test.

[3] This direction is the reverse of the former, and makes (bh) = (w—u), or (w) with the tongue depressed, a good shorthand rule, though I find "(v) without touching the teeth" easier, and it is also more correct.

[4] Any one who reads Salesbury on I consonant (754, c), will see that such an opinion is untenable.

[5] My theory was that Latin V, I, when before a vowel were (u, i), forming a diphthong with a following vowel on which lay the force, as (uí, ué, uá; ié, iá), etc.—for this notation see (419, c)—or consonants as I called them, as long as VV, II, did not occur in writing, but that the introduction of these in place of VO, and simple I, shewed the development of a consonant form (in the modern sense), and I took those later consonants to be (bh, j), rather than (w, j), in consequence of the large field of (bh) in comparison to (w). Prof. March's doubt as to whether his own *w* is not my diphthongising *oo*, precisely the natural Welsh sound as I conceive, renders his identification of the Welshman's pronunciation with his own, no proof that the Welshman really said (w).

1. (w)—*continued*.

[6] This direction should give (uy'), or (úy). I hear the French sound as (úi), without any intermediate (y), and with the force on (u), shewn by the frequent form (ú'i) or (ú'í) with a sharp whispered or voiceless (i). Henceforth I use (u) for whispered (u), see (10, δ), the vocal chords nearly touching each other, and ("u) for voiceless (u), the vocal chords as wide apart as for ordinary breathing, and so on for other vowels. All these distinctions will be fully considered below No. 14, (wh).

[7] This should give (u-wj-i), where (wj) means (w), with the tongue as for (i), instead of as for (u). I believe, however, that it is meant for (uwi), where (w) is so gradually formed from (u) by constriction, that two syllables are not felt. There would be the slightest possible difference between (uwi) and (uí), but I have not yet observed or noted either of these sounds among Englishmen or Americans,—by no means a proof of their non-occurrence.

[8] If a clear (u) could be heard through the (w) position, (w) would be (u); to me this is not possible; (w) is a buzz, more like (z), which has a central passage, than (v), which has a divided passage, but still distinctly a buzz, from want of a proper resonance chamber, the aperture being constricted. In both (w, bh) I feel the lips vibrate much more strongly than for (u).

[9] As a gradual constriction, (uw) is easy enough, but it has no syllabic effect, that is, no distinctly appreciable glide, like (ubh). The opening (wu) is more syllabic, but (bhu) is still more so, owing to the greater change; (yw, wy) are more difficult to me than (ybh, bhy). But (íw, ew, æw) are syllabic, with 'stopped' vowels, and hence quite distinct from (íu, éu, áu), and not very difficult to my organs. Still even here (íbh, ebh, æbh) are easier to me. Of course (ív, ev, æv), which are frightfully difficult to a German, are perfectly easy, as in *to live, heavy, have*.

In a review by Mr. D. R. Goodwin on Dr. R. G. Latham's English Language (North American Review, No. 154, Jan. 1852), which I shall have again occasion to cite, I find the following (p. 8), which gives another American observation on (j, w) comparable to Prof. March's, and which I cite as the

1. (w)—*continued*.

only remark of a similar character which I have found: "The semi-vowels (lene) may be described as a sort of fulcrum or pivot of articulation, in passing from the English *e* (or *i* short) to any closely subjoined vowel-sound, in the case of *y*; and from *u* or *oo* to any such vowel-sound in the case of *w*. Thus in *yarn*, *wit*, we may give first the full sounds *ee'-arn*, *oo'-it*, where, between the initial vowel-sound *ee, oo*, and the following vowel-sounds, the organs pass through a certain momentary but definite position, which gives the character of a consonant-sound, and which we have denominated a fulcrum or pivot. If now the vowel part, the *ee-* or *oo-* sound be reduced to a minimum, and be begun immediately, upon this pivot or fulcrum, and pronounced *yard*, *wit*, we shall have the *y* and *w* representing sounds of a proper consonant character." By the expression "semi-vowels (lene)" and by afterwards saying that they have only a "momentary" position, Mr. Goodwin excludes the continuant character of (*j*, *w*), and hence we must suppose certain mutes and sonants, that is, explodents of the same character as (*g*, *b*) in the position of (*i*, *u*), with the aperture quite closed up. Now the first of these explodents answer almost precisely to (*kj*, *gj*), introduced in No. 10, (*sh*), and slightly different from (*kj*, *gj*), as will be there explained at length. These sounds, however, are difficult to keep from (*tsh*, *dzh*), as will there be shewn, and it is notorious that (*j*) after (*t*, *d*) or (*k*, *g*) generates such sounds. The lip-explodent, however, cannot be clearly kept from (*b*) itself. Mr. Goodwin surely did not mean (*gj*, *b*) to be his "lenesemi-vowels." A less degree of contact must be assumed, and writing (*gj*, *b*) for these theoretical sounds, according to the principle explained in No. 7, (*e*, *ɛ*), Mr. Goodwin's explanation seems to give *y*, *w* = ([*gj*]- [*ub*]-).

English (*w*) is to me a buzz, with small central lip aperture, back of tongue raised, and with the muscles of the lips not held so tightly as for (*bh*), so that the expelled voice can easily inflate both upper and lower lip beyond the teeth, which are kept well apart, and do not at all stop the passage of the breath. The well-known confusion of *w*, *v*, perhaps arises from (*bh*), but

1. (w)—*continued*.

is esteemed odiously vulgar (186, *de*), and will be considered hereafter.

(*æ*, *ə*). The habits of English speakers vary with respect to (*æ*, *ə*), and no one would be remarked for pronouncing either in a syllable under accent or force. But to my ear, (*æ*) has often a thick, deep effect, naturally unpleasant to one accustomed to (*ə*), which, probably, to the other speakers is fully as unpleasantly thin and high. The position of the tongue for (*ə*) is much higher, and its form flatter, than for (*æ*), in which the tongue lies in precisely the same position as for (*a*, *o*, *ɔ*), as roughly shewn in the diagram (14, *b*). The (*ə*) position of the tongue is the most neutral and colourless of all, but, leaving a much narrower channel than for (*æ*, *a*, *ɒ*), produces a finer and more delicate sound. I usually assume the sound heard to be (*ə*), unless the effect of (*æ*) is very marked. There seems to be no significance attached to the distinction (*ə*, *æ*). These vowels in syllables under force are, among European nations, said to be exclusively English, Scotch, and Welsh. According to Dutch writers (Donders and Land, who are both acquainted with English), the English is different from the Dutch short *u*, which is (*œ*) or (*ə*), as in French *eu* and German *ö*, and not (*æ*), as wrongly stated (236, *d'*). The English sound is not labialised at all, although it has sprung from a labial (*u*, *ɥ*), and there is great confusion in the way in which (*u*, *ə*) are used at the present day (175, *b*). The intermediate sound between (*u*) and (*ə*) or (*æ*) seems to be (*uo*) or (*u*), pronounced with lips as open as for (*o*), a sound which to unaccustomed ears hovers between (*u*, *o*, *æ*, *ə*), but is said to be prevalent in the north of England. The Welsh (*y*) is sometimes (*æ*), but this sound is not universal in Wales, p. 763. The sound (*ən*) is heard only in such phrases as "a good 'un, little 'un"; of course it is not an abbreviation of (*wən*), but an independent and older formation, unaffected by a prefixed (*u*). Being unemphatic, Mr. Bell would also consider it as (*ən*) or (*ɛn*), instead of his emphatic (*æn*). The sound of such unemphatic syllables will be considered hereafter.

1. (n).

(n). The tip of the tongue for received English (t, d, l, n) is not so advanced towards the teeth or gums, as for the continental sound. In my own pronunciation (n) is not even gingival, that is, the tip of the tongue does not even reach the upper gums. Mr. J. G. Thompson, of the Madras Civil Service, in his lithographed pamphlet, "An unpointed Phonetic Alphabet based upon Lepsius' Standard Alphabet, but easier to read and write and less likely to be mistaken, cheaper to cast, compose, correct and distribute, and less liable to accident" (Mangalore, 1859, pp. 64), distinguishes four classes of *t, d, l, n*. 1) *Lingual*, which, from his diagram, are apparently palaeo-type (tj, dj, lj, nj), to which I shall have to recur in Nos. 10 and 16 below. 2) *Palatal*, which by the diagram are (τ, δ, λ, ν), and which I believe correspond more correctly to the English sounds as I pronounce them, the tip of the tongue being laid against "the very crown of the palatal arch," except that I touch the palate with the upper and not the under part of the tip, so that the tongue is not at all inverted. The inversion of the tongue, as shewn in the diagram, seems to be due merely to roughness of drawing. "The palatal *t*," says Mr. Thompson, p. 31, "is pronounced by pressing the tip of the tongue vertically against the crown of the palatal arch so as to close every passage for the breath," which however is not possible unless the sides of the tongue also press against the palate and side molars, "and then withdrawing it with considerable force, while the breath is forcibly expelled." These are the so-called "cerebrals," and the (τ, ν) are the four-dotted Indian (त, न). 3) *Gingival*, in which the tip of the tongue touches the gums, and which he recognizes as the English *t, d*. 4) *Dental*, where the tip of the tongue is put against the teeth, is the continental *t*, and the Indian two-dotted त. "The gingival sounds of *t* and *d*," says Mr. Thompson on p. 23, "seem to be peculiar to English. Lepsius quotes the *t* in *town* as an example of the dental *t*: and this is a common mistake of foreigners, and one of the greatest obstacles in the way of their acquiring the pronunciation of English.

1. (n)—continued.

Singularly enough the same mistake has been made by Wilson in his Sanskrit Grammar. But Forbes has perceived the truth. On such a point, however, the evidence of the natives of India is worth more than that of any Englishman, and in almost every word they represent our *t* and *d* by the palatal [cerebral] letters of their alphabets. Thus in a Telugu advertisement in the Fort St. George Gazette, the words *Devonshire Julia Edward Act commander* appear as (divanshirar dzhuuliru edwordu aakru kamaandaru). . . . In advertisements from the same paper from another office, the words *government* and *private secretary* appear in Telugu as. (gauranmendu, praveer sekriteeri), and in Tamil as (gauranmendu, piraveertru sekritteeri). That the English *t* is not a dental letter anybody may convince himself by pronouncing a continental or Indian word in which a dental *t* occurs, and immediately giving the same sound to the *t* in *town letter boat*." But we have not to go abroad for this purpose. The dental *t* before *r* is very common in our own northern dialects.

In my palaeotype I erroneously used (t, d, l, n) for dentals, as giving greater force, and thickness to the vowels. I have however employed (tt, dd, ll, nr) occasionally. This inconvenient notation, involving the mutilation of a type, I propose to replace by (t, d, l, n), where the turned grave (˘) preceding a letter shews it has to be taken more forward. We have then (tj, τ, t, t) for this series, and there is also the Arabic (t), which is difficult to define, but which Thompson classes as a lingual (tj), together with thick Gaelic *t*, of which I know nothing. This is from an English point of view. A foreigner would consider our (t, d) as *retracted*. The English (t, d, l, n) are peculiarly light, and do not thicken the sound of the following or preceding vowel at all. I doubt whether this thickening effect (54, a) is really due to the peculiar position of the tongue and the glide thus formed. I am inclined to think that it must be accompanied by a peculiar action of the throat. Thus practically I find myself able to produce almost similar effects with the English *retracted* (t), by the muscular actions involuntarily resulting

1. (n)—continued.

from a proper *mental intention* when gliding on to the vowel.

As this page was passing through the press (12th August, 1873), Mr. K. G. Gupta, a native of Bengal, well acquainted with Sanscrit after the Benares school, had the kindness to give me oral exemplification of the Indian sounds. Mr. Murray was also fortunately present. I shall have occasion to recur to the information I then received as to the modern Indian pronunciation of Sanscrit, which, though probably considerably different from the ancient, is certainly its true descendant. Mr. Gupta, who has resided a considerable time in England and speaks English perfectly, had just returned from Paris. He distinctly recognized his own *mūrdhanya* or cerebral *t*, *d*, as the true English sounds, and his own dental, or as he considers them "soft," *t*, *d*, as the true French sounds. To some Indians, then, the distinction, Indian (τ ρ) and English (t d), is inappreciable. If palaeotype were introduced in a foreign book, certainly "τ ρ" would be used for the English and Indian cerebrals, and "t d" for the dentals. But it is strictly necessary in a work intended for English people to make the distinction between the usual English (t d) and foreign dental (τ d) clear to the eye. Foreigners will observe that for (t d) the tip of the tongue touches the *crown* of the palate, and hence these letters will be called *coronal*, and for (τ, d) the tongue is brought absolutely against the *teeth*, and hence they are dental. In all the foreign words hitherto introduced, in which (τ, d) have been written, (t, d) must be understood. The use of (t, d) was an anglicism which will be avoided hereafter, except as an abbreviation, after due explanation. The ordinary speaker of received English is altogether ignorant of the sounds (τ, d), and when he hears them confuses them with his own (t, d). Many Englishmen who have resided for years in India never learn to appreciate the difference. Yet in a Calcutta newspaper, (*The Englishman*, 10th May, 1873, p. 4, col. 2, in an article quoted from the *Friend of India*, of 8th May,) we read: "If any one says the *English cerebrals* are like enough to the Indian dentals, to repre-

1. (n)—continued.

sent them, let him remember the words *Magistrate* and *Superintendent* written in Bengali. Moreover a man who confuses dentals and cerebrals in Bengali, says *stick* when he means *kick*, *sixty* when he means *seven*, and is unable to distinguish a *lease* from a *leaf*, a *cannon* from a *hat*, *fear* from *market-price*, and *pease-porridge* from the *branch of a tree*." And the only English dentals which Mr. Gupta admits are (th, dh), for which the tip of the tongue is in the same position as it is for his (τ, d), the sole difference consisting in the tightness of closure, formed by the sides of the tongue. The description of (τ ρ) on pp. 4 and 9 as (t d) or "(t, d) with an inverted tongue," is incorrect for Sanscrit ट ड and must be omitted. This definition arose from Bopp's stating that "they are pronounced by bending the tongue far back and bringing it against the palate" (indem man die Spitze der Zunge weit zurückbiegt und an den Gaumen setzt, Gram. der Sans. Spr. in kürz. Fass. 2nd ed. 1845, p. 15), and Mr. Gupta distinctly repudiated inversion. But (τ ρ) may be retained as special signs for the Indian *cebrals*, until their identification with the English *coronals* has been generally acknowledged. Mr. M. O. Mookerjee (1102, b) qualified his identification of (τ ρ) with (t d) by a saving "almost." Possibly the Indian sounds may be retracted (τ, d).

As to (n n) Mr. Gupta said that no distinction is now made in pronunciation except in connection with following consonants. In Pāṇini's name, for example, both n's are alike (n); no distinction between (n n) being heard in India. The nasal resonance would be the same, but it is possible to make the glides on to and from vowels sensibly different. We must conclude that the ancients felt a difference, or they would not have used two letters, although this and other distinctions have been lost in modern speech.

In the (n) there is a complete closure by the tongue, so that the lips may be either open or shut, and there is complete resonance in the nose. Compare the effect of a person saying *one* with or without "a cold in the head," that is, with incomplete and complete nasal resonance, as: (wəd, wən). The nasal resonance is prolonged to the last, so that there is no approach to (wənd,

1. (n)—*continued*.

wənt, wɒnl). The voice is also prolonged to the last, and does *not* dwindle off to (nh) as (wənnh). The (n) is often very long, but there is not usually a decrease and increase of force, giving the effect of reduplication, as (wən)n, see (52, a).

(wən). The method of synthesis must be observed. The labiality of the (w) should not affect the following vowel, changing (ə) into (oh), or (æ) into (o), even as a gliding intermediate sound, though carelessness in this respect may be one cause of the generation of (wən), through (wəhn, wɒn, wɒn), if indeed (on) were not original. Hence the lips have to be sharply opened, and the buzz of the (w) scarcely audible, except of course for certain rhetorical effects. The (ə) is short, but may be of medial length; if it were prolonged, it would give the effect of *wurn* (wɜrn), although there must be no trill; indeed (wəən, wəəən) are not uncommon cockneyisms. The prolongation is thrown on to the glide to (n), which is the same as that to (d), and on to the (n) itself. The uvula does not act to open the passage to the nose till (ə) is quite finished. Any nasalising of the vowel, as (wə.n), is quite abnormal, although occasionally heard, but not among educated English speakers.

2. TWO, (tuu).

(t). The tip of the tongue against the crown of the palate, see (1096, c).

(uu). The throat not widened, a clear flute-like sound, with no approach to (oo) in it. It may be short, however, as well as long, and should not end with a whisper ('u), or hiss ('uu), or consonant (w, wh), as in Icelandic (548, ð). But it may end with much diminishing force. With some perhaps it tends to (uuu). Mr. Sweet tells me that he has detected himself in saying (təuw). In Danish he says there is a slight final hiss after (ii, un), thus (iʃh, uwh), see his paper on Danish (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 105). Perhaps the Danish sounds are rather (iiʃh, uuwh).

2. (tuu).

(tuu). For the synthesis, observe that for (t) the glottis is quite *closed*, but not so tightly as to be forced open by an explosion, and that the vocal ligaments should begin to vibrate for (uu) simultaneously with the release of the closure (t). But in Germany and Denmark the glottis seems to be *open* when (t) is held, so that on its release some unvoiced breath escapes first, which may be expressed by (tʰuu), see (10, cd), when gentle, and (tʰʰuu) when jerked. Some public speakers in England cultivate this habit, thinking that (tuu, duu) are thus more distinctly separated. It is not, however, usual with English speakers, though Irishmen are given to it. If the glottis be tightly closed for (t), and then the breath is made to break through it with explosion, we hear (tʰʰuu), which, when (t) is taken dental as (tʰʰuu), has a very singular effect, sometimes heard from Irishmen, but not at all received. The quiet way in which an Englishman says and distinguishes (tuu, duu), without any effort, is remarkable, when contrasted with an Upper German's struggles. The vowel-sound should commence at the instant that the (t) contact is released, so that the glide (52, be) from (t) on to (uu) is quite distinct. The voice should not commence before, or the effect (tduu) will be produced, as in the Yorkshire *t' door*, giving a kind of pause before (duu) and a thickness to the (uu) which is not received English, or else giving a German *implosion* ('t-d-uu). This implosion consists of a dull thud produced by compressing the air between the closed glottis and the closure produced by the tongue tip for ('t), lips for ('p) and back of tongue for ('k). See *Merkel, Physiologie der Menschlichen Sprache*, p. 149. What is here said of initial (t) applies to initial (p, k) with the variants [p], [pʰ], [pʰʰ], [k], [kʰ], [kʰʰ]. See an explanation of (1;) in No. 8, (et). The whole subject will be more systematically discussed in No. 14, (wh).

3. THREE, (thrii), but (thrii, thryy) are perhaps more commonly heard.

(th). The tongue is brought fully against the teeth, so that (th)

3. (th)—*continued.*

would be the proper sign; but this will be used for the variant produced by thrusting the tongue *between* the upper and lower teeth, instead of simply pressing it *against* the upper teeth. We do not say (tth) initially, as some Germans think. We use that combination finally in *eighth* (eetth),—quite a modern word, the old form being *eight* (eet),—and on sounding it the speaker will feel his tongue glide forward from palate to teeth. Compare also successive words, as “bread *that* is cut *thin*.” Initially (tth) would be necessary and not difficult. In Greek τθ is common medially, originally perhaps (t,th) and afterwards (tth). The hiss is sharp, but weak compared to (s). It is easily confused with (f), and is actually so confused dialectally.

(r). Mr. Bell distinguishes English (r) as untrilled, as, in fact, a buzz, which may be written (r₀), “the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gum” (*Visible Speech*, p. 52). But so far as I have noticed, *r* before a vowel is always trilled (196, *b*), unless there is an organic defect or bad habit in the speaker, not at all an unusual occurrence, and then some other trill, of the lip, uvula, or cartilaginous glottis, is substituted. The effect of a trill is that of a beat in music, a continually repeated “make and break” of sound, the different effect of the different trills resulting from the glides thus produced. See the phonautographic curves of the different trills in *F. C. Donders, De Physiologie der Spraakklinken* (Utrecht, 1870, pp. 24), p. 19. It is of course possible to produce a central hiss or buzz in the (r) position without interrupting the sound by a trill, and the result is different from (s, z). There is, however, some difficulty to those accustomed to trill, in keeping the loose tip of the tongue stiff enough not to trill. When this is accomplished, there is another difficulty, in keeping the front of the tongue far enough from the palate not to produce (s, z), and yet not so far as to give simple (o). This untrilled (r), which will henceforth be marked (r₀) when buzzed, and (r_h) when hissed, has therefore a great tendency to fall into (o), or some such indistinct sound. Mr. Bell always writes

3. (r)—*continued.*

(r₀) in English, representing trilled (r) by (r₃). Hence my transcription of his character in 3*g*, or that in col. 3, line *g*, p. 15, was erroneous. The English (r) is in the (t) position, but a dental (r) also occurs. This (r) is recognized in the Peak of Derbyshire by Mr. Hallam, as will appear below. In Sanscrit Mr. Gupta (1096, *a*) found that no *r* occurred after coronals, (1096, *c*), and in pronouncing the dentals (t, d) before the trill, he decided that the tongue remained forward, so that his Sanscrit trill was (r). The older grammarians differ, and only Pânini classes *r* as a coronal (cerebral). (Whitney, *Athar. V. Prâtiç.* p. 29.) There is, however, also a recognized retracted Indian (r), which Mr. Gupta pronounced to me, the root being drawn back and the whole front half of the tongue “flopping” rather than trilling. There are doubtless many other tongue trills. In Scotch, and also in Italian, the trill is strong (r).

(ii). This bright primary sound is, I find on careful observation, not so common in English as I had once thought it to be. Men with deep bass voices find it difficult to produce. The wide (i) seems much more usual, and is especially frequent after (r). For (i, i) see (58, *a*. 83, *dc.* 105, *bc.* 106, *a, d.* 544, *c*). I have found such combinations as the following, in which (i, ii) follow each other, useful in drawing attention to the difference; the (i) should be much prolonged in practising them. “Let baby be, with ugly glee, the glassy sea, worthy thee, a wintry tree, thy enemy me, they chiefly flee, a bulky key,” also “of a verity (verⁱriti) ’tis very tea (verⁱriti); a trusty trustee (tr^osti tr^ostii).” There is sometimes a tendency to correct the error and say (i), which may be the first step from (ii) to (oi) (473, *c*’), although a different origin for this change will hereafter be assigned (see § 2, No. 6, iv). There seems to be no generally recognized tendency to hiss out such a final (ii), thus (thrh“ii), as a French final (ii) is occasionally hissed, or to close with such a hiss (i^h“ii), or with a consonant (iir, iir^h). But such sounds may occur as individualities.

(thrii). In synthesis, the (th) is

3. (thrii).

very brief, but the change in sound as the tongue is retracted to (r) perceptible. The voice is laid on at the moment the (r) position has been assumed, and is heard throughout the rattle of (r). We never say (thrhrii), by running the hiss on to the trill, or (thdhrrii), by putting on the voice before the tongue leaves the teeth.

4. FOUR, Bell's (foɹ), or (fōɹ), see below, my (fooɹ), but (fooɹ, fAAɹ) are also heard from educated people. I have even heard (fauɹ) from an educated gentleman, whether archaic, provincial, or puristic, I do not know.

(f). The lower lip is *firmly* pressed against the teeth, so that the hiss is strong and sharp, not unlike (th), indeed so like that when pronounced by themselves, as in spelling by sounds, it is difficult to distinguish (f) and (th) at a little distance. Hence (saif, saith) are both heard for *sigh* (213, d), and (f, th) are confused in several words dialectally. Of course people with no upper teeth either use the hard gum or say (ph), the regular Hungarian sound of *f*. Compare remarks on Icelandic *f* (542, c) and modern Greek *φ* (518, b).

(ooɹ). This is the sound I use when the word is under force. It is a diphthong, the letter (x) representing as I now think (196, bc) one of the indistinct sounds (v, ɹ, œ, ə, ɔ), with a liberty, seldom exercised unless a vowel follows, to add the trilled (r) of No. 3. My own belief is that in these diphthongal sounds I use (ə), but I may say (v). I think that I never say (ɹ, œ). For non-diphthongal (ɹ), see Nos. 12 and 25. For diphthongal (ɹ), Mr. Melville Bell uses a new sign, called a "point-glide" (197, a), so that what I have transcribed (oɹ) might be more truly rendered (6ɹ), the accent on (6) pointing out the diphthongal nature of the combination, and thus reducing (ɹ) from a consonant to a pure glide; but his son, Mr. Graham Bell, in teaching deaf-mutes, has more recently adopted a notation which is tantamount, in his orthography, to my (6o'), using (') as really a helpless indication of obscure vocality.

There are four of these (x) diph-

4. (ooɹ) — *continued*.

thongs in English, in *ear, air, oar, oor* (57, d. 196, b to 199, a. 200, d to 202, a), which are, I believe, in the pronunciation of strict speakers (iɹ, eɹ, oɹ, uɹ), that is, (i', e', 6o', u') when not before a vowel, and (i'r, e'r, 6o'r, u'r) always before, and admissibly *not* before, a vowel. The diphthong theoretically indicated by the acute accent mark is quite perfect. There is no tendency to form two syllables, as a general rule. But I have heard (fooyɹ, kooɹɹɹ) from old people, see (Goo'ɹɹ) (726, c). Smart says (*Diet.* art. 54, note) that there is no difference in London between *payer* and *pair*. To me the sounds are (peeɹɹ, peɹɹ), and the use of the first for the second, which I sometimes hear, appears to me to be an archaism. Instead of (ooɹɹ) or (ooɹ), however, it is extremely common to hear (AA) or (AA', AAɹ) if the speaker is very "correct" (95, a. d. 197, a. 245, ab. 575, cd. 603, a'). This (ooɹ) is the only recognized combination in which (oo) remains in modern English, but it is rapidly disappearing. A few use it in (doog, oo'fis), see (94, d. 602, cd), but here it is more often (ooh, oo, AA), and is intended for (o).

Donders identifies (x) in this combination with the glottal r (ɹ), see (8, c), saying (*op. cit.* p. 20): "The sound of (ɹ) is easy to produce. Sing as deep a note as possible, and then try to sing a deeper one. The voice will be replaced by a peculiar crackling noise (*krakend geluid*). After noticing its relation to the Arabic *ain* (ʕ), he says: "Thick voices are inclined to use it as a vowel. Others connect it or alternate it with the voice, giving a tone of lacrymose sentimentality, and, when the mouth is closed, it is heard as a mournful moan. It is also used as a trill. Brücke considers it to be the trill of the Low Saxons. I heard it thus used in the London dialect in a peculiar manner: *horse* was pronounced simply as *ose* but with the moaning voice (ɹ), which gives a little trilling effect to the consonant." But Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling, Amsterdam, 1870) says: "r is very soft both in Friesic and English; at the beginning of a syllable it seems to consist of one single stroke of the tongue, and before an explosive consonant, after a long vowel (*boord, peerd*, compare English *bird, park*), it sounds to my ear as if

4. (ooi)—*continued*.

there were no stroke of the tongue at all, but in its place the indeterminate vowel \bar{o} ¹² (ə), or, as others pronounce, a guttural explodent, spiritus lenis. For the last it may be pleaded that in singing the English use the full *r*, which is the only one used in Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Whether the moaning *r* is heard with the vowel, in place of an *r* after it,—as Donders remarks of the low London *horse*,—in the Friesian dialect, deserves investigation *in loco*." This glottal (ɾ) occurs in Danish. See Mr. Sweet's valuable paper on Danish Pronunciation (Trans. of Philological Society for 1873-4, part 1, p. 109) where he also thinks that I have misunderstood the quotation from B. Jonson (200, *c*), in considering that he alluded to (ɾ) as the sound in the middle as well as at the end of words, and considers that Jonson may have alluded to the difference between trilled (r) and untrilled (ɾ). I had merely thought that Jonson's illustrations were imperfect, and that he had given no case of middle *r*, unless the middle *r* in *rarer* were doubled, as at present (reerɾɾ) or (ree'ra). This, however, seems impossible to determine, as Jonson's voice is hushed.

In rapid speaking *four* becomes quite (fə), and in "four or five," we have most frequently (fə'fə's'ivf,) or even (fə'ɾəfə's'ivf).

(fooi). The tongue being put ready for (oo) or (aa), while (f) is said with the lips, the glide to (oo) is very brief, but still the (foo) is quite different from (f'oo). The glide (ooi) or (6o') is very close and distinct, but the vowel is not shortened, when under force. Mr. Bell's (foi) arises from his habitually neglecting to mark the length of the first vowel of a diphthong. As a rule all our peculiar diphthongs (iɪ, éeɪ, 6oi, úuɪ, éei, 6ou) have the first vowel intentionally long, and our usual diphthongs (ə'i, ə'i, ə'u, iú) frequently lengthen the second vowel, as Hart marked them (152, *a*). But Englishmen constantly pronounce a diphthong very briefly indeed, so that this length is relative to that of the whole diphthong, considered independently, not to that of the syllable in which it occurs or of other syllables in the word.

5. FIVE, Bell's (fáiv), my (fə'iv).

(f). See No. 4.

(ə'i). See (107, *ba* to 109, *a*, and 234, *cb*), for the various theories of the sound of this diphthong in English; and (287, *c* to 291, *c*) for the Scotch sounds, and (295, *c*) for the Dutch *ij*, *ei*. After much attention to the habits of English speakers, I believe the *last* element to be really (i), not (i), although I have generally written (əi). This must be regarded as rather a rough symbolisation, the mark of stress not being inserted. In the present chapter, where very accurate analysis is aimed at, I shall almost invariably employ the manner of marking diphthongs already explained (419, *c*), so that every diphthong or triphthong will have the acute accent *on* or *after* (according to typographical convenience) the element which bears the stress, and the adjacent elements glide on to or from that element. Hence Mr. Melville Bell's "glides" p. 15, 5*c*, 5*l*, are represented by (i, u), simply with an acute on the adjoining letter, so that (ái, áu) precisely transliterate his symbols. But Mr. Bell's "glides" leave it in doubt whether the second element is (i, u) or (i, u), and these, with many more niceties, are perfectly indicated by the present notation.

The first element of the long *i*, as I speak, seems to be (ə); but when I try to lengthen it for analysis, I seem to take (əi), which has the same position of the tongue, but a wider opening behind. I certainly do not say (ái, di). I occasionally and but rarely hear (ái) from educated people, and have never noticed (di) from them. As a grey-beard, I am constantly asked by children in Kensington Gardens, to tell them the "time." From them I frequently hear (ái, ə'í), and I have heard the last from educated women. Irishmen may say (di, əh'í), but I have not been able to analyze the sound. It seems to me that Irishmen have a peculiar method of "widening," or enlarging the pharynx, etc., which gives a remarkable effect to some vowels. Indicating this by an inferior (ə), the Irish sound appears to me (ə₂'í). This is, however, a matter of local or individual habit, requiring considerable study to

5. (ə'i)—continued.

ascertain satisfactorily. English singers say (ái), and in singing to a long note seem to sing (á-aah-í), the chief stress resting on (á) and chief length on (aah), with (í) and the glide up to it very short. The sound in English is hence indeterminate, but those who have learned Greek generally distinguish two values, high and low. The high is *ei*, one of the forms (ə'í, áhi, a'í); the low is *ai*, one of the forms (ái, di). The words *eye*, *aye* are now so distinguished (ə'í, áí), but the pun on "the noes and the ayes,—the nose and the eyes," sufficiently shews that the distinction need not be insisted on now, as Shakspeare's pun on *I, eye, aye* (112, *bc*), shews that he also heard them much alike. There are other diphthongs approaching this, with final (y) or (ə), but I have not observed them as varieties of (ei) in English, (ə'y) occurs in Dutch *heup*, and (əh'i) in Dutch *lui*, (əh'y) in Dutch *huis* (*Donders*, *Phys. d. Spr.* pp. 15, 16; see also *Land*, *op. cit.*), correcting my appreciation as (ə'y) on (235, *d*). Observe the Norfolk (ə'y) in (138, *c*). Diphthongisation confounds originally perfectly distinct vowels. When (i) once admits an antecedent deeper sound, we get the series (í, éi, éí, é'í, æ'í, áí, áai, áa', aa), till (i) has disappeared. And by varying (í) into (y) there is a tendency to pass to (u) and hence get into variants of (u), while by broadening (a) to (a) we are at once brought into the (ái, əh'í, ə'í, á'í) series, which also comes from (úi, úí, úi, ói, ói, ó'í). All these changes, actually observed in practice, are of great philological interest. Their proper bearing cannot be properly appreciated without studying our dialectal vowel relations. Mr. Bell has not introduced an example of the last or (ói) series among his key-words. It is by no means widely known in the (ói) form. In older English we had two forms (úi, ói). The former regularly became (ə'í) in the XVIIth century, and remains in one or other of the many forms of this diphthong vulgarly and in several dialects. The second generally appears dialectally as (ói, ó'í, á'í), but is occasionally assimilated as (ái). Now by a converse assimilation, educated English, orthographically misled no doubt, has, within the last hundred years, reduced all the original (úi) set of (ə'í) sounds to (ə'í, á'í), which is

5. (ə'i)—continued.

far worse than the derided Irish, or provincial pronunciation of *i* as one of this series, because the educated pronunciation is simply an orthographically superinduced mis-pronunciation, and the other is an organic development: yet one is upheld and the other ridiculed. Educated ignorance is always absurd.

(v). The buzz of (f). It is remarkable that though this sound is so easy and common in English, French, and Italian, it should generally be found difficult. The observations of Merkel (*Phys. d. mensch. Spr.* pp. 211-12) shew that although he knew (f), he had no proper conception of (v), which Brücke and Lepsius claim for German *w*. He says: "(f) cannot as such be vocalised or combined with vibrations of the vocal chords; the organs are obliged, in the attempt, to assume an intermediate position between that of (ph) and that of (f), and to separate so far that they can occasion no sensible noise (*erhebliches Geräusch*). When then sonant breath is driven through them, we hear a sound, which is scarcely at all (*fast gar nicht*) distinct from (bh), but for which the lips are not exactly opposed, the under lip being somewhat retracted under the upper lip," and hence he does not distinguish (v) by a separate sign. But all Englishmen can press the lower lip *firmly* against the upper teeth and *buzz*, that is, produce the effect of a mixture of vocalised and unvocalised breath. The way in which (v) can shade into (bh) is remarkable (549, *a, d. 518, b, d*). With reference to the remark on Sanscrit *v* on p. 518, the following citation from Prof. Whitney (*Atharva-Veda Pratiçākhyā*, text, translation and notes, New Haven, U.S., 1872, p. 26) is important: "The Vāj. Pr. . . defines the same sounds, [the *v*-series, *u, v*,] as produced upon the lip and by the lip, and then adds farther that in the utterance of *v* the tips of the teeth are employed: the same specification as to *v* is made by the Tāitt. Pr. (its commentator explaining that in the utterance of that letter the points of the upper teeth are placed on the edge of the lower lips). . . The descriptions of *v* given by the two Pratiçākhyās of the Yajur Veda, as well as that offered by the Paninean scheme (which declares its organs of

5. (v)—*continued.*

utterance to be the teeth and lips), leave no room to doubt that at their period the *v* had already generally lost its original and proper value as English *w*—as which alone it has any right to be called a semivowel, and to rank with *y*—and, doubtless passing through the intermediate stage of the German *w*, had acquired the precise pronunciation of English *v*." That is, Prof. Whitney assumes, the series: 1. vowel (*u*), with back of tongue raised and resonant lip opening; 2. (*w*), with back of tongue raised and non-resonant, restricted lip opening; 3. (*bh*), with back of tongue lowered, and similar (not identical) lip opening; 4. (*v*), with lower lip against upper teeth, increasing the buzz materially. On making the series (*u-w-bh-v*) in one breath, the motion of the organs will become apparent, and though the sounds are constantly confused, yet it will be felt in the vibratory motions of the lips themselves that there is a material difference. On 9th July, 1873, having an opportunity of observing the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mookerjee, a native Bengalee gentleman, and not detecting any of the characteristic buzz of a (*v*), arising from the division of the stream of air by the teeth, I asked him whether he actually touched his teeth, and he said: "very little." Now (*v*) with faint dental contact is scarcely separable from (*bh*) without any dental contact. Hence the misty borderland between these two sounds. "There is no certainty in the accounts we have of English *v* and German *w* occurring in exotic languages, for when either is mentioned we have no proof that the observer knew the difference." (Prof. S. S. Haldeman, *Analytic Orthography*, art. 462.) It came like a revelation upon Mr. Kovács, an Hungarian, when he found he had to use his teeth for English (*v*). I had observed he had a difficulty with *veal*, which from his lips sounded to English ears as (*wiil*), being really (*bhiil*). When he first attempted to say (*viil*), he produced (*bh*dhiil*), making the buzz by bringing his *tongue*, instead of his lower lip, against the upper teeth. I asked him to make inquiries among his fellow-countrymen, and he assured me that none of them used the teeth for *f*, *v*, that is, all said (*ph*, *bh*). Yet Mr. Kovács had been long enough

5. (v)—*continued.*

in England to preach publicly in English. And Lepsius makes Magyar *f*, *v* = (*f*, *v*), and not (*ph*, *bh*) (Standard Alphabet, p. 220). These facts support Prof. Haldeman's dictum. I have seldom heard a German able to distinguish (*w*, *v*). When Prof. Max Müller (whose *r* is also uvular) is lecturing, I find much difficulty in distinguishing *words* and *verbs*, although he has been many years in England, is perfectly conversant with the language, and has attended much to phonetics. Prof. Haldeman says he can "distinguish across a room, whether a speaker of German uses the German *w* or English *v*, *provided* the voice is familiar" (Anal. Orth., p. 93, n.). See about the German professor (1093, *bc*). In Dutch *v*, *w* both occur. Dr. Gehle seemed to pronounce *u*, *v*, *w* as (*yy*, *vee*, *bhee*). Land (*ibid.* p. 30) says Dutch "*f* and *v* are not formed with both lips, but with the under lip and upper teeth, and have consequently a peculiar character for the ear, and for both reasons should be separated from the *p*-series. The explosive consonant" — *Slagconsonant*, implying a perfect closure of the oral passage, a species of *b*, palaeotype (*b*), — "formed in the same place, is our usual *w* at the beginning of a syllable, also usual in High German (*ook in 't Hoogduitsch gebruikelijk*), and is consequently distinguished from the next-mentioned labial *w* both by its place and mode of articulation. The Dutch language possesses, as well as the English, a murmuring or buzzing (*ruischend*) *w*, which is nothing but *u* with a stronger closure (*sterkere ver-naauwing*) than the vowel. The sound occurs exclusively after a *u*, *huwen*, that is, *hüu-wen*, *rouwen* = *ro^uu-wen*, *eeuwen* = *ēu^uwen* = (*hy^uu-wen*, *ro^uu-wen*, *ēu^uwen*) apparently, "and must be distinguished from our usual *w* in *wat*, *wil*. A low (*platte*) pronunciation only knows the labio-dental *w*." Now this explosive (*b*) is Brücke's theoretical *b*², see (4, *a*), described as having the closure (*Verschluss*) effected, not as in the usual *p* with both lips, but with the under lip and upper teeth (Grundzüge, p. 34), and Brücke (*ibid.*) makes German *w* = (*v*). Hence, Land's definition having puzzled me, I applied to Prof. Donders, who in a private letter, dated 11th Nov. 1872, says: "Dutch *v* and *f* agree perfectly

5. (v)—continued.

with English *v* and *f*," which Englishmen are accustomed to consider identical with French *v* and *f*, and hence what follows is puzzling: "In French *v* I think I perceive a little approximation to German *w*; the lips perhaps approach one another rather more, and the upper teeth do not so determinately rest on the lip (in de Fransche *v* meen ik eene kleine toenadering tot de Duitsehe *w* te herkennen: de lippen naderen elkander misschien iets meer, en niet zoo bepaaldt rusten de tanden der opperkaak op de lippen). Our *w* agrees exactly with the German. At the end of words in *eeuw*, *leeuw*, the *v* makes it approach nearer to English *w*. . . . I have been as much surprised as yourself at Land's opinion that *w* can be the labio-dental explodent. At the conclusion he seems to refer exclusively to the *low* (*platte*) pronunciation. But I have not met with it, even there. I doubt whether this labio-dental explodent occurs at all. When intentionally (*met opzet*) used, it sounds to me like an impure (*onzuiver*) *b* or *p*." We have here a clear distinction between (*f*, *v*, *bh*, *w*, *u*), as all occurring in one and the same language, by an observer of European reputation.

While this page was passing through the press, I had the interview already mentioned with Mr. Gupta (1096, *a*). I was particularly anxious to ascertain his views respecting Sanscrit *v*. He made decidedly an English (*v*) with a faint pressure of the lower lip against the teeth, and did not seem to know that a *v* sound could be otherwise produced. On my pronouncing to him first (*vii*, *vee*, *vaa*, *voo*, *vuū*), and next (*bhii*, *bhee*, *bhaa*, *bhoo*, *bhuū*), the first with faint and the second with strong buzz, so as to imitate the first, as a strong (*bh*) buzz is generally much weaker than any (*v*) buzz, he decidedly recognized the former and not the latter for the Sanscrit sound. But then came two curious pieces of information, first that Sanscrit *v* after a consonant is always called (*w*), and secondly, that in Bengalee (*b*) is said for both *b* and *v* Sanscrit. The manner, however, in which he pronounced *v* and *y* after consonants gave, to my ear, the effect of stressless (*u*, *i*) diphthongising with the following vowel, as (*anusūāra*), rather than (*anuswāra*). Instead then of an interchange of (*v*, *w*), there *w*:*s*, to me

5. (v)—continued.

(and I am anxious to express this as an individual opinion, which it would require very much longer and more varied experience to raise to the rank of a conviction), rather a reversion to the original vowel (*u*). We have already seen the great difficulties in separating (*u*, *w*), *suprà* No. 1, and we shall have several occasions again to refer to the effects of (*u*), both on a preceding and following consonant, which appear to me identical in nature with those of (*i*) and (*y*), see No. 9, below, and § 2, No. 6, *iv*. The controversy is not likely to be readily settled. England, possessing (*w*, *j*), will use them for both consonants and stressless diphthongising vowels. Germany, possessing (*bh*, *j*) or (*v*, *j*), will only use the latter (*j*) in this way, leaving the vowel (*u*) for the former. France, Italy, and Spain, having only vowels, will naturally use them only. Spanish (*bh*) is always thought of as (*b*), and hence would not be used. We thus get English *kwa kya*, German *kua kja*, French *koua kia*, Italian and Spanish *kua, kia*, for the same sounds (*kuá kiá*), or many shades of sounds up to (*kwa kja*). Initially Spaniards use *hua* and Italians *ua*. But I hope that attention will be directed beyond national habits of writing or speaking, and real usages will be ultimately determined. It is to me probable that there will be thus discovered an unconsciously simultaneous usage of (*kuá kwa kwa, kiá kja kja*), with perhaps intermediate forms, and a gradation of (*wa bha va, ja gjha*), passing imperceptibly into each other through different degrees of consonantal buzz. As a mere practical rule (*uá iá*) is convenient, till the forms (*u-á*, *i-í*), indistinguishable from (*uu*, *ii*), would have to be reached on the one hand, and (*vu*, *gjhi*) on the other. The Bengalee confusion of *v*, *b*, Sanscrit, seems almost to negative the existence of the (*v*) pronunciation of Sanscrit *v*, before the Bengalee variety arose. Confusions of (*b*, *v*) seem to occur in English dialects, but are very rare; (*b*, *bh*) are often confused, as in Spanish, German, Hebrew; the confusion of (*b*, *w*) is quite possible, but not so easy. The Bengalee custom, therefore, to me seems to indicate an original (*bh*) rather than (*w*) consonant, at the time the Devanâgarî alphabet was invented. The use of pre-alpha-

5. (v)—*continued.*

betic stressless diphthongising (u-) I consider highly probable. The wide philological bearing of this distinction must excuse the length of these remarks.

(fə'iv). For the synthesis, the initial (f) hiss is short, and the voice does not begin till it finishes, so that (fvə'iv) is not heard. This must be clearly understood, as we have (szii) in German for *sie*, usually received as (zii); and we shall find that in *whip*, some hear (whwip). It is not the English habit in any words beginning with (f, th, s, sh) to interpose (v, dh, z, zh) by prematurely laying on the voice, or before the latter to emit a whisper by beginning with an open glottis, and thus deferring the laying on of the voice. Although it is possible that initial (v, z) may have been generated from (f, s) in Somersetshire, and previously in Dan Michel's dialect, by some such anticipation of the voice, followed afterwards by omission of the hiss (which of course was never written when the buzz was apparent), yet, as a rule, Englishmen avoid all deferred or premature laying on of voice, resulting from the open or closed glottis, and in this respect differ from German. We never intentionally say (rhrii, lblii, mhmii, nhnii), although we have seen that Cooper (544, *d*) and Lediard (1046, *a'*) conceived that *knee* was called (nhnii), and shall find a trace of this remaining in the Cumberland dialect. This makes (whwii, jhjii) suspicious. On the whole of this subject see No. 14 below. The case is, however, very different with *final* (v, z, dh, zh). The prolongation of the buzz is apparently disagreeable to our organs, and hence we drop the voice before separating them, thus merging the buzz into a hiss unless a vowel follows, on to which the voice can be continued, or a consonant, which naturally shortens the preceding one. Thus in (fə'iv) the voice begins at the moment the hiss of (f) ceases, and before the position for (ə) is fully assumed, it glides on to (ə), glides off (ə) on to (i), glides from (i) on to (v), continues through (v), and then, if the word is final, ceases, by the opening of the glottis before the (v) position is changed, producing (f), thus (fə'ivf). A following vowel, as in *five* and *six* (fə'iv-en-siks), pre-

5. (fə'iv)—*continued.*

vents this, but does not shorten the length of (v), and the voice glides on to the (v). A following voiced consonant, as *five loaves* (fə'iv loovz), shortens the buzz, and there is no glide of the voice, as that would give an additional syllable, (fə'iv'loovz). A voiceless consonant, as *five shillings* (fə'iv shi'liqz), does not introduce an (f), or change (v) into (f). The voice ceases at the (v), spoken very shortly, and the hiss begins at (sh), so that there is a clear discontinuity, and no Englishman feels a difficulty in what is to a German or Dutchman nearly insuperable. The extremely different habits of different nations in the change of voiced to voiceless forms, and conversely, and the systematic way in which they have been hitherto ignored, although forced on the attention of comparative philologists by the Sanscrit distinctions of pada and sanhitā texts, give much linguistic importance to such observations, minute as they may appear. See the Dutch custom in No. 9, (b).

6. SIX, (siks.)

(s). The hisses with central passage are so various in character that it is extremely difficult to distinguish them. They seem to form two groups: (s) in which the tongue is more forward and the back of the tongue not hollowed, and (sh) in which the tongue is more retracted and the back is hollowed. This general difference is best felt on taking some common words containing (s) or (sh) or both, as *swiss, swish, swishes, wishes, session, sash, slush, (swis, swish, swi'shezs, wi'shezs, se'shen, sash, slash),* and interchanging (s, sh) as (shwish, shwis, shwi'shesh, shwi'sesh, wi'sesh, she'sen, shæs, shlæs). We may also pronounce them in immediate succession, as (poze'sshun) *possession*, properly (poze'shen). Try also to say (s-shii, s-shaa, s-shuu), which are easy, and (sh-sii, sh-saa, sh-suu), which are difficult, at least to my organs. Now, so far as I can judge, any variety of the forward (s) and any variety of the backward (sh) would be intelligible in English, and I do not think that we naturally know much about the varieties. I think however that (s, sh) and (s, sh), written (ʒs, ʒsh) on (800, *b'*), are really kept apart. If we say *gas, cats*, con-

6. (s)—*continued.*

tinuing the *s* sharply, and being very careful to keep its position in *cats*, I think we hear (gæss, kæt,s,s), and after a little practice we may even say (kæ,s), which will not rhyme to (gæs). This will be more distinct when we say (kæt,s), the tip of the tongue then coming very close indeed to the back of the front teeth, while in (kæt,s) it is behind the back of the upper gum (1096, *c*), and in (gæs) it may lie behind and between the teeth, or really press against the lower gums, the hiss being between the hard palate and the middle of the tongue. If we hiss a tune, without quite whistling, with the lips open, producing the difference of pitch by the mere motion of the tongue, we shall find great varieties in the position of the tongue, and that the pitch is highest when the tip of the tongue is forward and near the gums. We shall find also that the tongue can be retracted considerably without destroying the (s) effect, provided the breath be not allowed to resound in the hollow behind the tongue, which immediately produces the effect of (sh), and that the *central* aperture be not checked or divided, the former giving (t) and the latter a lip, nearly (th). I think there has been some error about the Spanish *z* on (802, *d. 4, ab*), and that it is not (s), as there stated, and as Mr. Melville Bell, who has been in Spain, makes it (Visible Speech, p. 93); but that it is (sʃ), using (ʃ) as on (11, *dc*), that is, a *divided* (s), with perhaps only a slight central check, produced by bringing the tip of the tongue very gently against the gum. In this case the buzz would be (zʃ). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte says that the true Castilian *s* is the Basque *s*; and as he pronounced this *s* to me, it sounded like a retracted (s) with a rattle of moisture. The Andalusian *s* is, he says, perfect. The (s) sound of *e, z* is not acknowledged in Spain (802, *d*) at all, although heard in Spanish America. See further in No. 10, (sh).

Note also the drunken tendency to confuse (s) with (sh) in England, clearly indicating the greater ease of (sh) to organs which can produce it at all. To an Iclander, Welshman, Dutchman, Spaniard, Greek, (sh) presents great difficulties. Note in upper German, the parent of the literary high German, not only the tendency to initial (shp,

6. (s)—*continued.*

sht,) where (sp, st) only are written, as well as the spoken and written (shl, shr, shm, shn, shbh), but the final (-sht,) written *-st*, which constantly crops up in vulgar German, and is almost as great a social sin in Germany as a "dropped *aitch*" in England. Note also that in English (shl, shm, shn, shw) do not occur, although (sl, sm, sn, sw) are common, and that (shr-) offers difficulties to many English speakers, notably at Srewsbury in Shropshire. Note also that *sp-, st-*, are lazily pronounced (shp-, sht-) by Neapolitans. Note that (sh) seems to be a derived sound in the greater part of Europe, although existing in Sanscrit, but is frequent in Slavonic languages. In Hungarian (sh) is so much commoner than (s), that the simple *s* is used for (sh), and the combination *sz* for (s); while *z, zs* are (z, zh). The (zh) is a very rare form in Europe, and has been only recently developed in English. In Bengalee all three Sanscrit letters, *ç, śh, s*, are confused in reading as (sh), while in vulgar speech simple (h) is used for (s), so that, strangely enough, this dialect has no (s) at all.

(i). See No. 3 (ii). No Englishman naturally says (siks); it would sound to him like (siks) *seeks*; and few are able to produce the sound without much practice. It is best reached by pronouncing *seek, teat, peep* with great rapidity. This (i) is the touchstone of foreigners, especially of Romance nations. It occurs in Icelandic (544, *c*), and is often heard in the North of Germany. In Holland short *i* seems to have passed quite into (e), see Land (*ibid.* p. 17), as is generally the case in Scotland.

(k). The back of the tongue is very nearly in the (u) position, but rises so as to close the passage. It is not at all in the (i) or (y) position, but if an (aa) follows in English, many speakers habitually raise the tongue to the (i) instead of the (u) position, producing (k), almost (k*ɹ), see (205, *a*). This sound is still much heard in *cart, quart, sky, kind*, etc., but is antiquated (600, *d. 206, c*). There is not the same tendency when (i, y) follow or precede. This insertion of (i) before an (a) sound is very prevalent dialectally. See the theory in § 2, No. 6, iv.

6. (sɪks).

(sɪks). Keep the hiss (s) quite clear of the voice, begin the voice the instant that the (s) hiss ceases, glide on to (ɪ), and dwelling very briefly on the vowel (its extreme shortness is characteristic), glide rapidly on to the (k), so as to shut off the voice with a kind of thump, opening the glottis at the same time, but allow no pause, and glide on to the hiss of (s) immediately. The glides from (ɪ) to (k) and (k) to (s), make the kind of check audible, and distinguish (sɪks) clearly from (sits, sips). It is quite possible, but not customary in English, to make (ks) initial, Xerxes being (Zɪk)siɪz, not (Ksɪ)ksiɪs. Similarly (ps, ts) never begin syllables in English, except by a glide, thus (*praxis*) gives (præ'ksiɪs), in which (k) has one glide from (æ) and another on to (s), the syllable dividing between them.

7. SEVEN, Bell's (sɛ·vnn), my (sɛ·v'n).

(s). See No. 6, (s).

(e, ɛ). These vowels differ in the height of the tongue. Mr. M. Bell determined my pronunciation (106, *a*) to be (e), and considered it abnormally high, believing the usual sound to be (ɛ). Mr. Murray has the same opinion. Both agree that my (e) is the sound in *fair* (feɛr), and that it differs from *fail* (feɛl), any presumed diphthongal character of the latter being disregarded, as (i) does from (i). Mr. Bell gives *ell* as (ɛl) English, (ɛ'l) Scotch, and makes French *vin* = (vɛɒ). The latter to my ear is nearer (vœɒ), but the French have no (œ), and hence (ɛ) is their nearest non-nasal. It is possible or even probable that my ear is deceived by my own practice, but I certainly know, from long residence in the countries, the German *ä* in *sprache* (shpræ·khœ), the Italian *e* aperto in *bene* (bœ'ne), the French *é* in *bête* (bœt) and occasionally (bɛt), and all these sounds appear to me much deeper than any usually uttered by educated Southern Englishmen. Since the difference was pointed out, I have paid much attention to such speakers, and my own impression is that (e) is much commoner than (ɛ). I certainly occasionally recognize (ɛ), but it always strikes me as unpleasant. The three sounds (e, ɛ,

7. (e, ɛ)—continued.

ɛ) form a series, and if the usual English *e* short is deeper than my (e), it is not so deep as the foreign sounds just described. Mr. Murray (Dialects of S. Scotland, pp. 106, note 2, and 239) has felt obliged to introduce new signs, for which he uses acute and grave accents (é é', è è'), but as the acute accent has been used in palaeotype to mark the element under force in diphthongs as (ui, uí), some other notation is requisite. Mr. M. Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 77), after describing his 36 vowels, says, "Other faintly different shades of vowel sound are possible; as for instance, from giving a greater or less than the ordinary or *symmetrical* degree of lip modification. Even these delicate varieties may be perfectly expressed by the modifiers [as a certain set of Mr. Bell's symbols are called, because they 'modify' the meaning of the symbols to which they are subjoined, the four principal 'modifiers' being called] 'close,' 'open,' 'inner,' 'outer,' or by the 'linked' symbols; but such compound letters can never be required in the writing of languages, except to show the curiously minute accuracy with which these plastic physiological symbols may be applied." Mr. Bell (*ibid.* p. 55) had defined his 'close' and 'open' signs, which are those on p. 15 *suprà*, col. 9, lines *l, m*, as follows: "The sign of 'closeness' applied to any of the preceding consonants denotes a narrower aperture, with increased sharpness of sibilation and percussiveness on leaving the configuration; and the sign of 'openness' denotes a widened aperture with consequent dullness of sibilation and lessened percussion. Thus in forming (ph) with 'closeness' a mere thread of breath issues through the narrow crevice between the lips—as in blowing to cool; and in forming (ph) [with 'openness'] the breath flows through the wide orifice with the effect of a *sigh* on the lips. The latter effect is interjectionally expressive of *faintness* or want of air." Mr. Bell identified my (.) and (,,) with his signs of 'closeness' and 'openness' respectively; but I meant and used them for signs of increased and diminished *force*, independently of aperture: and hence the transcription of his signs on p. 15, column 9, lines *l* and *m*, by my (.) and (,,), is incorrect. The 'inner' and 'outer' or the signs on *suprà* p. 15, col. 9, lines

7. (e, æ)—continued.

i, *k*, are those formerly expressed by (†), and now by (,).

The lip modifications of the vowels will be considered in No. 11 (AA). But the lingual modifications, 'higher' and 'lower,' consisting principally in raising or lowering the tongue, seem to be most graphically expressed by superior and inferior figures, as (^{e1}, *e*, *e1*). If more degrees are considered necessary, it will be better to write (^{e1}, *e*¹¹, *e*¹¹¹) rather than (^{e1}, *e*², *e*³) as the superior (^{2,3}) may be required for other purposes. The signs ¹, may also be conveniently used for Mr. Bell's 'closeness' and 'openness' generally, which may now be combined with the signs of force, thus his close (ph) will be (,ph¹), when the breath issues forcibly through a narrow crevice formed by raising the underlip, and (,ph¹), when it issues feebly; while (ph¹, ,ph¹) indicate great and small force of issue through a wide opening, formed by depressing the underlip.

There are no doubt many other modifications, which would render intelligible such signs, as: (*e*) the tongue drawn more back for 'inner' (*e*), and (*e*) the tongue further advanced for 'outer' (*e*), or (*e*²) more hollowness at the back of the tongue for 'hollow' (*e*), (*e*₂) greater widening of the throat for 'guttural' (*e*), as was already suggested for the Irish modification of vowels (1100, *d'*), where the (*e*₂) indicate "secondary" kinds of "widening," in addition to those of Mr. Bell, (*e*²) between the tongue and pharynx, (*e*₂) in the pharynx only; and in comparing different dialects other signs may be necessary. It is also often difficult to say which of two vowels any new vowel sound which an observer may happen to note, and desires to symbolize, most resembles, and here we may resort to superior letters, as (*e*¹), meaning "the sound seems to me most like (*e*), but I sometimes hear it approach to (*i*), and suppose it may be some 'intermediate' sound, which I cannot as yet determine further than by considering it as an (*e*) verging towards (*i*), and hence should prefer noting as (*e*), whereas (*i*^e) would give the preference to (*i*). It is obvious that these are merely temporary signs, but they are useful in interpreting vague, or written accounts of 'intermediate' sounds, and, as such, will be hereafter employed in rendering Mr. Smart's symbols.

7. (e, æ)—continued.

Using a superior (¹) and inferior (₁) for Mr. Murray's acute and grave, we may read his note thus (*ibid.* p. 106): "As pronounced in the South of Scotland, it [the vowel in *sail*, *say*] is certainly opener than the French or English *ai* (*e*). But it is nearer to this (*e*) than to any other of the six front vowels (*i*, *i*, *e*, *e*, *æ*, *æ*). A long and careful observation of the sounds of English and Scottish dialects, and collation with those of the Standard English, has convinced me that, in order to shew their precise values and relations, it would be necessary to make a more minute division of the vowel scale" than in Visible Speech (*suprà* p. 15). Then, accepting the above notation for higher and lower or closer and opener, he says: "The Eng. *ai* in *wait* being then (*e*), the South Sc. would be (*e*₁); the close sound common in Edinburgh would be (*e*¹). The S. Sc. sound in *breae* would probably be rather (*e*¹¹) than (*i*¹), as we are obliged to make it when only using the three vowels. The Sc. *y* in *hyll*, *byt*, would probably be (*e*¹) rather than (*e*), explaining how the diphthong *ey* (*éi*) seems closer than *aiy* (*éi*), which it ought not to be if *y* in *byt* (*bet*) were the exact 'wide' of *ai* in *bait*. In the round [labialised] vowels also, the very close *o* used in Edinburgh, which, compared with my *o*, seems almost (*u*), would probably be (*o*¹), and the South Sc. *uo* might be (*ó*¹) rather than (*ú*). It need scarcely be said that no single language or dialect does ever in practical use distinguish such fine shades; few idioms even find the three positions distinct enough; none certainly distinguish the six sounds formed by the 'primaries' and 'wides' of any series (except as accidental varieties due to the character of the following consonant, or to the presence or absence of accent—never to distinguish words). It is only in comparing different languages or dialects that we find the exact quality given to particular vowels in one, intermediate between certain vowels in another, the one set of sounds grouping themselves, so to say, alongside of and around, but not quite coinciding with the other set." I quote these words to fully endorse them, and again shew the difficulty of phonetic writing. In particular the deeper (*u*), which may be (*u*) with an (*o*) position of the lips, or (*uo*) as we shall write,

7. (e, ɛ)—*continued*.

or an (o) with a higher tongue, that is (o'), is a sound fully appreciated by northern dialectal speakers as distinct from (u), and sounds to my ears much more distinct from it, than (ɛ, æ) from (e, ə).

To return to (e, e, ɛ). If any of those English speakers whom I hear say (e) do really take a 'lower' sound, it is rather (e₁) than (ɛ); or if they are considered to take (e₁), then the foreign sound is (ɛ₁) or even (ɛ₁₁). Prince L. L. Bonaparte separates the very open *è* of some French grammarians in *accès*, from the Italian *e* aperto, and makes it the 'wide' of the latter. He identifies (ɛ) with the Italian sound, but not (æ) with the French sound, so that (ɛ₁) would be the more correct representative of the latter. The distinction of three (e)-sounds, (e, e, ɛ) I find convenient, and I generally use (e) when I cannot satisfactorily determine the sound to be (e) or (ɛ), that is (e) may often be considered as (ee) or (e^x). I think the *tendency* of educated pronunciation, which affects thinness, is towards (e) rather than (ɛ), and I should put down (e) as the regular Spanish and Welsh pronunciations of *e*, neither language having apparently (e, ɛ). In Italian, (e) is replaced by (e, ɛ); but I consider (e) to have been the old Latin *e*, though the Latin *æ* may have been (ɛɛ). In French I think the open *e* is rather (e) than (ɛ), except under force or emphasis, when, as just shewn, (ɛ₁) may occur, but (ɛ) is always the intention. The substitution of (e) for (ɛ) is like that of (ah) for (a), which is also going on in the Paris of to-day. In the French conjunction *et*, now always (e), the vowel was once (ɛ), a sound now reserved for *est*.

(v). See No. 5, (v).

(¹n). For the simple (n) see No. 1, (n). Initial *n* is seldom lengthened, though some will say (nnnoo) for a dubious negative. When (n) forms a syllable by itself Mr. Bell considers it to be lengthened, and writes (nn). I prefer to write (¹n), and similarly (¹l, ¹m); but it is not necessary to write (¹l), as (l) when not following a vowel necessarily forms a syllable. But *seven* can be pronounced in one syllable (sevn),

7. (¹n)—*continued*.

and is often so reckoned. It does not seem to be usual. Hence I write (se·v¹n). Orthoepists are much divided as to how far the use of syllabic (¹l, ¹m, ¹n) is 'admissible.' In practice it is seldom that they are accurately distinguished from (vl, vm, vn), as in *principal*, *principle*, both often called (prin'sip¹l). The tendency is clear towards syllabic (¹l, ¹m, ¹n), but there is much 'educated' or rather 'orthographic' resistance. Notwithstanding *ags. yfl*, clergymen insist on (ii·vil), and even say (de·vil), see (81, d), which we find Bp. Wilkins using (998, c). We have, however, seen the effect of the efforts of Dr. Gill's "docti interdum." At present it is 'safest' for those who have not an acknowledged literary or social position to use a vowel, as (vl, vm, vn), but care must be taken not to have the clear vowels (æ, æm, æn; el, em, en), which have a pedantic, puristic effect, and can be at most endured in public speaking from desire to be distinctly audible, never in ordinary conversation. See the remarks of Prof. Haldeman, prefixed to the account of his pronunciation, below in this section.

(se·v¹n). The glides from (s) to (v) are as in (fə·iv). But (v) glides on to vocal (n), so that in all cases there is a transitional vowel-sound heard between the buzz (v) and the nasal resonance (n).

8. EIGHT, Bell's (éit), my (eet).

(ee). We now come to a hotly-disputed point of English pronunciation. I differ entirely from Mr. Bell as to the habit of educated southern Englishmen. The diphthong (éi), or rather (éi) and even (æ·i), I have heard, and especially from Essex people, but certainly the compression of the first element is unusual, and at most (ééi) can be insisted on. I have had occasion to refer to this diphthongal pronunciation frequently. See (57, d. 74, b. 106, a. 191, a. 234, a. 542, b. 596 c. 597, a). The sound is insisted on by Smart, who says, "The English alphabetic accented *a*, in the mouth of a well-educated Londoner, is not exactly the sound which a French mouth utters either in *fée* or in *fête*, being not so

8. (*ee*)—continued.

narrow as the former, nor so broad as the latter. Moreover, it is not quite simple, but finishes more slenderly than it begins, tapering, so to speak, towards the sound" of *e* in *me* (294, *d*). The two French words being (*fee*, *feet*), this would make the English (*éei*) or (*éei*), and this I do not at all recognize. The first element at least sounds to me (*ee*), and is generally distinctly recognizable by its length. There are, however, Londoners, or persons living in London, who dispute the possibility of prolonging (*ee*), and who certainly immediately glide away towards (*i*). Dr. Rush (*Philosophy of the Human Voice*, Philadelphia, 1827, p. 40), who was a careful observer, says: "When the letter *a*, as heard in the word *day*, is pronounced simply as an alphabetic element, and with the duration which it has in that word, two sounds are heard continuously successive. The first has the well-known characteristic of this letter; and issues from the organs with a certain degree of fullness. The last is the element *e* heard in *eve*, and is a gradually diminishing sound." It is curious, however, that Prof. Haldeman (*Analytic Orthography*, Art. 391) does not notice this diphthong, but makes "the English *ay* in *pay*, *paid*, *day*, *weigh*, *ale*, *rage*," to be "short in weight, hate, acre, Amos, Abram, ape, plague, spade," and identifies it with German "*wēh*, *rēh*, *jē*, *planēt*, *mēer*, *mēhr* (more, but *mähr tidings* has *ē*), *ēdel*, *ēhre*, *jēddēh*," and with Italian "*e chiuso*." He writes *eight* as *ēt*, or (*et*). Still there is no doubt that French teachers have a great difficulty with most English pupils, in regard to this letter, and complain of their (*boote*) being called (*bōoutéei*), etc., but the audibility of this (*-i*) differs with different speakers, and even with different words for the same speaker.

Mr. Murray puts me quite out of court on this point, for in my palaeotypic rendering of the Hundredth Psalm he has changed my (*ee*, *oo*) into (*éei*, *ōou*), saying (*Dial. of S. Scot.* p. 138, note): "I have ventured to differ from Mr. Ellis's transcription only so far as to write the long *ā* and *ō* (*éei*, *ōou*), as they are always pronounced in the south, and as I seem to hear them from Mr. Ellis himself, although he considers them theoretically as only (*ee*, *oo*)."

8. (*ee*)—continued.

That is, according to his observations, whatever be *my own* subjective impression of my utterance, *his* subjective impression on hearing me say: *name*, *aid*, *age*, *always*, *praise*, *gates*, *take*, *make*; *oh!* *so*, *know*, *approach*, is the same as that which *he* derives from *his own* utterance of (*néeim*, *éeid*, *éeidzh*, *Aalwéeiz*, *préeiz*, *géeits*, *téeik*, *méeik*; *ōou!* *sōou*, *nōou*, *ēprōoutsh*). Now I have resided three years in Dresden, where long *e* is uniformly (*ee*), and not (*ēē*), and none of my teachers found that I drifted into (*éei*). I am also able to prolong an (*ee*) without change, as long as my breath will last. I am not only familiar with hearing (*éei*) and even (*éi*), but I know precisely what movements are requisite to produce them, and I have very carefully and frequently examined my pronunciation of this letter. I am inclined to ascribe Mr. Murray's impression that I always say (*éei*, *ōou*) to his own South Scotch use of (*ee*, *oo*), which are 'lower' sounds than mine, sounds indeed which I recognize to be strictly different from mine, and not to correspond to any vowels that I am acquainted with practically. Mr. Murray cites both syllables of French *aidé* as having a 'higher' form than the South Scotch; but Féline makes the first *ai* the "open *ê*" (*æ*), thus (*æde*). He says also that "the chief difference" of the Scotch from the English "lies in the fact that it [the Sc.] is a *uniform* sound, not gliding or closing into *ee*, like the English—at least the English of the south; thus, English *day* > *ee*, Scotch *day-ay*. This vowel is not recognized as stopped in English," but observe Haldeman's *ēt*, "the vowel in *wait*, *main*, being as long as in *way*, *may*. In Scotch it occurs long and stopped, as in *wayr*, *baythe*, *wāy*, *wāit*, *tāil* (*weer*, *beedh*, *wee*, *wet*, *tel*), the two last words being carefully distinguished from the English *wait*, *tail*, (*weet*, *teel*) or (*wéeit*, *téeil*), and *wet*, *tell*, but pronounced like the French *été*." (Murray, p. 106.)

Now before I compare my own observations on my own and other educated southern pronunciation, with those of such an accomplished northern phonetician as Mr. Murray, I would draw attention to a similar difference of opinion among Dutchmen respecting their own pronunciation. Prof. Donders (*op. cit.*) uses the vowel series *i*, *e*, *ea*, *a*,

8. (ee)—continued.

of which i , e^a , a , appear to be (i , e , a), though the last may be (a), and e is either (e) or (e), probably the latter. His examples are Dutch *bier* for i , *beer* for e , *wêreld* *kêrel* *bêd* for e^a , and *baar* for a . When he comes to the diphthongs, he gives ei , which must be ($éi$) or ($êi$), and probably the latter, to the Dutch vowels in *leep*, *leed*, *leek*, *leeg*, etc., "with short imperfect i , (not in *leer*, in which only e is heard), with less imperfect i in *hé*, *mee*, and with perfect i in *de*e** i for *deed* *hij*," and makes *Mei* have the diphthong ei (e^i). Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling), writing with especial reference to Donders, has three e 's, $e^1 = e^a$, $e^2 = e$ of Donders, and e^3 , not in Donders. These three e 's are clearly (e , e , e), for although the two first are not well distinguished by the French $e^1 = \text{père}$, $e^2 = \text{frêne}$, $tête$, the third e^3 is made = pré , été . Now of these he says (p. 17): " e^2 . With us (*bij* ons) regularly long before r (*beer*, *meer*), where in the pronunciation of others there is an aftersound of i (*waar* *bij* anderen een i naklinkt) in order to attain the e^3 of the low speech (ten einde den plat uitgesproken e^3 te bereiken). In the dialect of Gelders, e^2 is a separate vowel, playing its own part; with us [at Amsterdam] it is only found under the influence of r ." This is precisely like English (ee) in *fair*. "Our short i has also entirely passed over into e^2 : *lid*, *mis*, *gebit*; wherein the Linburgers alone seem not to follow us," as in South Scotch. Then he proceeds to say: " e^3 , is with us always long: *steen*, *been*, *leed*, *hé*, *mee*; never before an r , because e^2 is then substituted. In English and low Dutch (*platte* *Hollandsch*) e^3 is replaced by e^2i , or even e^2i , with the variants mentioned by Donders under ei ; and is then even heard before r , where the sound is broadened into ai in the Leyden *mehair* for *mijnheer*. I have heard the aftersound of i corrupted into $j\ddot{o}^{12}$, as $g\ddot{e}^2j\ddot{o}^{12}$ in place of *geel*," that is (*ghe*-*ræl*) for (*gheel*). Then going to the diphthongs, he says (p. 22): " $e^1i = e^ai$ in Donders, with short e : *kei*, *beiden*. In low speech (in *platte* *spraak*) corrupted to ai (in Amsterdam) or e^2i . In the last case the i is sometimes very short in closed syllables, or entirely disappears, almost *me*e*t* for *meid*.— e^2i , with short e , written *ij* and y by

8. (ee)—continued.

some for occult reasons: *mij* (*my*), *krijt*. In the province of Holland e^2i becomes regularly e^1i , and is corrupted into ai . With long e in low Holland speech (*platte* *Hollandsch*) in place of e^3 , Donders's diphthong ei ." Hereupon Kern, reviewing the two works (in *De Gids* for April, 1871, p. 167), says of Donders: "The description and transliteration of the diphthongs is accurate, except that the e , so called sharp ee , is not accurately rendered by ei . I however agree with Donders against Land that sharp ee is really a diphthong. But I cannot allow that such a diphthong occurs in *leeg* or *mee*. The ee in *leeg* and *mee* has the same sound as the e in *zegen*, *leden*. Whereas in pronouncing *leeg*, *mee*, *zegen*, *neem*, *nemen*, and such like, the relative position of the upper and lower jaws remains unaltered; in pronouncing ee in *leed*, *leek*, *leen*, *steen*, the under jaw advances a little (*sprongt de onderkaak iets vooruit*). The physiologist cannot possibly fail to perceive the cause of this phenomenon. The same alteration in the position of the jaws is perceived in the pronunciation of *oo* in *brood*, *boonen*, *hooren*. To what extent this pronunciation must be considered the most usual or the best, we leave undecided; it is enough to shew that it does occur in our country, and that it deserves description." Of Land's e^2 he says: "He asserts that our vowel in *meer* is the French \acute{e} in *frêne*, *tête*. Now not to mention that, to my ear, *meer* (*meest*) [more, most] and *meer* (water) differ in sound, it is doubtful whether any Dutchman uses the French sound in either of the two *meer*'s." The occurrence of an ($\acute{e}ei$) or ($\acute{e}i$) for a written ee , in a language so nearly related to English as Dutch, and the difference of opinion as to its pure or diphthongal value, seemed to me too remarkable to be passed over.

In my own pronunciation I think I never say ($\acute{e}ei$) or ($\acute{e}i$), ending with a perfect (i), and that I seldom or never say ($\acute{e}ei$) or ($\acute{e}i$), ending with a perfect (i), and that when I approach to ($\acute{e}i$), however short the diphthong may be, the first element is longer than the last. But I doubt whether I get as far as ($\acute{e}ei$), at the most I seem to reach ($\acute{e}e + e^1$), shewing a glide, and that in the process of "vanishing" the force of the voice decreases so much that it

8. (ee)—*continued*.

is very difficult to say what sound is produced; an effect shown by ('j). I admit, however, that in speaking English, and especially in such words as *pay, may, say*, before a pause, my (ee) is not uniform, but alters in the direction of (i). It is, however, necessary to distinguish grades of this alteration, as Donders has done. In the case of a following pause, it is the most marked; but if a vowel or consonant follows rapidly, as *play or pay, pay me now*, I do not hear this "vanish" at all. I think also that I am inclined to this vanish before (t, d, n) in *eight, weight, plate, paid, pain*, but not so decidedly nor so regularly as in the former case. I am not conscious of the vanish before (p, b, m; k, g). I think that generally the vanish vanishes when the utterance is rapid, as in *äorta, äerial*. So far as I have yet observed, my usage is much the same as that of other educated speakers, from whom I rarely hear anything like a real (*éei*). and this I attempted to note by (*ee'*j) or (*ée'*j), where (*ee*) glides into "palatalised voice" of some sort. Still there are speakers in whom it is marked, and especially when an *ay* has to be emphatic or dwelled upon, which practically brings it before a pause. I think that the reason why French teachers find such difficulty with English pupils is that the pupils altogether lengthen the vowels too much. I deprecate much Mr. Melville Bell's insisting on (*éi*) universally as a point of orthoepy, making the sound approach to one of the diphthongal *i*'s, for such a pronunciation is so rare as always to be remarkable and generally remarked. An Essex man told me (Dec. 1872) that he was known everywhere by what—as I heard him—were his *eyes*. It turned out to be his pronunciation of long *a*. "But," said he, "I can't hear it; I can't make out the difference at all." Again, Mr. Brandreth, a county magistrate, informed me that on officially visiting the pauper schools at Anerley, near London, he found that fully half the boys made no difference between *ä* and *i*, and could not even hear the difference when such words as *they, thy*, were correctly pronounced to them. According to Mr. Murray, *mütätö nōmine dē mē fābula narrātūr!*

8. (t).

(t). See No. 1, (n), and No. 2, (t). When (p, t, k) are final, and before a pause, so that they are not immediately followed by a vowel on to which the voice can glide, or by a consonant, the (p, t, k) are made more audible by gliding them on to some unvocalised breath, written (p', t', k'), on (10, *b*, 56, *b*), and whether this is already in the mouth, or is driven through the larynx, is indifferent; the latter is most audible, and will often assume the form of (pʰ, tʰ, kʰ). There may be a pause of silence between the glide on to (t) and this windrush, and this pause apparently lengthens the mute. It is not usual to note this added (') or (ʰ). It is not a French habit. French speakers either omit the final mute entirely, or add a mute *e* (ʔ). Using > to represent the glide to, and < the glide from a mute, the following cases have to be noted in English, remembering that for English mutes the glottis is always closed.

Initial, *pea, tea, key* = (p < ii, t < ii, k < ii);

Medial after the force accent, *peeping, eating, leaking* = (p < ii > p < iq, ii > t < iq, lii > k < iq).

Medial, preceding but not following a vowel under the force accent, *repay, pretend, accuse* = (ri p < ee'j, pri t < e'nd', t k < iu'z).

Medial, preceding a consonant on to which it does not glide, that is, with which it cannot form an initial combination, *adapted, pitfall, active* = (ædæ' > pt < |ed, pi' > tfæ l, æ' > kt < iv).

Medial, doubled, a case of the last, distinguished however by a sensible pause marked (j), *cap-pin, boot-tree, book-case* = (kæ' > pjp < in, buu' > tj-t < rii, bu' > kjk < ee'js).

Final, before a pause, *cap, boot, book* = (kæ > p < ', buu > t < ', bu > k < '), otherwise it is treated as medial, but may be emphatically doubled, as (kæ > pjp < ', buu > tj t < ', bu > kjk < ').

These differences are not usually distinguished in phonetic writing, and from their regularity seldom require to be noticed. But irregularities must be marked, as (kæ > t) or (kæt') to shew the absence of the second glide (kæ > t < '). Mr. Sweet's remarks on Danish syllabication (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, pp. 94-112) must be carefully

8. (t)—*continued*.

considered by all who would enter upon these phonetic mysteries, which are far from having been yet fully revealed.

(*ee*, *ée'jt*). The vowel begins at once, in properly spoken English, and is not preceded by any whisper. The whole organs are placed in the proper position for (*ee*), and the glottis is closed ready for voice, firmly, but not so tightly that the chords must be forced asunder by explosion. The vowel thus commences with a clean edge, so to speak, noted thus (*ee*), and here called the "clear attack," or "glottid," but by teachers of singing the "shock of the glottis." But if there is an air-tight closure which has to be forced open, we have the "check attack" or "glottid," or "catch of the glottis," the Arabic hamza, noted thus (*;ee*), which is considered as a defect in English speech, though common in German. It is, however, not unfrequent to hear vowels commenced with a "gradual attack" or "glottid," during which breath shades through whisper into voice, and the precise commencement of the vowel cannot be readily determined, and this may possibly have been the Greek "spiritus lenis," which will be noted thus (*ee*). In singing this produces "breathiness." It is not recognized in speech, but is possibly one of the causes of so-called aspiration and non-aspiration, and of the difficulty felt by so many English speakers in determining whether a vowel is aspirated or not. It is mere carelessness of utterance. But here it may be noted that these "glottids" or "attacks" may also be "releases," that is, a vowel may *end* as well as *begin* "clearly," as (*tuu*), which is the regular English form, or with the check or "catch," as (*tuu;*), as frequently in Danish before a subsequent consonant, or gradually, as (*tuu*). Now this graduation consists, initially, in beginning the vowel with the glottis open, closing it rapidly, during which the edges of the vocal chords approach very closely before contact, producing first the effect of whisper, and then of voice, so that we have ("*ee* + '*e* + *e*'). In ending we should get in reverse order, (*e* + '*e* + '*ee*'). This is what is meant by the notation (*tee*), or (*tuu*). Now if there be a little longer repose

8. (*ee*, *ée'jt*)—*continued*.

on the pure voiceless sounds, so that the ("*ee*") or ("*uu*") becomes sensible, it is clear that (*juh*, *tee*) will appear to begin or end with a sound like (*jh*), and (*tuu*, *too*) with a sound like (*wh*). This seems to be the origin of the Danish terminational (*jh*, *wh*), while the initial forms generate the aspirates, or an approach to them, differing in the manner considered in No. 14, (*wh*). How far these terminations are usual in English, I am unable to say. There is often so much loss of force that it is difficult to observe. But certainly distinct (*jh*, *wh*) final are not frequent in received pronunciation; and distinct (*jh*, *wh*) initial would be scouted at once as a vulgarly intruded aspirate. In No. 14, (*wh*), where the whole subject will be systematically considered, it will be seen that this final (*t*) represents the Sanscrit visarga.

After the vowel is commenced, it is continued a very short time, and glides either on to (*i*), as already explained, or on to (*t*). But if it glides on to (*i*), it does not do so till its energy is much diminished, so that, in received pronunciation, (*ée'j*) never approaches the character of a close diphthong, as *i* in *five*, or (*éi*), in which the (*e*) is strong and short and the force is continued on to the (*i*), which may be lengthened and then die away. In (*ée'j*) the force dies away first, and the glide on to (*j*) is scarcely audible, being absorbed into the glide on to (*t*). Also, as a long vowel, the (*ee*) or (*ée'j*) must have a very short glide on to (*t*). Indeed Prof. Haldeman's short (*et*) has the character of a long vowel, by the shortness and weakness of its glide on to (*t*); whereas a really "stopped" (*e*) would come strongly and firmly on to (*t*), which would be "lengthened," as (*et)t'*). It is more by the mode in which vowels glide on to following consonants, than by the actual length of the vowels, considered independently of their glides, that the feeling of length of vowels in closed syllables arises in English pronunciation. See Mr. Sweet's rule in No. 14, (p).

9. BOOK, (*buk*).

(b). The relations of mute or voiceless (*b*, *d*, *g*) to sonant or voiced (*p*, *t*, *k*) should be well under-

9. (b)—*continued*.

stood. In English (p,ii, t,ii, k,ii) the voice begins with the 'clear attack' (,) at the moment the closure is released. In (b,ii, d,ii, g,ii) the voice begins in the same way, *before* the closure is released, but for so short a time that the voice may be said to begin *as the contact is released*. Now Germans, when they really distinguish (p, b), etc., begin the voice in (p,ii, t,ii, k,ii) with a gradual attack, giving a hiss; and they allow the voice to sound through the (b), etc., *before* the release of the closure, which may be written ('bii, 'dii, 'gii). The breath not being able to escape blows out the neck like a turkey-cock's, and hence is called a blow-out-sound or Blählaut by German phoneticians, which we may translate *inflatus*. It is not possible to continue this inflatus long without allowing breath to escape by the nose; but to produce a real (m, n, q) *after* ('b, 'd, 'g), is not possible without producing a loud thud by the withdrawal of the uvula from the back of the pharynx, requiring a strong muscular effort, because the compressed air in the mouth forces the uvula into very close contact with the pharynx. It is probable then that ('bmii, 'dnii, 'ggii), do not occur monosyllabically. But it is quite easy to begin with the nasal resonance, and *then* cut it off by the uvula, which has air on both sides, and hence can act freely. Hence (mbii, ndii, qgii) are easy, and have generated the sounds of (b, d, g) in modern Greek. Some phoneticians (I have forgotten to note the passages) even make (b, d, g) necessarily nasal. They are not so in English. But there is often a semi-nasal (b,, d,, g,) occasioned by insufficient nasal resonance, arising from catarrh, when the speaker intends (m, n, q), but cannot perfect them, see (1096, d'), and one of these, (b,,) in perhaps a slightly different form, is an element of Westmoreland and Cumberland speech. It is possible entirely to cut off the voice before proceeding to the vowel, without creating the impression of a new syllable, hence (mp,ii, nt,ii, qk,ii) are possible, and seem actually to occur together with (mbii, ndii, qgii) in some South African languages. In English initial (b, d, g), however, nothing of this inflatus or nasality is customary. In middle Germany, where the distinc-

9. (b)—*continued*.

tions (p b, t d) are practically unknown, comparatively few being able to say (p,ii 'bii, t,ii 'dii), recourse is had to what Brücke and M. Bell consider as whispering instead of voicing, using ('bii, 'dii) only. Merkel, however, who is a native of Upper Saxony, where the sounds are indigenous, denies this, and asserts that he really says ('pii, 'tii) implosively. See (1097, c'). Observe that ('kii) is not common in Saxony, because (khii, ghii, ghaa) are heard. Perhaps also true (g) is heard initially; I do not feel sure. But certainly *k, g* are always distinguished initially, and *p, b* or *t, d* are always confused initially, in Saxony.

When (b, d, g) are medial between two vowels, there is in English a complete passage of the voice through them, without any sensible sustentation of the sounds, as *baby, needy, plaguy* (bee' > b < i, nii' > d < i, plee' > g < i), and there seems to be no slackening of the closure, and consequently no buzz, the sound being produced entirely by internal condensation of the air. In German, however, such (b, g) readily pass into (bh, gh), as *schreiben, tage* = (shrai'bhēn, taa'ghē), of which the first is not, but the second is, received. But for (d), or rather (d), nothing of the kind occurs, neither (d,z) nor (d,h) being developed. On the other hand, medial (d, dh), a coronal and a dental, but more often (d, dh), interchange dialectally in English. In Spanish (b, bh) are not distinguished even initially. That similar habits prevailed in Semitic languages we know by their alphabets, א, ב, ג, being (b bh, d dh, g gh) according to circumstances. The English received pronunciation is therefore peculiarly neat, and more like French and Italian in this respect.

Final (b, d, g), before a pause, are intentionally the same as when initial, the voice ending as the closure begins, or not being sensibly sustained during the closure; but the glide up to the consonant being continued into the closure, gives the vowel an appearance of greater length. Sometimes, however, the voice is sensibly prolonged during closure, and as this is uncomfortable, the closure is relaxed before the voice ceases, and we have effects like (beeb', diid', gæg'), or (beeb')b', diid')d', gæg')g', which are often pain-

9. (b)—continued.

fully evident in public speakers. I frequently noticed these sounds in the declamation of the late Mr. Macready. It is often greatly exaggerated in provincial tragedianism. It is, however, so far as I have observed, not customary to drop the voice before releasing contact, and then to open upon a wind-rush, as (beeb)p', diidjt', gægjk'). This would, I think, produce to an English ear too much of the effect of simple (beep', diit', gæg'), which would be unintelligible. It seems however probable that this is the history of the German and Dutch habit of always taking these finals as mute. In Dutch indeed this is slightly controlled by the action of the following consonant. This action is quite unknown in English, except in such a word as *cupboard* = (kə'bad), but deserves to be noted as occurring in so closely related a language. The Dutch rule according to Donders (*op. cit.* p. 23), which is corroborated by Land (*op. cit.* p. 31), is as follows:—

"With the exception of the nasals, when two consonants come together, however different their character, both must be voiced, or both voiceless. Whenever in two syllables or words spoken separately, one would be voiced and the other voiceless, one must be altered to agree with the other, according to the following rules.

1). "Before voiced *b* and *d*, every consonant is voiced, as, *zeepbak*, *opdoen*, *strijkabout* [this is the only way in which (*g*) can occur in Dutch], *stiefbroeder*, *daarbij*, *stikdouker*, *misdaad*, *hegdoorn*, etc. [where *p*, *k*, *f*, *r*, *s*, *g* = (*b*, *g*, *v*, *r*, *z*, *gh*).] But *t* sometimes remains, as: 't *ligt daar*, pronounced 't *licht taar* [compare Orrmin's *þatt tiss* (491, *be*), *þatt tegg* (491, *c*)].

2). "Voiced *v*, *z*, *g*, *j*, *l*, and *r* lose their voice after every preceding consonant, except *r*. We pronounce: *vroetfrouw*, *buurvrouw*, — *stiefssoon*, *voorzoon*, — *afekhrond*, *voorggrond*, — *looppjongen* (*pj* voiceless), *voorjaar* (*rj* voiced), etc. [where *tf*, *rv*, — *fs*, *rz*, — *fch*, *rg*, — *pj*, *rj* = (*tf*, *rv*, — *fs*, *rz*, — *fkh*, *rg*h, — *prh*, *rz*), the original Dutch letters being, *tv*, *rv*, — *fs*, *rz*, — *fg*, *rg*, — *pj*, *rj*, respectively.]

3). "Before the nasals all consonants except *r* are or become voiceless. [This rule is questioned by Land.]

9. (b)—continued.

"After a nasal each consonant preserves its own character."

Land remarks, that the first rule does not hold in English, where *Bradford* and *platform*, *backbone* and *bugbear* are differently treated; and that according to the same rule every final consonant in Dutch is pronounced voiceless, as *bet*, *breet*, *ik hep*, *ik mach*; but that it is different in English, where *back* and *bag*, *hat* and *had*, *cup* and *cub*, are carefully distinguished; and so, he adds, in Friesic we hear *breed*, and not *breet*.

In English the difference between such combinations as the following is felt to be so great that we instinctively wonder at any ears being dull enough to confuse them, unaware how very dull our own ears are to distinctions which other nations feel with equal acuteness: *pip bib*; *pat pad*, *bat bad*; *puck pug*, *buck bug*; *tip dip*, *tub dub*; *tuck tug*, *duck dug*; *give me the bag do*, and *him a bag too*, and *then give it me back do*, and *his back too*. A German or a Dutchman would flounder helplessly and hopelessly in these quicksands.

(*u*). This vowel differs from (*u*), as (*z*) from (*i*), and just as an Englishman finds (*bit*) very difficult and (*bit*) easy, so (*buk*) is to him easy, and the Scotchman's (*buk*) so difficult, that he puts it down as (*buuk*), heard in Yorkshire. Distinguish also English *pull* (*pul*) and French *poule* (*pul*) from each other, and from *pool* (*pul*), heard for *pull* in Shropshire. The throat is widened for (*u*). The well-marked (*o*¹) or (*u*_o), already mentioned (1107, *d*'), must be borne in mind. To a southern Englishman (*bo'k*, *bu'k*) are riddles; at least, very thick, fat, clumsy pronunciations of his (*buk*), which, to a Scot, is itself a thick, fat, clumsy pronunciation of (*buk*). Refinement of pronunciation has entirely local value. It is easy to pronounce (*u*) without rounding the lips, and this must be the way that a cuckoo gets out his cry, or a parrot says (*pus*), as I distinctly heard one call out the other day (4th May, 1873). It seems as if we produced the roundness by contracting the arches of the soft palate at the entrance to the mouth. This mode of "rounding" I propose to mark by (*u*⁴), thus (*p⁴u⁴s*), implying

9. (u)—continued.

that (pu) are imitated in this manner, the lips remaining open. See (1116, b').

(k). The back of the tongue is raised to contact with the soft palate so much in the position of (u) that the glide is short, sharp, and but little marked. The relation of the gutturals (k, g) to (uu, uu) renders the labialisations (kw, gw) easy and common (208, c), and there is no difficulty in disposing the back of the tongue for (u), while the tip is in the (t, d) position, hence (tw, dw) are also easy (209, a). Prof. Whitney, whose phonetic appreciation is acute, and who has much studied pronunciation, regards these "labial modifications of vowels and consonants" to be "a special weakness" on my part and Mr. Bell's. "With one who can hold the initial consonant sound of *duell*, for example, to be not a *w* with a *d* prefixed, but a labially modified *d*, we should not expect to agree in an analysis of the *wh* sound" (Oriental and Linguistic Studies, New York, 1873, p. 271). I was, however, never satisfied with the analysis (twist, dwel). The passage from (t) to (w) created a glide which I could not recognize as usual. I tried (tuist, duél), which are easier, but then I missed the characteristic (w) effect. It was not till on studying Mr. Bell's Visible Speech, and finding him classify (w) as a mixed gutturalised labial, and consequently (gwh) as a mixed labialised guttural, that the explanation occurred to me, which is simply that "wherever the position of a consonant can be practically assumed at the same time as the positions for (i, u), they are so assumed by speakers to whom these combinations are easy." This brought palatalisations and labialisations under the same category. As we have (kj, gj, tj, dj, lj, nj), and might have (pj, bj), which apparently occur in Russian, so we might have (kw, gw, tw, dw, lw, nw), and even (pw, bw), which are related to (p, b) much as (kj, gj) are to (k, g). I found (kw, gw, tw, dw) the most satisfactory explanations to me of English sounds; and I seemed to recognize them in French *quoi, toi, dois* (kwa, twa, dwa), and similarly *loi, noix, roi* (lwa, nwa, rwa). It was satisfactory to me that Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who

9. (k)—continued.

must certainly be allowed to understand French pronunciation, adopted these views, added to my list *soi, choix, joie*, (swa, shwa, zhwa), and completed the conception by admitting palato-labialisations, arising from attempting to combine (y), or (i, u) simultaneously, with consonants, as in *lui, nuit, fui, chuintant, juin*, which would have to be written (luji, nuji, fuji, shwjeataa, zhwjæa). As in French (lj, nj) are said to be *mouillée*, so he terms (lw, nw), etc., *veloutée*, and (lwj, nwj), etc., *fuitée*. Theoretically the existence of such combinations as (lj, lw, lwj), etc., is perfectly conceivable and executable. The only question is, are they used in such words? This is a matter of observation. Prof. Whitney observes (twist, dwel); I observe in myself, at least, (twist, dwel). Mr. Bell writes (tw, dw), and also (kw), although he admits (kwh), the Scotch *quh*, which bears the same relation to (kw) as (kh) to (k). The simple character of (kw) may have prevented the *qu* from making "position" in Latin; but the initial character of (kw), like that of a mute and a liquid, may have had a similar effect. We have (gw) in *guano* (gwaa'no). Sometimes there is both palatalisation or labialisation of the consonant and an inserted vowel. Thus the old-fashioned *cart, regard, sky*, are seldom pure (kjaa't, rigjaa'd, skjæ'i), but often (kjiia't, rigjiia'd, skjia'i), and it is possible that *quill, quell, quantity*, may be occasionally (kwuél, kwuél, kwuén'titi), but I have not noted it. On the other hand, Italian *quale, quanto, questo*, sound to me rather (kuá'le, kuá'ntuh, kué'stuh), than (kwa—) or (kwuá—), etc. The same is probably the case in Spanish *cuanto*, etc. But I doubt a real (kwa—) anywhere. One great source of difference between German and English *quell* seems to arise from the two German consonants, thus (kbhel).

(buk). The voice begins in (b), and is carried through (u) to (k), where it is sharply and suddenly cut off. For the effect of (k) final see No. 8, (t).

10. WATCH, Bell's (watsh), my (wotsh).

(w). See No. 1, (w).

10. (A, o).

(A, o). With Mr. Bell, I used to consider that *wa* represented (wA), rather than (wo), and I have previously given (watsh) as the pronunciation (56, a). But on further observation I think that (wA) is not so common as (wo), and that when (wA) is used, the (A) is apt to become of medial length, so that the unpleasant drawing effect (wA^{At}sh) results, where I introduce a new method of marking the length of a vowel in palaeotype. Hitherto I have only used (a, aa) for short and long, and (aaa) for protracted. As this is not enough for theoretical purposes, I propose to use (a, a, a^a, aa, aa^a, aaa) as a scale of six, very short, short, medial, long, very long, protracted. This superior vowel must not be used after another vowel of a different form, as that would militate against the notation (eⁱ) on (1107, d), so that if we wished to write short (e) followed by very short (i), we must write (eⁱi), according to the usual notation. The short vowel-sound in *watch* is almost invariably (o) in England, but the medial sound is perhaps common in America. The difference between (A) and (o) is very slight, and both are nearly peculiar to English. Practically (A) belongs to the (a) group, and (o) to the (o) group. Foreigners hear (A) as (a) or (a), and (o) as (o) or (o). The differences are, however, important. The vowels (A, o) differ from (o, o) strictly by the depression of the back of the tongue, which, in the diagram (14, c, No. 7), is not given low enough for my pronunciation. But (A) differs from (a) by a slight "rounding," the corners of the lips being brought a little together for (A) (14, d, No. 12), whereas for (a) they are quite apart. Also according to Mr. Bell, (A) is a primary and (a) with (o) are "wide" vowels. I must own that (A) feels to me when speaking "wider" than (o), that is, to be pronounced with an opener pharynx. Still the concinnity of the vowel system points to the other arrangement, as shewn on p. 14, and I am probably wrong. The various degrees of opening of the lips in rounding should be observed, the three degrees, p. 14, diagram Nos. 10, 11, 12, being in English reserved for (u, o, A). But in Danish we have varieties. Thus Mr. Sweet observes (Philological Trans. 1873-4, p. 102): "In Danish the two

10. (A, o)—continued.

lower articulations (o, A), while preserving the same tongue position as English and most other languages," [that is, those of diagram Nos. 4, 7], "have undergone what may be called a 'lippenverschiebung,'" [lip-prolation, may be an admissible translation, *prolation* being nearest to *verschiebung*], "(o) being pronounced with the labialisation or 'rounding' of (u), and (A) with that of (o), (u) itself remaining unchanged." [I propose to write this effect thus (ou, A_o), the principal form giving the position of the tongue, and the subscribed that of the lips. Note the different meaning ascribed to the superior (o^u) or a sound between (o) and (u), but apparently more like (o), given on (1107, d), and note also the *fourth* kind of rounding just symbolised by (A) on (1114, dⁱ). "This abnormal rounding gives a peculiar cavernous effect to the vowels, and makes it difficult, especially for a foreigner, to distinguish them accurately." See (799, d). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte seemed to me to imitate the cavernosity by protruding the lips in a funnel shape, which we may write †, (11, cd), so that he made Swedish *o* and *u* to be (u†, y†). Mr. Sweet says the Swedes and Norwegians use (v) for (u), "which in Norwegian had the additional peculiarity of being unilaterally rounded, at least in some dialects," and would therefore be (v^s) "In Swedish this (v^u) has been moved up nearly into the place of the (u), but in Norwegian it is formed as in Danish. The consequence is that the Norwegians are quite unable to pronounce the (u) in foreign languages." (*ibid.*) In some Yorkshire people I have observed a tendency to pronounce (AA) in the direction of (o), so that the effect hovered between (o) and (o), and for that reason might be written (o^o). Southerners accuse them of saying (*ool kooz*), for (AA_l kAA_z), *all cause*. It is possible that this sound is properly (A_o). It deserves investigation, if only from the Scandinavian relations of Yorkshire.

We may note generally that (AA) is an extremely difficult vowel for foreigners, and it is seldom reached. Even Scotchmen are apt to confuse it with (a). But conversely Englishmen confuse even foreign (a) with (A). The German (a) is so confidently considered as (AA), that (AA) is known among English orthoepists as the German A!

10. (A, o)—*continued*.

Again the broad (oo) of our dialects is by dialectal writers almost always written *au*, meaning (AA); and the Italian *o aperto*, in syllables where it is taken as long, is called (AA), as (NAA, bwAA'no) for (no, buó'nuh), *no*, *buono*. Italians themselves say (aa) rather than (oo) for English (AA). Both vowels (AA, o), with the true lip rounding, are, as already observed, almost peculiarly English. I have reason to doubt whether (AA) is really heard in India, or Persia, or Austria, which are the only places, beside England, where, so far as I know, it may be at home.

Hence also the diphthong (A'i, o'i) is rare out of England. For its English origin from (ái, ói) see (131, a. 270, a. 1101, c). The Danish *rög* is written (rög) by Mr. Sweet (*ibid.* p. 107), but this means (rög). This, however, to my ears, is the nearest foreign diphthong to our (o'i). The German *eu* I am accustomed to call (o'i) myself, and perhaps in the North of Germany it fully reaches that sound. I think, however, that (óí) would be a more correct representation of the North German sound. For the Middle German I hear (dí, óy). Rapp does not properly distinguish (o, o), and in Italian does not distinguish close and open *o*. Hence although he makes the English short *o* to be his *ó*, I shall transcribe it (o), as I believe he pronounces it. He says: (*Phys. d. Spr.* 4, 19): "Theory has been greatly troubled with German *eu*. Feeling the inconvenience of confusing *eu* with *ei* (ái) in Middle Germany, theoreticians thought that with *ai*, *au*, they could associate an analogous *aü* (áy), which however does not readily unite with them, even when really pronounced, as indeed is commonly the case, only as *ae*, *ao*, *aö*, (áe, áo, áö). On the other hand, the Northern, Dutch, and low German (o'i, o'e) presented itself, as at least intentionally different from *ai* (ái), and as (o) was no German sound [Rapp identifies it with French *de me que*], it was advanced to *ói óé* (óí óe), so that there resulted a diphthongal triad *ai au ói* (ái áu óí), which is completely identical with the English and also the old Latin *ae*, *au*, *oe*, and of which we can at least say that they are the three most convenient diphthongs for the organs of speech. Later on, the want of the intermediate sound in *ói*

10. (A, o)—*continued*.

(óí) was felt, and to avoid this objection, a rather difficult but not ill-sounding diphthong *öü* (óy) was theoretically acknowledged, and although an extremely artificial product, pretty well satisfied all requirements. Those provinces that possess (o'i o'u) are the real causes of establishing (o'y) as *öü* (óy), whereas those that acknowledge *a*-diphthongs only will always incline to the low Saxon *ói* (óí). The diphthongs are always affected by a following nasal, so that when radical *ein aun eun* are not called (áin áun áin), for which last (óin) would be preferable, they come out as (áen, áon, óen), and any theory will find it difficult to produce (nóyn fréynd) with sensible (y) without an appearance of affectation. . . . German theoreticians who are so learned in scripture (*Schriftgelehrte*) that they insist on having a heard in *au*, and *e* in *ei* (not an *e* in *eu* also, or, for the sake of *a*, *e*, *o*, an *o* perhaps?), are, thank heaven! so rare, that we need not speak of them." Brücke (*Ueber eine neue Methode der phonetischen Transcription*, Wien, 1863, p. 53), transcribes *bäume, neues, verträumtem* by characters equivalent to (báy-me^o náy-e^os fer-tráy-mte^on), where (e^o) indicates an "imperfectly formed *e*," that is, he, a low Saxon, adopts the theoretical (áy). As Englishmen's views of the identity of German *eu* with their own *oy* are generally very ill based, I thought it better to give the views of German phoneticians on the subject. But the arguments of Rapp seem to leave out of consideration the organic development of language without any reference to writing, so that he lays himself open to the very "learning in scripture" which he ridicules.

(t). This is a medial (>t<), see No. 8 (t).

(sh, sh). For the distinction of (s,sh) and (sh,sh) see No. 6 (s). This advanced (sh) may be distinctly heard in saying *watch* with a very protracted hiss (wotsh,sh,sh); and after a little practice it is possible to say (sh) without the crutch of (t). Mr. Sweet says he is inclined to accept this analysis. Prof. Haldeman says that instead of advancing (sh) to (sh), he retracts (t) to (tʃ), which comes to the same thing.

10. (sh, sh)—continued.

At any rate, the ordinary English (t, sh) are not *both* heard in *watsh*.

This (sh) is apparently the true Roman *c* in *dieci, cinque* (diē'shi, shiq'kue), which Englishmen hear as (diē'shi, shiq'kwe). This is, therefore, the Italian derivative from Latin (*k*). How far the (t) is developed, further observations are required to shew, but the following (translated) notes in *F. Valentini's Gründliche Lehre der Italienischen Aussprache* (Berlin, 1834), are worth quoting, as being written by a Roman who was thoroughly acquainted with German, in which *sch, tsch, zsch*, for (sh, tsh), are common. He says (*ibid.* p. 15, note): "The correct pronunciation of the Italian syllables *ce, ci, cia, cio*, after a vowel, as heard from all educated Romans and Tuscans, cannot be completely represented by German signs; they should properly be heard from a teacher conversant with good pronunciation. The following examples will serve to shew that these syllables in this case are as distinct from their ordinary value as from *see, sci, scia, scio*. In *facee*, faces, the *c* sounds exactly like *tsch*; in *fasce*, swaddlings, the vowel is stopped, and the final *sc* thus becomes harder; in *face*, torches, and all similar cases, the vowel is lengthened, and *ce* consequently receives that peculiar softness already mentioned. All three sounds are heard in the following line of Tasso:

Gli ucciderò, faronne acerbi scempj,—
Ger. Lib. 1, 87, 3,"
4th stanza from end.

He proceeds to say that the best writers have constantly written *see* for *ce*, thus *arbucello arbuscello, bracia braseia, baci basci*, etc., and that "in the Lombard dialects *ce, ci*, after a vowel, fall into a very soft *s* or *z*, as *vesin, disì, sazerdott*, for *vicino, dici, sacerdote*." The examples *facee, fasce, face*, are possibly meant to differ as (fa.t.tshe) or (fa'.she), (faa.she, faa'she).

The combination (t.sh), or else (sh), is developed where (sh) does not occur, as in Spanish, just as (d.zh) or (zh) is found in Italian, where (zh), the buzz of (sh), is unknown, and (d.zh) has been common for centuries in English, where (zh) in *vision* (vi'zhen) is quite a recent development. In English (t.sh), which I have hitherto written and shall generally write (tsh), was developed from ags. (*k*), see (204, d), where the

10. (sh, sh)—continued.

relation of (kj, tj) to (tsh) will require revision, if (sh) and not (t.sh) is the original derivative from (*k*). In quite recent English (t.sh) has been developed from (ti) before (*ù*), as in the termination *-ture*, in *nature* (neet.shù).

To the absence of an independent (sh) may perhaps be attributed the persistence with which (t.sh) initial, being only (t < sh <), is considered a simple letter, and *ch* or *teh* final in *such, much, crutch*, which is (> t < sh), has been taken to be the result of prefixing (t) to the former simple sound. To the same cause I attribute the dispute as to the final sounds in *inch, lunch, launch, drench*, which some analyze as (sh), and others as (tsh). Now the position of the tongue for (n) being the same as that for (t), the full analysis may be (i-n-nh-sh) or (i-n-nh-t-sh), or simply (i-n-t-sh) or (i-n-sh). But in the plural *inches*, I myself use a distinct (t), thus, (i'nt.shez), and to my ear (i'n.shez) is unusual. Mr. Bell uses (-nhtsh-).

The sound (t.sh), as I hear it, is the Hungarian *cs*, the Polish *cz*, and 24th Russian letter. As I pronounce Polish *szcz*, the 26th Russian letter, I seem to prolong (sh) or (sh), and for an instant touch the palate with the tip of the tongue in the middle of the hiss, checking it momentarily and producing two hiss-glides, thus (sh > t < sh), or (sh.t.sh), for the *t* is probably (t). The Germans write the sound *schtsh*. That *ch* in English *cheese* has a prefixed (t), may be felt very distinctly by pronouncing (t.shi, t.she, t.sha, t.sha, t.sho, t.shu) with great rapidity, when the beat of the tongue against the palate will be felt as markedly as in rapid (ti, te, ta, tu, to). It is convenient also to practise (shi, she, sha, sha, sho, shu), and (shi, she, sha, sha, sho, shu).

Notwithstanding the confidence I feel in the diphthongal nature of *ch* in *cheese* as = (t.sh), yet strong opinions of a different nature are entertained. Prince L. L. Bonaparte can hear no difference between English *ch* in *cheese* and Italian *ci*, and this he considers to be the simple (sh), a continuant, which he can prolong indefinitely, and which, when so prolonged, suggests a (t) throughout. On the other hand Mr. Goodwin (1093, d'), no mean observer, considers *ch* in *chest* and *j* in *jest* to be

10. (sh, sh)—*continued*.

explodents, which I will mark by the new characters (kj, gj), the latter written as an undotted j crossed; see (1094, c). These are the real explodents corresponding to (jh, j), or Mr. Bell's 2e, 2l, on p. 15, which he too hastily confused with my (tj, dj). Observe that in (t, d) the tip, and in (k, g) the back, of the tongue touches the palate; then for (tj, dj), without removing the tip, bring the middle of the tongue against the palate, and for (kj, gj), without removing the back, also bring the middle of the tongue against the palate. Hence for (tj, dj) the *front* two-thirds, and for (kj, gj) the *back* two-thirds, of the tongue touch the palate. But for (kj, gj) only the *middle third* of the tongue touches the palate, thus producing a real explodent, which, as Mr. Nicol pointed out to me, is the sound indicated by Mr. Bell's Visible Speech symbol. To succeed in pronouncing them at first, keep the tip of the tongue down by burying it below the lower gums; and to prevent the back of the tongue from rising to the (k) position, think of (t), which of course cannot be pronounced when the tip of the tongue is kept down. Make the effect of (kja) perfectly sharp, by beginning with a closed glottis (1097, b), and come quietly on to the vowel without any escape of unvoiced breath. A little practice is necessary to avoid (kj, gj) on the one hand, and (tsh, dzh) on the other, but the sound has a philological value which makes it worth while understanding. These (kj, gj) are Mr. Goodwin's *c, j*, in the following remarks (*ibid.* p. 9):

"C (*ch* in *chin*) is manifestly a simple elementary consonant, and a *lene*. It is produced by placing a certain portion of the tongue near the tip, but not the tip itself, against a certain part of the palate, and, after pressure, suddenly withdrawing it with a violent emission of breath. It has no *t*-sound in its composition, for neither the tip of the tongue nor the teeth are used in its production. Neither does it end in an *sh*-sound, for, in that case, it could be prolonged *ad libitum*, which the true *c* (*ch* English) cannot be. Moreover, it does not begin with any one sound, and end with another, but is the same simple sound throughout its whole extent. It may be shewn by a similar experi-

10. (sh, sh)—*continued*.

ment, and proof, that *j* is a simple elementary sound. It bears the same relation to *c* (kj) that *g* does to *k*, or any other *lene* sonant to its corresponding *lene* surd." That the true *ch* cannot be prolonged *ad libitum*, no other writer, so far as I am aware, has asserted, except in the sense that its prolongation, like that of all diphthongs, differs from its commencement. In connection with these remarks of Mr. Goodwin, it seems best to cite what he says about (sh, zh), to which I must prefix his curious remark on aspirates, a subject which will have to be especially considered in No. 14, (wh). He says (*ibid.* p. 8):

"Each of the aspirates might have been represented by a single character; but, as *h* represents a simple breathing or aspiration, and as all the aspirates are similarly combined with such a breathing, and those of them which are used in English are generally so represented, we have chosen to represent them all as combined with *h*. We do not mean by this to intimate that the sound of *h* is *added* to the respective *lenes*—for in that case the aspirates would not be simple sounds—but that it is combined with them throughout their whole extent. They are *simple*, therefore, under our definition; and if in any sense compound, they are so by a sort of chemical composition, in distinction from a mechanical aggregate or mixture. *Kh*, for example, is not equal to *k*+*h*, but to *k*×*h*. This we consider a true aspiration; while the sound of *h*, added after a consonant, no more renders that consonant a true aspirate, than it does the following consonant or vowel. We do not doubt there are such aspirates ('so called') in other languages, as in the Sanscrit, for example; but we here speak of the strict propriety of the term."

[p. 9]. "*Sh* is not the aspirate of *s*, that is, it is not related to *s* as *th* to *t*, *ph* to *p*, etc., as any one may ascertain by a simple experiment of pronunciation. *S* is more dental than palatal, *sh* is not dental at all. But *sh* is related to *c* (kj) precisely as any other aspirate to its *lene*; that is, if you place the organs as if to produce *c* (kj), but instead of bringing them into perfect contact, retain a slight passage between for the constant egress of the breath, modifying it, as it goes out, by this specific ap-

10. (sh, sh)—*continued*.

proximation of the organs to a state of contact, you will have a perfect *sh*. *Zh* is plainly related to *j*, as *sh* to *c* (kj).” [This is incorrect, the result is (jh).] “The *s* and *z*, as sibilants, are peculiar, but in respect of the *organs* employed in their articulation, they furnish a transition between the palatal *c* (kj), etc., and the dentals *t*, etc.; and in respect to the *mode* of their articulation, they are to be reckoned among the aspirates rather than the lenes. Their lenes would be a certain unpronounceable medium between *c* (kj) and *t* and between *j* (gj) and *d* respectively.”

The systematic terms, *lenes et aspiratae*, should be discarded, as they tend to produce great confusion, and the precise mode of generating each individual sound should be studied, as we study individuals in natural history, before we attempt to classify them, except provisionally. The grammarians’ provisional and extremely imperfect classification of *lenes et aspiratae* has been long antiquated.

When Mr. Gupta visited me (1096, a), I was astonished to find that his pronunciation of च ज was not the (t, sh d, zh) usually laid down in books as the modern pronunciation, nor the (kj gj) usually theoretically supposed to be the ancient sounds, but exactly and unmistakably (kj gj) as just described. This must be also the real ancient sound, and it solves every difficulty. In Mr. Gupta’s pronunciation (kj) was as pure and unmixed with any hiss as an English (k). The post-aspirated forms will be considered in No. 14, (wh). Corresponding to these (kj gj) there must be of course a nasal (qj), which however only occurs immediately before them, and is hence a generated sound, just as (q) itself in Sanscrit; but it is certainly *not* (nj) as usually assumed, for the point of the tongue does not touch the palate; nor (qj), corresponding to (kj, gj), for the back of the tongue never reaches the (k)-position. The Sanscrit explodents now become perfectly intelligible. क the usual (k) with the back of the tongue *only*, and neither the middle nor the tip, in contact with the palate. च the present (kj), with the middle of the tongue *only*, and neither the back nor the tip, in contact with the palate. ज with the tip of the tongue *only*, and neither the

10. (sh, sh)—*continued*.

back nor middle, in contact with the *palate*, and not the teeth, written (t), for one of the forms (t, t), that is either retracted or coronal, not gingival nor dental, nor citra-dental (t†). त with the tip of the tongue *only* against the teeth *only*, not against the palate. The sides of the tongue in all cases have to complete the closure. The series may then be completed thus:

(κ) back of *retracted* tongue against extreme back of palate.

(k) back of tongue against palate.

(kj) back and middle of tongue against it.

(k†) middle of tongue against it.

(tj) middle and tip of tongue against it.

(t, t t) tip of tongue against palate in various places from furthest back to crown or base of gums.

(t) tip of tongue against upper *teeth*.

((t) tip of tongue against *both* upper and lower teeth, but not protruded.

(t†) tip of tongue protruded *between* upper and lower teeth.

(r) lower *lip* against upper *teeth*.

(p) lower lip against upper *lip*.

Now each of these can give rise to a hiss by a slight relaxation of the contact. Hence we get a theoretical (kh) from (κ); the well-known (kh) from (k), the German *ch* in *ach*; the equally well-known (kjh) from (kj), the German *ch* in *ich*; the English (jh) = (kjh) from (kj), of which presently; the English (sh) is the nearest if not the exact hiss of the English (t), as will be noticed presently, (th) the hiss of dental (t). National habits will here interfere. The Sanscrit has only a generated (kh), as will be shewn in No. 14, (wh), and hence it does not appear in writing. The (kjh) or (jh) however existed distinctly and had a sign ञ. Now if modern Germans, as we shall see in No. 16, (j), actually confuse (kjh, jh), we cannot suppose that their ancestors, the old emigrants from the Aryan land, did better, and from (kjh) the step to (k) on the one hand and (sh) on the other is easy. How easily (sh) comes from (jh) we know in English, and Mr. Goodwin has himself exemplified it by making (kjh) = (sh) instead of (jh), just as in India (jh) has sunk absolutely into (sh). Lepsius makes the sound of ञ theoretically = (shj), (Standard Alphabet, p. 71), which he identifies with Polish *s*, a sound I hear as (sj). But Mr. Gupta hears no

10. (sh, ʃh)—*continued*.

difference in present usage between श and ष, both are equally (sh). But both occur as ungenerated distinct forms in Sanscrit, where they are unmistakably referred to चट्. There is probably no doubt therefore that श was, and still represents, (jh). Now we have already shewn on comparing (s, sh) in (1104, c) that the latter is retracted, as compared with the former. And in the same way (τ) is retracted as regards (t). In languages having no (th), — as in German for example, — (s) or (ʃ), for the two cases are not distinguished, is taken to be, and actually results as, the hiss of (t). It is thus that high German *z* = (t, s) has probably actually resulted from (t). In the same way स was in Sanscrit referred to त. As a matter of course therefore ष (sh) or (ʃh) was referred to ट (τ). In modern Bengalee, as we have seen (1105, b'), all three sounds श ष स are confused as (sh). That श य = (jh, j) were not exhibited together as surd and sonant, may be due to the fact that there were no (zh, z) as sonants to ष स. The Sanscrit series of speech-sounds, like those of all other nations, was but fragmentary.

Considerable objection has been taken to Mr. Melville Bell's classification of (s, sh), by which, in the arrangement on p. 15, 2b and 3b, the (s) is apparently allied to (j), and the (sh) to (t). So strongly have speakers felt the relation of (s) to (t), and of (sh) to (jh), that, as I have been informed (by Miss Hull, of 102, Warwick Gardens, Kensington, who successfully teaches deaf and dumb girls to speak and read from the lips, and, employing for that purpose Mr. Bell's Visible Speech symbols, went in 1873 to Boston, in America, to study Mr. Graham Bell's method of using it in teaching at the deaf and dumb institutions there), Mr. G. Bell has found it best to transpose these symbols, giving to the symbol 2b the meaning (sh), and to the symbol 3b the meaning (s). But Mr. Melville Bell's symbols are both 'mixed,' and imply merely that the (j) character in the position of the tongue *predominates* in (s) by the *elevation* of the middle of the tongue, and the (t) character of the same in (sh), by the *depression* of the middle of the tongue. This is clearly shewn by

10. (sh, ʃh)—*continued*.

his diagrams (Visible Speech, p. 53) and his description (*ibid.* p. 52), viz.: "6. (s) Front-Mixed. The Front [middle] and Point [tip] of the Tongue both raised, so as to bring the convex surface of the tongue close to the front [crown] of the palatal arch, and the point of the tongue, at the same time, close to the upper gum.—7. (sh) Point-Mixed. The Point [tip] and the Front [middle] of the Tongue both raised—the latter in a less degree than for symbol 6. (s)—bringing the front [middle] surface of the tongue near to the rim [?] of the palatal arch." The characters both imply (jh*ʃh), but for (s) the greater proximity of the middle of the tongue to the (j)-position determined both its position and its sign. The recent variation, by Mr. Graham Bell, in the application of these symbols, shews how difficult it is to select any form of symbolism depending on classification. Different points strike different minds as best adapted for characteristics. As in botany and zoology genera and families are constantly being remodelled, we cannot be surprised at the difficulties and disagreements which have notoriously arisen in a matter so little understood and requiring so much training (almost securing bias) to observe and appreciate, as speech-sounds. Still greater exception would probably be taken to Mr. Bell's classing (th) under (jh), and (zh), which he identifies with Welsh *ll* (lhh), under (r, h), because we naturally identify (th) with the teeth, and overlook the position of the middle of the tongue. The columns 2 and 3, in Mr. Bell's table, p. 14, should, according to these recent changes in palaeotype, be symbolised as follows, in order, from line *a* to line *m*;

2. voiceless jh s lh th kj qjh

voiced j z lʃ dh gʃ qʃ

3. voiceless r, h sh lh zh t nh

voiced r, zh l dh d n

If (th, dh) really represent the Welsh *ll* and its Manx voiced form, they are identical with the symbols (lhh, /hh), see (756, c, d), where the voiceless form (lhh) is incorrectly stated to occur in Manx.

(wotsh). The voice, set on in (w), continues with a glide on to (ʃ), and then with a sharp and very sensible glide on to (t), where it is cut off or

10. (wot,sh)—*continued*.

stopped, and the glottis closed; the glottis is, however, immediately opened wide for unvocalised breath, and a hiss-glide is formed on to (sh), through which the hiss may be continued indefinitely, and as a rule the position for (sh) is held as long as the breath is audible, so that it does not glide off into anything else. This may be written (w-ə > t < sh). But in *cheese* we have (t < sh < ii > z-s), without the glide on to (t), and hence the (t) is less felt than in the other case.

11. SAW, (sAA).

(s). For (s) see No. 6, (s).

(A). For (AA) see No. 10, (A, ə). We have here only the continued sound. Dr. Rush says (*op. cit.* p. 61), "A-we has for its radical, the peculiar sound of 'a' in *awe*; and for its vanish, a short and obscure sound of the monothong (sic) *e-rr*." That is, he would pronounce *saw* (sAA'ɹ, sAA'), which would give the effect of adding an *r*. It is quite true that Londoners have a difficulty in distinguishing *saw* *sore*, *law* *lore*, *maw* *more*, generally saying only (sAA', lAA', mAA') for (sAA soo', lAA loo', mAA moo'), and that the principal difference to them is that the first words may not, and the last words must, have an epenthetical (r) before a vowel. It is therefore best to avoid this "vanish," and say (sAA) without relaxing the position for (AA). But really, as will hereafter appear, (sAA', ee'j, oo'w) are phenomena of precisely the same kind, (§ 2, No. 6, iv.) We also find (mēmaa', pēpaa') in the same way. The only objection is to the interposition of a trilled *r*, as *saw-r-ing* (sAA'riŋ). But the Basques interpose a "euphonic" *r* in the same way, and if we could only persuade grammarians to call the Cockney interposition of (r) "euphonic" also, the custom, which is a living reality, however unsavoury now, would be at once disinfected.

(sAA). The glide from (s) to (AA) is of the same nature as in (sks), No. 6.

12. FEATHERS, Bell's (fe-dheɹz), my (fe'dhɹz).

(f). See No. 4, (f).

(E, e). See No. 7, (e, E).

(dh). This is the buzz of (th), see No. 3, (th). There is no initial (d), as Germans imagine, in English (dhen), which would require the un-English dental (ddhen). The final (-ddh) does not occur, but we have (-dhd) in *breathed*, *bathed*, *swathed*, *tithed* = (briidhd, beedhd, sweedhd, te'idhd), in pronouncing which the retraction of the tongue from (dh) to (d) may be distinctly felt. And (d dh) constantly concur in successive words, as *and the*, see (1098, a).

(ʊɹ, ɹ). On (r, ɹ) see No. 3, (r), and No. 4, (ɹ). Mr. M. Bell has peculiar theories about unaccented vowels, which will be better discussed in some special examples, given hereafter. The (ə) only occurs in English in unaccented syllables, and it may be questioned whether the real sound in these syllables is not (ə). It is the same, or nearly so (for the exact shades of such obscurities are difficult to seize), as the obscure final -e in German and Dutch. When French *e muet* is pronounced, I seem to hear (ə) rather than (ə) or (œ), and there is a schism on this point among the French themselves. See also (548, b).

(zs). See No. 5, (fəiv), on this after-sound of (s), which is generally very clearly developed, especially in singing psalms, where it becomes disagreeably prominent. This final (s) should be very lightly touched, as a mere relief from the unpleasant buzz (z).

(fe'dhɹz). The word begins with an unvocalised hiss which is continued as long as the (f) position is held, so that the vocal chords must not be brought together till that position is released. The glide on to (e) may take place through the gradual closure of the glottis, and hence may be partly voiceless, but the voice is now continued, without break, on to (z). There is an interruption to its smoothness by the buzzing of (dh), but, unless there is a trill superadded to (ɹ),—which is admissible, but unusual,—the voice is heard as an obscure vowel (ə) or (ə) through (ɹ). The result is (f < e > dh < ɹ > z-s).

12. (fe'dhɪzɪs)—*continued*.

The syllable divides *somewhere* during (dh). The vowel (e) being short, the whole glide from (e) to (dh), and the whole continuance of the buzz till the glide from (dh), would generally be reckoned to belong to the first syllable. This is merely fanciful. The interruption to vocality by the buzz makes two groups (f < e >) and (< ɪ > z-s), between which there is an extra-syllabic buzz of sensible duration, and if it were exaggerated in length, we should have the effect of three groups. Practically, two groups only being felt, the length of (dh) is divided at pleasure between them, and is, I believe actually at times differently divided by means of a relaxation of force or slur ~, to be described in No. 14, (wh), according to the momentary feeling of the speaker.

13. TONGS, Bell's (tɒqz),
my (tɒqzɪs).

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(ɒ). See No. 10, (A, ɒ).

(q). This bears the same relation to (n), as (g) to (d). It is simply (g) with a complete nasal resonance, and thus differs from (g_n), with incomplete resonance, although in both the uvula is free from the pharynx, but whether to an equal extent has not been determined. The (q) is common in German, Italian, and modern Greek, and was clearly present in Latin and ancient Greek, though it has never received a distinct symbol in these languages, as it has in Sanscrit. But in these languages it is merely a euphonic alteration of (n) generated by a following (k) or (g). It is quite unknown in French, where it seems to Englishmen to have been transformed into a French nasality of the vowel, (aa) bearing to (a_n) about the same relation as (aq) to (ag_n). But the real differences which distinguish French Portuguese, dialectal German, American English, Gaelic, Hindu, and perhaps other undescribed nasalities, have not yet been determined, so that all analysis is provisional. Mr. Gupta (1096, a) pronounced the Sanscrit "necessary anusvāra" as (q), and not as a mark of nasalisation (A). The nasal passages are so complicated and full of tremulous

13. (q)—*continued*.

membranes, and of secretions, that the resonance is necessarily very complicated. It is safest for Englishmen who cannot pronounce the French nasals to use (q) for (A). On (67, c) I accidentally misstated Mr. Bell's analysis, which is properly *an, on, un, vin* = (ɔhA, oɦA, əA, vɛA). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's is (AA, o₁A, əɦA, e₁A). M. E'douard Paris seems to analyze (aa, oA, əA, EA) in the Introduction to his "St. Matthieu en Picard Amiénois" (London, 1863, translated for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte). In fact it is not possible to analyse these sounds perfectly, because the mere detachment of the uvula from the back of the pharynx alters the shape of the resonance chamber for the oral vowel, and the addition of nasality effectually disguises its quality. By very carefully performed and recorded experiments with the phonautograph and König's manometric flames (see Poggendorff's *Annalen*, vol. 146) on vowels sung at the same pitch, with and without different nasalisations, it may be possible to discover the alteration of the quality produced by nasalisation, but even this is problematical, and, so far as I know, no experiments have hitherto been made in this direction. At present our connection of oral to nasal vowels is purely a matter of aural appreciation, and will probably differ for the same speaker from observer to observer. The form (aa) would mean, that, with the exception of the uvula, the organs are disposed as for (a), and that the uvula is so widely detached from the pharynx as to allow a perfectly free passage of vocalised breath through the nose as well as through the mouth. The form (a_n) gives the same position, with the exception of the uvula, which is, I think, only slightly detached from the pharynx, so that the nasal passage is not so free as the oral, and hence the oral vowel is so distinctly recognized that probably Frenchmen would *not* recognize (a_n) as intended for (aa). Both (a_n) and (aa) are ori-nasal vowels, but the name is best applied to the second, while the first may be called a nasalised oral vowel. Between (a), with no nasality, and (aa), with perfect ori-nasality, there are many degrees; but, as before said, we have not yet succeeded in analysing them, although the different degrees in which the nasal

13. (q)—*continued*.

passage is opened by the uvula is of course one important element, producing an effect comparable to that of the different 'roundings' of the vowels by the lips, see No. 10 (Λ, ə). But in (aq) we have first a purely oral vowel, followed by a glide (a > q), which may pass through some form of nasality, but can never reach either (a) or (aa), because the oral passage is gradually obstructed more and more by the back of the tongue, till finally, all passage through the mouth being cut off by the (k) contact of the back of the tongue and soft palate, the voice issues in (q) entirely through the nose. These distinctions, pure oral (a), nasalised oral (a_n), ori-nasal (aa), pure oral (a) + a glide which is partly nasal, and imperfectly oral + pure nasal (q), should be carefully borne in mind. It will then be seen that the English (ɔq, oq, əq, vɛq) and the German (aq, oq, æq, bħeq) are very imperfect approximations to the French *an, on, un, vin*, but are intelligible simply because (q) not existing in French, there are no other sounds which they could represent. It is remarkable that in received English no vowel occurs long before (q), so that even (ooq) is rather difficult to our organs. In America, however, (ɔq) is often (ɔɔq) or (AAq), as (lɔɔq, sɔɔq) or (lAAq, sAAq). And in Icelandic the vowel before (q) is always intentionally long (546, b, d').

Mr. Goodwin is peculiar in his analysis of (q), his *ng*. He says (*ibid.* p. 10), "*Ng* represents a simple, elementary, and a liquid sound, combining a nasal and a palatal character, or intermediate between the two, being produced in the endeavour to pronounce an *n*, by pressing the middle of the tongue against the palate. *Nhg* (or *ngħ*), the so-called French nasal, is related to *ng* as any other aspirate to its lené; that is, it is accompanied with an emission of breath, while the organs are in near approximation to the specific contact which characterizes *ng*." The description of (a) is of course entirely incorrect. The description of (q), however, does not answer to the English (q), but to the probable Sans. (qj), which Englishmen confuse with (nj). The French, having no (q), confuse it with their own (nj). I have also known Fr (nj) pronounced (qj) in England. There is therefore no certainty respecting (q, qj, qj, nj) in

13. (q)—*continued*.

accounts of foreign sounds. The confusion is quite similar to that of (w, bh, v). In English (q), which has generally been generated by the action of a letter of the *k*-series on a preceding *n*, never occurs initially, so that English people find it difficult to make it glide on to a following vowel, as (qaa, qii, quu), which are found in some African and other languages. Hence when final, it is simply prolonged, as (lɔq), the strength of the voice dying off, and it seldom becomes voiceless (lɔqqh), because there is no inconvenience in prolonging the nasality. But sometimes the nasality is dropped, and then simple (g) results, as (lɔgg), which is treated as a usual final sonant, and may become (lɔgg'). This cannot be reckoned as a received form, although it may be historical. On the other hand, the voice is occasionally dropped with the nasality, and the result is (lɔqk'), which is reckoned vulgar, as in (thiqk') for (thiq), though common in German (192, d). We have, however, a final (-iq), in the participles, which certainly does not arise from a previous (k) form. The confusion of the (-q, -nd) participial forms is very old; it may possibly have arisen from confusing the participle and verbal noun or gerund, for many of our dialects ignore this (-q) altogether, and use (-n) as a termination for both, "not pronouncing the *g*," as glossarists assume, although Southern Scotch dialects distinguish them by vowels. (-ən) participle, (-in) for gerund (Murray, *ibid.* p. 211). Similarly (nə'thin, nə'then, nə'fin, nə'fen) are not uncommon vulgarisms for *nothing* (nə'thiq). Yankee and Irish English prefer the participle in -in. In the Forth and Bargo extinct English, *ng* and *n* seem to have been occasionally confused.

When (q) is medial, the difficulty is overcome in two ways. First, the glide of (q) on to the vowel is altogether omitted, by beginning the vowel with a glottid (, ;), or by slurring or relaxing the force of the voice on (q), so that the glide becomes inaudible. The clear (,) or catch (;) are, I think, uncommon either in English or German under such circumstances, but the relaxation or slur (—) is, I think, the rule. Thus *singer, longing*, are (sɪ'q—, lɔ'q—iq), not (sɪ'q:ɪ, lɔ'q:ɪq), and still less (sɪ'q:ɪ, lɔ'q:ɪq). Secondly, the nasality is

13. (q)—*continued*.

ultimately omitted, and the resulting (g) glides easily on to the vowel, as in *finger*, *longer* (fí'qgɪ, lɔ'qgɪ), where (q) passes into (g) with the same ease as (z) into (s) in (hɪzɪs).

When (q) is medial, and a hiss, not a buzz, follows, if we attempt to make the glide on to the hiss, some speakers naturally drop the nasality and the voice, developing (k), which glides on easily, as in *strength*, *length* (streŋkθ, leŋkθ). This is not necessary. Although (qθ) could no more make an initial combination than (uθ), there could be a non-nasal glide from (q) to (θ), which resembles the glide from (g) or from (u) to (θ), thus (q' > θ). Or else the (q) may end suddenly, and there may be a hiss-glide on to (θ), thus (q' > θ). I think that this last is more frequently said. But the transition from the guttural (q) to the dental (θ) being violent, many speakers, especially of the older class, and Irishmen, bridge over the difficulty by changing (q) into (n), thus (streñθ, leñθ). A third hypothesis is possible. The voiceless breath may be introduced during the (q), or in place of the (q), thus (streŋ-qh-θ) or (streŋqθ). I have not myself observed either. Mr. Bell probably advocates the last, for he writes (mæ'qhki). This belongs to a theory considered in No. 15. I think (streŋθ, æ'qshəs, mæqk, wíqkt) represent my own pronunciation of *strength*, *anxious*, *monk*, *winked*. When a voiced consonant follows, there seems no tendency to introduce (g), thus *tongs*, *winged* are (tɔqz, wíqd), not (tɔggz, wíqgd), which would be difficult to English organs. An attempt to pronounce them would probably result in (tɔgg'z, wíqg'd').

(zs). See No. 12, (fe'dhɪzɪs).

(tɔqzɪs). The glide from (t) to (ɔ) may be gathered from No. 2, (tuu). The voice is regularly continued through (q) to (z), when it falls off to (s), thus (t < ɔ > q-z-s).

14. WHIP, (whíp), variants (whwíp, wíp).

(wh). See Gill's recognition of (wh), on (185, b), the observations on *ags*, *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, *hw*, on (513, ab), and

14. (wh)—*continued*.

Icelandic (543, d), and on *h* in general (221, d). So much controversy exists upon the points thus raised that it is worth while recurring to them. My (h) was identified with Mr. Bell's symbol, p. 15, col. 5, line *f*, with some hesitation, by Mr. Bell himself. But my own impression is that Mr. Bell has no sign precisely corresponding to what I mean by (h). In my original paper on Palaeotype (Philol. Trans. 1867, part 2, p. 16) I defined (h) as "the aspirate or jerk of the voice, not necessarily accompanied by a whisper, which could not be pronounced in certain post-aspirated consonants, as the Sanscrit **भ, घ, च** (bh, dh, gh), and similar combinations in the Irish brogue. When the whisper is uttered, the effect should be represented strictly by (h')." Now most persons who have used my palaeotype confuse (h, h'), and I have certainly not been careful to distinguish them under ordinary circumstances. For the exact understanding, however, of such difficulties as have been raised respecting (wh), etc., it is necessary to enter into somewhat minute explanations. Referring to Mr. Bell's symbols, *suprà* p. 15, by simple number and letter as 5*f*, "the symbol in column 5, line *f*," the following are Mr. Bell's own explanations ('The Organic Relations of the Rudimental Symbols,' Visible Speech, pp. 46-49).

9a. "When the glottis and the super-glottal passage are perfectly open, the breath creates no sound in its emission. A moderate degree of expulsiveness to render the 'aspiration' audible is implied in 9a. The symbol is pictorial of the expanded breath-channel in the throat." This I have written (h') on p. 15, the exact meaning of which will be explained presently, and (h'h) is the full sign.

5a. "When the glottis is contracted to a narrow chink, the breath in passing sets the edge of the orifice—the 'vocal ligaments'—in vibration, and creates sonorous 'voice.' This vocalising condition of the glottis is pictured in the symbol." This I mark (') on p. 15. The description, however, is inaccurate. If there is any 'chink,' there is no 'voice,' but only 'whisper.' See No. 8, (*et*). Distinguish between 'open glottis,' through which passes *fatus* or voiceless breath (h), which may or may

14. (wh)—*continued.*

not be audible; 'chink glottis' when the edges of the chords are brought almost but not quite in contact, producing whisper ('h); and 'closed glottis,' the edges of the chords being absolutely in contact to be forced asunder by the breath, closing by their own elasticity, and thus producing that series of 'puffs' which result in 'voice,' ('h). Different from all these is the supra-glottal implosion ('h), No. 9, (b).

9b. "When the glottis is open, and the super-glottal passage is contracted, the breath creates in the latter the non-sonorous rustling or friction which is called 'whisper.' The relative expansion of the throat-channel for 9a and 9b is pictured in the symbols." I have marked this as (v) on p. 15. My symbol for 'whisper' is (v) or voicelessness+voice. Hence (v) is used for whispered (f), and (i) is whispered (i). To indicate voicelessness, prefix (v) to a whispered, or (v) to a voiced letter. Thus (v) = (f), and (vi) is the mere flatus through the (i) position, scarcely distinguishable from (jh), while (vu) will be the mere flatus through the (u) position, scarcely distinguishable from (wh), see No. 2 (uu), and No. 3 (ii). Now Mr. Bell goes on to say: "The organic effect of 9b will be understood by whispering a 'voiced consonant' such as v. The result is clearly different from the sound of the non-vocal consonant of corresponding oral formation f. For the former (v), the fricativeness of the breath is audible from the *throat*, through the oral configuration; for the latter, (f), the breath-friction is audible only from the lip." I think that this account is imperfect, whisper being glottal and not pharyngeal. There is a glottal wheeze (h), which is produced by driving the voice sharply through the cartilaginous glottis, between the arytenoid cartilages, and not between the vocal chords, and Mr. Bell inclined to mark this as 9b + 10b, that is, as a prolongation of the present sound. At another time he wrote it 9b + 9g, or with the mark of trill added to this sign. Now there is such a trilling effect possible by means of moisture, and some observers do consider (h) as an arytenoid glottal trill rather than a wheeze. If voice accompanies, the result is either the Danish glottal (ɾ) or the Arabic *ain* (ʕ), and

14. (wh)—*continued.*

the latter is perhaps only (ɾ), that is a strong pronunciation of the former. I am confirmed in this view by the fact of Mr. Sweet finding (ɾ) very much like (o), and by the usual derivation of o from the Semitic *ain*.

9h. "The symbol 9h is a compound of 9b and 5a, and denotes whisper and voice heard simultaneously;—a vocal murmur modified by breath-friction in the super-glottal passage." I marked this as (v) on p. 15, but on my present definition of whisper this does not properly express the fact described. In whisper, however, there is so slight a vocalisation, arising from intermittent puffing, and so much apparent escape of unintermittent flatus, that the effect is felt as a mixture of voice and flatus, only the flatus has the upper hand, and the whole effect is generally weak. But in buzzing we have a powerful voice, with apparent intermingled flatus, which, however, is I think merely caused by inharmonic proper tones due to an obstructed resonant chamber, and is in ultimate analysis rather *noise*, that is, beating harmonies, than real flatus.

9c. "The symbol 9c pictures the combined edges of the glottis, and denotes the 'catch' of the breath which is heard (with violence of percussion) in a cough. The linguistic effect of 9c is softer, but distinctly percussive, when an aspiration or a vocal sound follows the 'catch.'" The form of the symbol 9c gives a wrong impression of the position of the vocal chords, which are pressed tightly together, along the whole length of their opposed edges, (and not knicked in the middle only as the symbol seems to shew,) so that it requires considerable effort to separate them by an expiration. The closure is, for a time, air tight, as in 'holding the breath.' Hence the breath escapes explosively, either as flatus or voice. I write it (c).

9l and 9m. "The symbols 9l and 9m, by themselves, refer to the aperture of the mouth as affected by the close (9l) or open (9m) position of the jaws. Following other symbols, 9l denotes configurative compression, with consequent percussion on leaving the configuration, and 9m denotes configurative openness or organic laxity. Thus

"9a + 9l. An exhaustive aspiration from upward pressure of the diaphragm;—a wheeze.

14. (wh)—*continued*.

"9a + 9m. A gentle inaudible aspiration.

"9c + 9l. Glottal closure with distention of the larynx from pressure on the confined breath, and percussive emission on opening the passage;—a cough."

As will be seen by referring to (1106, e), I formerly marked 9l on p. 15 as (.), considered merely as representing *force*, which is supposed to be continuous, and 9m as (,), considered as representing *weakness*, also supposed continuous. These do not quite represent Mr. Bell's symbols. His 9a + 9l is hardly (h'h), but very nearly so. His 9a + 9m could not be (,h'h), because there is no jerk at all here, and (,h) is the nearest symbol for almost inaudible flatus. Again his 9c + 9l could not be (.;), because this alone, without sign of flatus, whisper or voice, has no meaning, but (.;h) is not unlike it. Using the signs (¹) as proposed on (1107, b), we may, however, write 9a + 9l = ('h'), though I think (h') better for the effect intended, 9a + 9m = ('h₁) or (,h₁), and 9c + 9l = (h') or (.;h').

"10f and 5f. Whisper and voice may be produced by air going inwards (10f) or by breath coming out (5f)." Here I think Mr. Bell has made a slip. No 'voice' certainly, and no 'whisper' in the sense of (1126, b), can be produced by inspiration. I have written (i) for 10f, and Mr. Bell first gave 9b and afterwards 5f for my (h), but he must have been wrong in both cases. He proceeds to say: "All symbols except 10f and 10e imply emission." [Hence no special symbol for 5f was required.] "The symbol 5f is used to denote a transitional emission from the symbolized configuration in passing from one position to another." [This seems to mean 'glide' in my sense, denoted by > or <]. "The effect is different from the throat aspiration 9a. Thus from the 'shut' position of the glottis 9c, we may either open sharply upon an utterance of voice 9a + 5a" [my (h)], "or we may ease off the pressure of the 'catch' by interpolating a 'breath glide' 9a + 5f + 5a." Now this could not be (h'h), for this jerk would increase instead of "easing off" the pressure. In another place, quoted presently, he calls this 5f "an aspirated hiatus." It would be of course possible

14. (wh)—*continued*.

to interpose flatus, between the catch (i) and the voice (h), thus (h'h), and when a real vowel is used the series (i; + "a + a), hereafter abridged to (ha), may be easier than (a) without any interposed flatus, for the explosion may force the vocal chords so far apart that flatus escapes before they can be reduced to the vocal position, and as they would recoil to it suddenly the effect (i; + "a + a) would be different from (i; + "a + 'a + a) or (i;a), which seems hardly possible. Still I own not to have caught the meaning of this symbol 5f thoroughly, and I regret that I was led to identify it with my own (h). Mr. Graham Bell has used it at the end of words, when writing for deaf-mutes, to indicate what Mr. M. Bell calls the 'recoil' mentioned in the next citation, thus 8f + 3e + 5f is used for my (æt'). This would confirm my supposition that 5f is not really different from (<h), since (æt') is at full (æ > t < h). It remains therefore that Mr. M. Bell has no Visible Speech symbol for my (h), although I think his 9l, my (.), comes nearest to it, the difference being that (h) resembles *impact* or is momentary, and (.) resembles *pressure* or is continuous.

"10e. The symbol 10e signifies that the organic separation or recoil from any symbolized position—which is always implied in final elements when the 'stop' is not written—does not take place. Thus 9c + 10e is an unfinished 'catch,' in forming which the impulse ceases with the closure of the glottis." But no effect would be heard if the glottis were kept closed. We must allow a single puff to escape at least to shew the 'catch,' and then we must shut up directly to shew the 'stop.' Thus in place of 9c + 10e, or (.;) in my symbols, which would have absolutely no sound, I must have (h'h) or (h'h'), often heard in a short checked convulsive cough.

"The effect of organic 'stop' is implied between elements in verbal combinations, such as *tl* in *outlaw*, *td* in *outdo*, etc.; where, necessarily, the *t* is not finished by an organic recoil, as it would be at the end of a word. In these cases of course the 'stop' does not require to be written." In practical phonetic writing much is not marked which *must* make its appearance in delicate phonetic discussions, and

14. (wh)—*continued*.

which is often of supreme philological importance. Thus (əutlAA, əutduu) are enough for many purposes; but if we are writing strictly, they are not nearly enough. We require (ə'u' > t)l < AA; ə'u: > t)d < uu'), where , is the break explained in the next paragraph. The diphthongal glide is indicated by the accent shewing the element with principal force. The glides generally need not be written if the rule is laid down that there is *always* a glide between combined symbols. But then we must write (ə'ut lAA, ə'ut duu), and we should thus lose the effect of combination into one word; so that (ə'u't)lAA; ə'u:t)duu) become the full forms. Generally (əu'tlAA, əutduu) are enough. The 'recoil' should always be written when intended to be distinctly pronounced, as (ə'u't')lAA, ə'ut')duu).

"10c. In verbal combinations of elementary sound, each element is inseparably joined to the succeeding one." This refers to the inter-gliding, but is only true as a practical rule in writing. "When any element, except the last in a combination, is finished independently of what follows, the sign of 'hiatus' (10c) is used. Thus in analysis, or phonetically 'spelling' a syllable, we should say that 9a + 5a consists of the elements 9a + 10c + 5a—interposing a break. The effect of 10c will be understood by pronouncing the word 'bedtime,' in which the *d* and *t* are not disjoined, in contrast with the separate pronunciation of the two words 'bed, time.' The symbol 5f is an *aspirated* hiatus; the symbol 10c is non-aspirated,—a mere interval." I have hitherto marked this (,), but with the more accurate distinctions of glottids, something more is required, and I find (,) , half of the second half of a parenthesis, a sort of exaggerated comma,—already introduced by anticipation (998, d),—the most convenient for this mere break, which may or may not be accompanied by a 'clear' glottid. In this case, (,) is opposed to (-).

After much thought and observation I have been led to the following views of these difficult, and yet, philologically, extremely important distinctions. I cannot consider my views complete, but I think that they will serve to form a basis for future work, and are more comprehensive than any yet sug-

14. (wh)—*continued*.

gested in print. They involve not so much a reconstruction, as a more accurate specification of the notation on pp. 10 and 11.

Material of Speech-Sounds.

(i) *Inspiration*, audible inspired breath, the audibility arising from the friction in the air-passages, arising from their constriction and internal roughness, and velocity of the entering air.

(h) *Implosion*; a dull thud-like sound arising from suddenly condensing, by the action of the muscles of the inclosing walls, breath confined in the passages, neither passing out of the mouth, nor through the larynx (1097, c. 1113, d').

(t) *Click or smack*; a smart sharp sound produced by suddenly separating moist parts of the organs, as tongue and palate, etc., independent of inspiration or expiration. It is quite easy to click in the mouth while inspiring and expiring through the nose.

(h) *Flatus*, audible but unvoiced expiration, the vocal chords well separated, and a full column of breath passing easily. The audibility may be conditioned by degrees of force or narrowing or interruption of the passages of exit.

(h) *Whisper*; the edges of the vocal chords are almost but not quite in contact; part of the passing breath is unaffected, part rustles, part is broken into pulses, resembling voice, just as on a flute we hear the musical tone accompanied by the rustle or rushing noise of the performer's breath against the side of the mouthpiece.

(h) *Voice*; the edges of the vocal chords in actual contact, and opening and shutting by the action of expiration and their own elasticity, so as to break all the air into pulses. But the break does not necessarily produce a musical tone. On the contrary, just as in any blown reed (in clarinet, hautboy, etc.), or interrupted air current (in whistles, flutes, etc.), many different musical tones result in this case also, of which several are of nearly the same pitch or even of incommensurable periodic times, and these 'beat' with one another, thus producing a confused noise, or obscure murmur, which is really the 'natural' voice. It is by adapting various resonant chambers to

14. (wh)—*continued.*

this last sound that we 'select' those musical tones which go to form the distinct 'qualities' of speech-sounds. When ('h) simply is written, it indicates some obscure voice sound which we are unable distinctly to characterise.

In the above notations (h), as usual, is 'diacritic,' and is in fact only used as a 'support' for the other signs, so that when other letters are present (h) is omitted if its absence will occasion no ambiguity. It will be doubled to express prolongation. Most alphabetic letters inherently imply flatus ('h), or voice ('h), some imply clicking (†h), but none imply inspiration (‡h), implosion ('h), or whisper ('h). Thus (f) implies flatus or ('h), and (v) implies voice or ('h). Add voice to flatus or flatus to voice and the result is whisper; thus (f) = ('v) is whispered (f) or (v). In speaking in a so-called whisper, (f) remains with flatus, and (v) becomes ('v). Similarly ('i, 'a, 'u) are whispered vowels.

Add flatus sign to whisper sign, and the result is made to symbolise flatus only. Thus ('f) = ('v) = (f) simply. And ('i, 'a, 'u) are simple flatus through the vowel positions. The distinctions ("i, i, i), flatus, whisper, voice, in connection with the (i)-position are important. I do not symbolise position only, except in the mutes (p, t, k), as I find it more distinct to write the word "position" at length, after the symbol of the sound uttered in that position, thus: the (f)-position.

At the end of a group of letters (' and ') are written for ('h) and ('h), thus (ii', ee', oo', uu'), which stand for (ii'h, ee'h, oo'h, uu'h), are the diphthongs (iɪ, eɪ, oɪ, uɪ), already considered (1099, a'), when deprived of the permission to superadd a trilled (r), so that (iɪ) = either (iɪ') or (iɪ'r). Again (æɪ', æɪ') are the same as (æɪ'h, æɪ'h), and figure the 'recoil.' When this recoil is a pure click, it should always be written as (æɪ†, æk†), for it is quite exceptional, although we sometimes hear the click first, and then flatus, especially after (k), as (æk†h). The click sign added to the organ determines the click. Thus (g) = (t†) or (t†), (ç) = (t†), (ʒ) = (tj†) or (kj†), (ɣ) = (tj†) or (kj†), (8) = (x†), see p. 11.

For the mutes (p, t, k), and sonants (b, d, g), ('p) = ('b) = whisper, instead of voice, forced into the (p)-position. And ('p) = imploded (p), which is readily

14. (wh)—*continued.*

confused with ('b) on the one hand and (p) on the other (1113, a').

The term 'mute' is used for (p, t, k), as they have actually no sound of their own, but only modify other sounds by position, giving rise to glides.

Vowels.

These are 'voice' modified by resonance chamber. Each has its own definite 'pitch,' and when sung at other pitches is modified by the action of that pitch, in a manner only recently understood, by the researches of Helmholtz, Donders and Koenig, and not yet by any means fully observed or explained. Every variety of pitch and force really alters the character of any particular vowel, which is hence only to be recognized as a 'genus' having several 'species.' In all cases a vowel is a 'quality' of tone, the appreciation of which differs greatly individually and nationally. Further details are given in my paper on Accent and Emphasis (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, pp. 113-164). I here, for brevity, take the vowels for granted.

Glottids.

The modes of beginning, ending, and conjoining vowels, being principally due to actions of the glottis, will be termed 'glottids.' They comprise many effects not yet classed, and others known indefinitely as 'breathings, spiritus asper et lenis, aspiration,' etc.

(i) *gradual glottid*, (1112, δ), so that (iaɪ) = ("a-a-a-a-a), flatus gradually falling into whisper, then this into voice, which returns back to whisper and flatus. With mutes, as (pja), it shews that when the (p)-position is assumed and released, the glottis is open, as for ('h), see (1097, a'). Much of what is called post-aspiration is really due to the gradual glottid. I think that what Mr. Sweet (Philol. Trans. 1873, p. 106) calls "the aspiration of the voiceless stops" in Danish, and writes (khat, thɛl, phekə, phipə), would be more truly represented by (kɪat) or by (kɪhat), where (ɪh) is the *flatus* glottid, or the gradual glottid with greater prominence given to the flatus preceding or following the vowel, so that (ɪha) is rather ("aa-a-a) than ("a-a-a).

(.) *Clear glottid*, (1112, δ), the vocal chords are in the position for voice,

14. (wh)—*continued*.

which begins without any introductory flatus. This is the position for English mutes, thus (p,a) as distinct from (pja) or (ppha).

(i) *Check* glottid, (1112, b); there is an air-tight closure, which is forced asunder, and there may easily arise a puff of flatus before the chords vibrate properly, as (;h) abridged to (;h). Brücke attributes this position to the English mutes, thus (p;a), but I think he is in error, as the use of (;) is not an English trick.

(h) *Wheezing* glottid. Here there is an escape of flatus, but it does not pass the open glottis, nor between the vocal chords, which are apparently tightly closed, but through the cartilaginous glottis beyond it. Czermak (Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, math. naturw. cl. vol. 29, No. 12, for 29 April, 1858, Wien, pp. 576-580) gives the result of actual observations with the laryngoscope on an Arab, corresponding with this description. Prof. F. W. Newman says (on p. 8 of Handbook of Modern Arabic, London, 1866, pp. 190): "Strong h is often heard from Irishmen. It is wheezing and guttural, with something of a w in it at the beginning of a word. The force of air in the throat is considerable, and is strangely prolonged when it ends a word, as (meliih, raah) 'good, he went.'"

(gh) *Trilled wheeze*. This differs from (h) solely in the production of interruptions or trills, by interposing some rattling mucous.

(g) *Bleat* or *ain*. The Arabic ع is the same as (gh) with the accompaniment of the voice, so that (gh) = ("g). If this is taken very gently, the result seems to be (r) = (,g), the Low Saxon glottal trill or quack, which can also be pronounced during a vowel.

Any of these glottids can be uttered with various degrees of force, thus noted.

Medium force requires no note.

(l) *evanescent*, is scarcely perceptible.

(n) *weak*, is decidedly below the medium.

(.) *strong*, is decidedly above the medium.

(,) *abrupt*, properly strong and clear, is almost explosive.

These force-signs denote continued pressure, as in the motion of an ordinary bellows. If, when blowing, the end of the nozzle is stopped, the air becomes

14. (wh)—*continued*.

condensed, and, on removing or detaching the stop, issues with explosion, of which (;) may be considered the general sign, (p, t, k) being much more moderate explodents. No such signs however are sufficient for all purposes. For anything like a discriminating view of force I recommend a series of numbers written in a line below, and forming a scale, 5 being medial force, 1 just audible, and 9 greatest. By this means sudden changes of force during a syllable can be distinctly registered. For most purposes, however, the much less distinct musical signs *pp*, *p*, *mf*, *f*, *ff*, with *crescendo* and *diminuendo*, *staccato* and other signs, might be written in the line below.

(H) *Jerk*. This, like explosion, can be imitated with the bellows by sudden increase of pressure, followed by a decrease. It is not at all necessary that the increase of pressure should be great; it is only necessary that it should be *sudden* and not *continued*. This is *my* meaning of (H), and it is evidently not Mr. M. Bell's 5f, (1127, b). When this jerk is accompanied by flatus, we have (H'h), which may be more conveniently abridged to (Hh) than to (H') as heretofore, because (H'a) ought to mean the whispered vowel ('a) commenced with a jerk (H), but (Hha) will mean a jerked flatus (H'h) gliding on to a vowel (a). Observe however that (Ha) simply, without any interposed flatus, is not only possible, but, I think (I do not feel sure), the more common English and, as will appear hereafter, modern *Indian* sound. (H) may also be combined with (jh), as (Hjha), which would shew distinct flatus jerked out before the vowel. I would distinguish between (Hha) = (H'ha) and (Hjha) by using the latter only when the flatus is sharp and distinct. The former merely shews jerked flatus without distinguishing its prominence.

Glides, Slurs, Breaks.

> - < *Glide*. When voice is continued through change of position, we have a *voice glide*. When flatus changes to voice, possibly through whisper, or conversely, we have a *mixed glide*. When flatus continues, we have a *flatus glide*. By placing the symbols of the two extreme sounds in juxtaposition, the glide is always im-

14. (wh)—*continued.*

plied. But it is sometimes convenient to mark it by $>$ when the position changes to one closer, and by $<$ when it changes to one opener (1111, δ'), but by $(-)$ when the positions are equally open or close, as in *maze* = ($m < ee > z-s$), or (*meets*). The contracted form requires the introduction of such a sign as

) *Break*, for which, up to p. 998, I have generally used the clear glottid (,) see (1128, *a*, *cd*). Any glottid will form a break, as (аа, аһа, а;а, а,а а|а), but (а|а) simply breaks without indicating the precise mode in which the disconnection is effected.

— *Slur*. We may also produce the semblance of a break by diminishing force, without taking off the action of the voice at all. We might write (a, i) to shew this effect, or interpose ~, a slur, which differs from > and from (,) by implying a very brief diminution of force, and is therefore opposed to (H) the jerk. In music (H) corresponds to *staccato*, and ~ to *legato*. Two vowels connected by a > or < glide form a diphthong, the glide being held *longer* than one of the extreme vowels, and the force increasing or diminishing *throughout*. This is shewn by an acute accent placed over the vowel which has greatest force, as (ái, íu, íá) or (á> i, í-u, í-ú). See (419, c). Two vowels slurred form an Italian diphthong, and the force is nearly even, as (i~o, mi~æ~i), but they reckon as one syllable. In this case we may unite them and omit the acute, thus (io, mieí). Employing the mode of representing force by a scale of numbers, we might write (á> i, í-u,

i - ú, i - o, mi - E - i), but this notation
2 3 4 5 5 1 2 4 5 5 4 2 4 5 4 2 4 5

is incomplete without proper indications of length and pitch, which may be effected by a second line of figures, from 1 to 9, placed above, 5 indicating medium length, accompanied either by such marks as (' ') or ('.'), as given on p. 12, shewing continued, rising or falling pitch, or by notes of the musical scale, indicating the commencing pitch of each vowel-

sound, as $\begin{matrix} 1 & 2 & 3 \\ (a > i) \\ 5 & 4 & 2 \end{matrix}$, which shews: by

the middle line, that the vowel (a) glides on to (i) from an opener to a

14. (wh)—*continued.*

closer position, and has the stress; by the under line, that the force with which (a) is pronounced is to that with which (i) is pronounced as 5 to 2, but that the force of the voice gradually diminishes from the 5 to 2 through the glide, in which only the forces 4 and 3 are noted; by the upper line, that the lengths of the (a) glide and (i) are respectively 1, 2, 3, and that the voice continuously descends in pitch, by an unstated amount.

In violin music *slurred* notes are played to the same stroke of the bow; *glissées* notes have the finger *slid* down from one position to the other; *detached* notes have each a distinct bowing; *staccato* notes have the bow suddenly touched and raised. These will serve to distinguish (\smile) π) respectively.

We are now in a position to represent and appreciate the different theories of aspiration.

In Sanscrit there are five letters in a series, as (p, ph, b, bh, m), as I have hitherto written them. The Prātiçākhyas speak of these as first, second, third, fourth, and fifth or last. Now the Ath. Veda Pr. (Whitney's edition, p. 16) says: "The second and fourth of each series are aspirates," on which Prof. Whitney observes, "The term *ûshman*, literally 'heat, hot vapour, steam,' is in the grammatical language applied to designate all those sounds which are produced by a rush of unintonated breath [flatus] through an open position of the mouth organs, or whose utterance has a certain similarity to the escape of steam through a pipe; they are the sibilants and aspirations or breathings. In the term *soshman*, 'aspirated mute,' and its correlative *anûshman*, 'unaspirated mute,' *ûshman* is to be understood not in this specific sense, but in that of 'rush of air, expulsion of unintonated breath.'" This, however, is merely his own conjecture. There seems nothing in the explanation given of *ûshman* to require *flatus* rather than *voice*. It is the *explosive rush* alone which comes into consideration. The native commentator on the passage quotes the words *sasthândîr ûshmabhîç* referring to the "aspirates," which Prof. Whitney says, would be most naturally translated 'with their corresponding *ûshmans* or spirants,' "but," says he, "this is hardly to be tolerated, since it would give us

14. (wh)—*continued*.

ts and *ds* instead of *th* and *dh* as the dental aspirates." The commentator, however (*ibid.*), cites another authority, who says: "Another has said the fourths are formed with *h*," [considered afterwards], "some knowing ones have said that there are five 'first' mutes" [viz. (k, kj, t, t, p)]. "Of these, by the successive accretion of secondary qualities, *guṇa*, there takes place a conversion into others. They are known as 'seconds,' when combined with the qualities of *jihvāmūliya*" [identified with (kh), *ibid.* p. 22], "ç, *sh*, *s* and *upadhmaniya*" [identified with (ph), *ibid.* pp. 26 and 30]. "The same, uttered with intonation, are known as 'thirds,' and these, with the second spirant, are known as 'fourths.'" This 'second spirant' seems to mean Sanscrit *h*, as we shall see hereafter. The 'seconds' are not, I think, intended to be fully (k-kh, kj-jh, t-sh, t-s, p-ph), although these are sounds into which they might develop. At any rate we have (t-s, p-ph) in high German *z, pf*, and English *picture* gives almost precisely (t-sh). But I take them to be merely (k|h, kj|h, t|h, t|h, p|h), arising from commencing these letters with the open glottis, as (k|), etc., and making the resulting flatus audible. If the mute-position were only slightly relaxed, (k-kh), etc., would result. But if it opened fairly on to the vowel, we should have the mixed glide (k|h < a), etc. This would be tantamount to the Danish consonants, and might, if jerked, be written (k|h)a, etc. The reference to the spirants would then merely indicate the nature of the effect, not the exact effect, which is certainly totally different from the classical examples *inkhorn*, *haphazard*, *nuthook*, for these when written fully are (i' > q-k) - *nhāāā* > n, *nhæp|hnhæ* > z < i-d', n < æ > t|hnbu > k', where there is no (k < nhāā, p < nhæz, t < nhuk), the mutes and jerk being totally unconnected. The trouble arises with the sonants *gh*, *jh*, etc., for which there could not possibly issue a flatus without interrupting the voice, and saying (g'h-n|h < a) or ('hgn|h)a, neither of which appear probable.

The initial (h'h, nh, |h), or (h|h) seems to be what is commonly understood by the *spiritus asper*, while simple (l) is possibly the *spiritus lenis*. Prof.

14. (wh)—*continued*.

Whitney says (*ibid.* p. 66): "The pure aspiration *h* is a corresponding surd to all the sonant vowels, semivowels and nasals of the alphabet; that is to say, it is produced by an expulsion of breath through the mouth organs in any of the positions in which those letters are uttered; it has no distinctive position of its own, but is determined in its mode of pronunciation by the letter with which it is most nearly connected." This makes *his* aspiration (which must not be confounded with Sanscrit *h*, or with any other person's *h* for the moment) to be my (|h), whether before or after a vowel, and does not involve the jerk (h) at all. The Tāitt. Pr. says of the *visarjaniya*, "some regard it as having the same position with the preceding vowel." "This latter," observes Prof. Whitney thereupon (*ibid.* p. 21), "is the most significant hint which any of the Prācākyas afford us respecting the phonetic value of the rather problematical *visarjaniya*, indicating it as a mere uncharacterised breathing, a final *h*." It is, however, strictly characterised by being a distinct flatus *through* the position of the preceding voiced letter. From the usual Sanscrit *sanhitā* action this flatus is affected by the succeeding consonant, producing many curious effects, to be considered presently.

The Japanese arrange their syllabary in groups of five according to their five vowels, which sounded to me, from the mouth of a native, as (a, i, u, e, o). These consonants seem to affect aspirates and post-aspirates very differently. Thus I seemed to hear the whole syllabary thus, as it was most patiently explained to me by a Japanese gentleman, but great allowances must be made for a single hearing on my part:

1. (a	i	u	e	o
2. k a	k i	k u	ke	ko
3. sa	s i	se	se	so
4. t a	t i	te	t e	to
5. na	n i	nu	ne	no
6. r ha	r h i	r hu	r he	r ho
7. ma	m i	mu	me	mo
8. ja	j i	ju	je	jo
9. r a	r i	r u	r e	r o
10. wa	i	u	e	o
11. ga	g i	gu	ge	go
12. za	z i	zu	ze	zo
13. da	d i	du	de	do
14. ba	b i	bu	be	bo
15. p a	p i	p u	pe	po

14. (wh)—*continued*.

The symbol (ʳ) in line 9 means very short (l), on the principle of (1116, *ba*) followed by trilled (r). My teacher seemed unable to pronounce (r) with an entirely free tongue. He involuntarily struck the palate first, and although he seemed to remove the tongue immediately, he produced so much of an (l) effect, that the real (r), also very briefly trilled, became obscured. This pause before trilling resembled the catch in harmonium reeds by which they refuse to speak when very suddenly called on, unless there is a percussive action. The sound (ʳ) is very remarkable for its numerous Oriental relations. The symbols (sə, tsə) in lines 3 and 4 are given with great hesitation, the (s) seemed to be prolonged and the vowel very short and indistinct, with a kind of hiss running through it; when the speaker prolonged the syllable, his lips came together, and he made a complete (*suu*) to finish with. Perhaps (*sseu*) might represent the sound, but I was unable at one sitting to understand it, notwithstanding the great patience of my instructor. But this is not the chief point of interest, for it only shews the action of the hiss (s) on a following (u). Of course all my coronal or gingival (t, d) may be erroneous. I was not on the look out for dental (t, d), and I can only say that if the letters were dental, the dentality was not strongly marked. The change of the aspirate in (ɦha kɦi phu ɦhe ɦho) is sufficiently remarkable. I will not guarantee (ɦha ɦhe ɦho) as against (ɦa ɦe ɦo), but there was no greater change. In (kɦi, phu) a consonant had taken the place of the simple aspirate, and in each case it was not the next related consonant, not (ɦhi whee), but one step further advanced. The (phu) was very distinctly ascertained *not* to be (*fu*), as it is quietly written by Lepsius. My Japanese teacher had had so much difficulty in learning to say our (f) that he utterly disclaimed it. Now, why this change here only? On uttering the English words *he, who*, I experience no tendency to fall even into (ɦhi, whu). I do not seem to say (ɦ“ii-ii, ɦ“uu-u) or (ɦɦii, ɦɦun), and certainly not with such force as to approach (ɦhi, whuu). If I try for (ɦhi, ɦhu), there seems to come a gentle puff of flatus before the vowel, which has no tendency to become a hiss. And I have not remarked this

14. (wh)—*continued*.

hissing tendency even in German *hier, husten*. So far as I am concerned, so far as I seem to hear others speak (I speak with great diffidence, knowing the great liability to err owing to my ‘personal equation’), I do not hear in the English aspirate a strong flatus, or any flatus *through* the vowel position, before the vowel. I am acutely sensitive to any ‘dropping of an h.’ But I do not hear (ɦ“ii-ii, ɦ“uu-uu) for *he, who*. I believe I say purely (ɦii, ɦuu), at any rate I find even an intentional (ɦɦii, ɦɦuu) to be somewhat of an effort, and (ɦɦii, ɦɦuu) to be a great effort. Still I know that at least (ɦh) exists, and very possibly (ɦɦ), and I shall therefore generally assume that writers on sound mean (ɦh). But Mr. M. Bell’s 9a, which I have hitherto transliterated by (ɦr’),—meaning (ɦ’h), and henceforth written (ɦh),—is certainly sometimes simple (‘h) or (ɦ). Thus (Visible Speech, p. 50) he writes “silent respiration” by $9a + 9m + 10f + 9a + 9m + 10b$, which must be, I think, (‘h_i ‘hh) = gentle, flatus, drawn inwards, gentle, flatus prolonged (outwards). The ‘outwards’ is not written either by him or by me, the prolongation is shewn by doubling the h, and the sign gentleness is placed in a different order in my notation. “Painful respiration” is written $9a + 10b + 10f + 9c + 5f + 9b + 10b$, or (‘hh; ɦɦ), that is flatus, prolonged, inwards, catch, (outwards), wheeze prolonged, but perhaps the 9b should be (‘h) and not (ɦ), or simply (‘h), see (1126, a). Thus his “naso-guttural respiration,” or $9b + 9d + 10b + 10f + 9b + 9d + 10b$, seems to be (‘hh; ɦhh) strong flatus, prolonged, nasal, inwards, strong flatus, prolonged, nasal, (outwards).

To return to the Japanese, it would seem that the positions of (e, o, a) do not squeeze the uttered flatus sufficiently to produce a sensible frication or hiss, but the (i, u) positions do so. Hence (ɦhi, ɦɦu) are ready to develope into (ɦɦi, whu) or (kɦi, phu). Now in combining Sanscrit words in *sanɦitá*, we have necessarily as strong an action of any consonant position on a preceding flatus as in the Japanese vowels (i, u); that is, each consonant converts the flatus into its own continuant or spirant. Hence the final *visarjantiya*, which was probably merely (ɦh), or a final flatus through the vowel position,

14. (wh)—*continued*.

developed before (k, kj, t, p) respectively, the continuants (kh, jh, sh, s, ph), see Whitney (*ibid.* p. 96). The first and last of these, (kh) or *jihvāmūṭiya*, and (ph) or *upadhmanīya*, are never heard in Sanscrit except when thus 'generated,' and hence, although recognized under these names by the native grammarians, are not accommodated with separate signs. They are by no means peculiar in this respect, either in Sanscrit or other systems of writing. This seems conclusive as regards the value of \mathfrak{H} , for which (jh) answers in every respect, as a palatal hiss, as degenerating into (sh) (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 23), and as corresponding to (k, s, kh, sh) in cognate languages. See (1120, b) to (1121, cb). The flatus of the final *visarjaniya*, therefore, corresponds closely with flatus after mutes.

Now as to Sanscrit \mathfrak{H} , usually written *h*. The following are the native descriptions (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 21). "Of the throat sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ. That is to say, as the commentator goes on to explain, the upper part of the throat, as place of production, is approached by the lower part of the throat, as instrument of production. As the sounds constituting the class, he mentions *a*, in its short, long, and protracted values, *h*, and the *visarjaniya*." The Rik Pr. classes *h* and the *visarjaniya* as chest-sounds; the Tāitt. Pr. reckons only these two as throat-sounds, and adds, "some regard *h* as having the same position with the following vowel, and *visarjaniya* with the preceding vowel." From the latter we previously deduced the value of *visarjaniya* as simply (ḥ). But *h* is not flatus; it is voice, being classed by the native commentator (*ib.* p. 18) with the vowels, sonant mutes, and semivowels. This Prof. Whitney, taking *h* to be (ḥ) in Sanscrit as well as in his own English (1132, a'), calls a "striking anomaly." It is certainly impossible that *h* should mean (ḥ) and be a voiced sound. Prof. Whitney says that in the fullest account (that in the Tāitt. Pr.) we read "that, while sound [voice] is produced in a closed throat, and simple breath [flatus] in an open one, the *h*-tone is uttered in an intermediate condition; and that this *h*-tone is the emitted material in the consonant *h*, and in 'fourth' mutes or

14. (wh)—*continued*.

sonant aspirates." And then Prof. W. adds: "I confess myself unable to derive any distinct idea from this description, knowing no intermediate utterance between breath and sound, excepting the stridulous tone of the loud whisper, which I cannot bring into any connection with an *h*. The Rik Pr. declares both breath and sound [flatus and voice] to be present in the sonant aspirates and in *h*, which could not possibly be true of the latter, unless it were composed, like the former, of two separate parts, a sonant and a surd; and this is impossible." Now it is evident that the writers are attempting to describe something which they can only vaguely hint at, for the whole glottal action was evidently unknown to them, that is, they had only vague subjective feeling in place of actual observation to deal with, and they were obliged to invent their language as they proceeded. The wonder is, not that they should be indistinct, but that they should have been generally so much more distinct than the host of European grammarians and orthoepists who succeeded them. Now the last indication, which is so impossible to Prof. Whitney, corresponds closely enough to the sensations produced by a *buzz*, in which there is much obstruction, so that the tone is broken, and the effect is felt as that of a mixture of breath and voice (1101, c'). The sound of a whisper (ʰh), which really partakes of both characters (1128, c'), would be too weak. The buzz results from much interruption to the tone, producing many strong beats, as heard in bass chords on an harmonium, and the 'natural' voice (1128, d'). It appears to me then that the whole description of the Tāitt. Pr. can be read thus: "*h* is a glottal buzz." There is, however, only one such sound, the bleat (g), see (1130, c). This is fully glottal, and can be uttered in the same position as the following vowel. In fact it is often uttered simultaneously with the vowel, which we may indicate by writing the vowel with a small g below, thus (ga). Then by (ga) we properly mean (ga + a), which is the exact counterpart of (pha) = ("aa + a). It may also in this case be nasalised, explaining the rule, "After *h* is inserted a *nāsikya* before a nasal mute" (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 66), so that *brahma* would be perhaps

14. (wh)—*continued*.

(bra₂a₁ma). Any one who has listened to numerous sheep bleating and noted their various tones (as I have done to-day, 21 July, 1873, in Kensington Gardens), will have observed how extremely *nasal* they are, as are also the snarling beats of the canine *r*, which we have all learned "*sonat de nare*." It may also be uttered with a jerk, so that (gṛga) is quite conceivable. The forms (kṛṇha, gṛga) are then exactly correlative. I give the above as theoretical restitutions of the Sanscrit 'seconds and fourths' founded upon an interpretation of ancient native explanations, as translated by Prof. Whitney. But it does not follow that they are correct. I may have misunderstood the translator, the translator may have misunderstood the native author, and, very probably, the native author himself may not have been himself clearly conscious of his own feelings, may have failed to express himself properly, and may have been hampered with conventional terms. It becomes important, therefore, to examine the existing native use of these 'seconds' and 'fourths,' and the aspirate, all of which are living and significant in modern Hindustani.

If the observations of Brücke upon a moonshee, as detailed by Rumpelt (on pp. 138-140 of *Das natürliche System der Sprachlaute*, Halle, 1869, 8vo. pp. 227), are correct, the first (kṛṇha) remains, and the second (gṛga) is changed. He says: "The mutes explode with open glottis (bei nicht tönender Stimritze); when *not* aspirated, the glottis is immediately contracted for voice, so that the vowel may sound directly after the closure is relaxed; when aspirated, the contraction of the glottis is delayed, the flatus is allowed to escape for an instant through the open glottis, and *h* results, gliding on to the following vowel as the glottis again contracts for voice." This corresponds really to (ka, kṛha). The Indian himself said, according to Arendt (Rumpelt, *ib.* p. 139), that the German *p*, *t*, *k*, were neither aspirated nor not-aspirated, but nearer to the former than the latter. That is, probably, he heard (pṛ, tṛ, kṛ). The 'fourths' were never pronounced (gṛṇha), as is customary with German Sanscritists, but "generally the glottis was opened *before* the relaxation of the closure of the mouth,

14. (wh)—*continued*.

so that the sonant, begun with voice, exploded as voiceless, which might be written *gkha*" = (g-kṛha) or nearly (gkṛha). "When this was not the case, the *h* was fully separated from the mute, as in syllabic division, e.g. *pig-hūna*, *ad-ha*, *ab-hi*, and even finally as *bag-h*." These cases are both easy, as (ad,ṛṇha, bag)ṛṇ'h). But Rumpelt adds: "Be this as it may, I doubt whether the pronunciation of this Indian scholar gives the universal rule, but think it may result from a deterioration which is not universal in the east," and he prefers (gṛṇha), which is of course possible, but totally opposed to the native commentators just cited, who make the aspiration sonant.

The above identification of the ancient Sanscrit *h* with the Semitic (g) is quite new. Prof. Whitney (*op. cit.* p. 18) suggests the Arabic (grh), but this is formed with the uvula, tongue and palate, and the Sanscrit *h* must be glottal. The same objection applies to (gh), which Bopp adopted, and to which I leaned before reading the native explanations just cited. That (g) should be confused with (grh) is natural. Even in Denmark the (ṛ) is imitated by (r), and (ṛ, r) = (,g, „grh). In the Septuagint we constantly find γ for ψ, and γ was then probably (gh) as now. Sometimes the Greeks omit it, and it is generally supposed that the letter ψ represented both sounds (g, grh), but this is not at all phonetically necessary. Consequently that an historical च *gh* = (gg), which is the etymological descent of Sanscrit *h* in almost all cases (Whitney, *ib.* p. 18), should degenerate into (g) by the omission of the (g), is what this hypothesis would lead us to anticipate. Sanscrit *h* corresponds with Latin *h*, *g*, *c*, Greek χ, γ, κ, Lithuanian *š*, *sz*, *g* = (zh, sh, g), Gothic *h*, *g*, old high German *k*, and Persian (ḥ, s, krh), which are also explicable by (g) through the (grh) relation. Although this (g) value of Sn. *h* is thus seen to answer every required condition, yet the extreme difficulty which English people feel in appreciating (g) leads me to recommend them the use of the easy (ṇ) in its place, where no flatus at all is uttered, thus distinguishing ख च as (kṛha, gṛa), surd and sonant.

Since writing the above I had the

14. (wh)—*continued*.

opportunity, already mentioned (1102, b), of examining the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mookerjee. So far as I could observe, his *h* ह was a pure jerk (h), not very strong and unaccompanied by any hiss. The "first" क (k) was thoroughly English (k,a), without any tendency to (kʃa) that I could detect. In the "second" ख I heard generally (kʃa), sometimes (kʰa), but scarcely ever (kʰʃa), unless perhaps he was particularly anxious to make me hear the sound. The "third" ग was indistinguishable from English (ga), there was none of the German inflatus ('ga), or implosion ('ka). The "fourth" घ seemed simply (gha), that is in pronouncing (ga) the vowel was brought out with a little more force. Most Englishmen would have considered his (kʃa, gha) as mere foreign 'corruptions' of (ka, ga). There was nothing in them that they had not heard from foreigners, and from Irishmen constantly. The sound was not (gga), but of course (gha) might very easily become a refinement of such a sound. The point however which struck me was, that the old Indian ह, which the native commentators classed with the sonants, was still a sonant, to the extent of not being a surd, with not even a buzz or trill about it, but merely a method of jerking out the following vowel. My instructor volunteered that when he said घ he only pronounced the following vowel "a little more strongly," and he mentioned, in order to repudiate it, the late Prof. Goldstücker's pronunciation (g'hha), of his own accord, that is, without anything said by me to lead up to his observation. It appears then that the recommendation I have given to call ख घ (kʰa gha) accords so closely with one native gentleman's pronunciation that when I thus pronounced to him he acknowledged the sounds. I did not take the case of a final *h*, as in (bragma), and hence this information was incomplete.

It was in order to complete the information I had received from Mr. Mookerjee, and to contrast it with the usages of others, that I obtained the assistance of Mr. Gupta (1096, a), who was pointed out to me by Prof. Childers, of the India Office Library, as the person from whom I could obtain the

14. (wh)—*continued*.

most trustworthy native assistance in London, and I am greatly indebted to Mr. Gupta for the patience and care with which he sought to meet my wishes. Of course it would be advisable to hear very much more than it was possible to condense into an hour's observation, and also to hear different readers of equal information read the same words. But as phonetic observations upon cultivated native Sanscrit pronunciation at the present day, made by persons who have studied the theory of speech-sounds, are certainly rare, I think it will be advisable in this place to reproduce the notes I made at the moment, as a basis for future observations. I have already had to refer three times to the information then obtained (1096, a. 1103, c. 1120, c), but it will be convenient to repeat the notes in their proper place. The method adopted was to present certain combinations in Sanscrit characters, prepared beforehand, and, by hearing them repeatedly pronounced, to note the sounds in palaeotype, making a few hasty observations, which were expanded immediately after Mr. Gupta's departure, while my recollection of the conversation that had passed was quite fresh. I shall now print the Sanscrit and palaeotype, with nearly a verbatim reproduction of those notes, which I regard as documents, and hence bracket all subsequent additions.

Modern Indian Pronunciation of Sanscrit.

अ (a) आ (aa) इ (i) ई (ii) उ (u)

ऊ (uu). Observe the pairs (a aa, i ii, u uu). [The short vowels were distinctly of a different quality from the long. The two first were *not* (ə, ʌ), as usually laid down. The Scotch (a) and English (i, u) were very marked.]

ऋ occasionally ('ri) when pronounced separately, but otherwise (ri), *not* (uri). [Also not (ori). Dentity not noticed.]

ॠ ('rii, rii) under the same circumstances.

ऌ (lri) when pronounced separately, but कृप् was (klɪp) [exactly like the English word *clip*], *not* (klɪp). [In this (lri) the (l) seemed to me more evident and the (r) less evident than in the Japanese (lʳ), so that the result might

14. (wh)—*continued*.

be rather written (lr). But as the sound never occurs except as the name of a letter, very little weight is attachable to this observation.]

लृ (lrī) so called, but it does not occur separately.

ए (ee) or even (εε), distinctly very open [and this was still clearer in combination].

ऐ (ái), occasionally (ái), and when pronounced separately, fully (ái) [with the Italian looseness and slur].

ओ (oo) quite open, nearly (aa) in connected words [no approach to (oo, oo'w)].

औ (áu) or (du, á-u) as for (ái). [In neither (ái) nor (áu) was there a further prolongation of the first element than is natural to a slurred combination, in comparison to the English type (ái).]

का (k,aa) quite English [that is, with closed glottis; not as in Germany].

खा (k,aa), it seemed to be merely the open glottis (k), but occasionally (kḥ) might be heard. [It was distinctly *not* (kḥaa) or (kḥḥaa), and totally different from *kh* in the celebrated *inkhorn*.]

गू (guu) English [no German inflatus (1113, b)].

घू (ghuu), with stronger vowel, distinctly *not* (g'huu, g'nhuu), which was derided. [The sound may be heard from many an Irishman saying *goose*. The vowel seemed to be *jerked* out quietly with the (h) which is natural to me. The form (g.uu) would seem to imply a greater continuity of pressure, and (g,uu) too much abruptness. Neither does (g'uu) with the sign of closeness (1127, b) appear correct. The result was identical with Mr. Mookerjee's. It appears, then, that the conjecture respecting the pronunciation of भ घ ङ as (bh dh gh),—where I ought of course to have written (dh),—which first led me theoretically to the assumption of a pure *jerk* (h) as the basis of post-aspiration (1125, b'), is entirely confirmed by the actually observed practice of two native Bengalese gentlemen.]

डि. Not used initially, this ड is merely (q), and is used final for

14. (wh)—*continued*.

necessary (anusvāra). [Mr. Gupta did not seem able to say (q), and hence the combination was not pronounced.]

चो (kjoo), Bell's 2e (15, b), distinctly an expodent, no hiss at all, not (tj). [See (1120, e).]

को but in this letter a hiss occurred (kjḥoo), and hence the resemblance to English (t,sh) was very close, in fact (t,sh) was near enough. [The close squeezing of (kj) when opened on an open glottis, as (kjḥ), necessarily engenders (jh), and the resulting (kjḥ) comes so close in effect to English (t,sh), that the two sounds are readily confused, and I have no doubt that I confused them at the time, as (kj) was not a familiar sound to me.]

जा (gjaa) decidedly an expodent, and *not* (d,zh), nor (zh) simply.

भा (g'ḥaa) for (gjḥaa); the intention was always (gjḥaa), but (g'ḥaa) was occasionally said; some speakers, according to Mr. Gupta, make the sound closer than others. [This was his expression when I pointed out to him the insertion of ('), but observe that even then no (hḥ)—that is, no flatus—was introduced. The combination is rare, but (gjḥaa) is quite as easy as (ghaa), after a very little practice.]

जे (nj), very close as in closest French, but *not* (nr) at all, only used before (kj, gj). [I heard (nj), but this may have been an error of ear for (qj).]

टा (t,aa), simple English (t), no inversion of tongue at all, see (1096, b).

ता (t,aa), pure dental (t), tongue against teeth, French *t*; the only English dentals, according to Mr. Gupta, are (th, dh). [These (t, t) were pronounced with vowels, thus (taa, taa, tii, tii, tuu, tuu), in rapid alternation, till the distinction became as clear as between (sh, th).]

था (t,ḥaa) or (tḥaa), ठा (tḥaa) or (tḥaa). [These were written in a different order to the last pair, and rapidly alternated, to shew the distinction.]

धा (dḥaa), ढा (dḥaa).

ना (naa), before a dental त द (n) is heard, and the sound is perhaps always (n).

णा (naa), before a cerebral ट ड (n) is heard, before a vowel न ण are both (n), not distinguished (1096, c').

14. (wh)—*continued*.

पी (p,ii), quite English, फी (p̄ii, p̄hii).

बू (buu), भू (bhūu) distinct, no approach to (b'hhūu).

मी (mii), English.

ये (ree), English (x).

रे (ree) or (ree). After a dental *r* is dental, the tongue *not* being drawn back, as (t,r). Mr. Gupta could not recall a word where *r* stands after a cerebral. [Initially Mr. Gupta had always an apparent tendency to insert (ə) or ('h) before (r), thus (ə,rii); this arose perhaps from some voice escaping before the beat of the trill became evident. The Prāticā-khyas require a ('h) to be inserted distinctly between (r) and a following 'spirant' (jh, sh, s, ṣ), and more briefly between (r) and any other following consonant. I did not observe this, which is, however, common in European speech when there is a trill. I have frequently not noticed the dentality of (r), probably from not knowing it well.]

ले (lee), English [that is, I did not detect any special dentality, as (l)].

वे (vee), but often (lree) [that is, with very moderate dentality], and apparently very like (bh, b) occasionally, in Bengalee always (b). See (1103, c). After a consonant व is quite (w) or rather (u-) diphthongising with the following vowel, and I find य becomes a similar diphthongising (i-) under the same circumstances.

शी पी both (shii), no distinction whatever made between श ष, they are different letters having the same sound; occasionally श seems more retracted, but the distinction is now quite lost. See (1120, c').

सी (sii), English. In conversational Bengalee often (h), not (hh). [The last fact was ascertained by special questioning, as I anticipated hearing (hh), on account of the hiss, and the old & sex relations.]

हा (haa). When Mr. Gupta was emphatic, (h'h) crept out; but it was always a very mild sound, and the intention was evidently to emit no flatus. It was in no respect an (hh) which could have grown from a (kh). In

14. (wh)—*continued*.

conversation uneducated Bengalees leave it out altogether. [A remarkable fact in connection with our own frequent omission of *h*, and its powerlessness to save a vowel from elision in older English as well as Greek and Latin, and its disappearance in modern Greek and Romance.]

This pronunciation is after Benares and not Bengalee custom. [In addition to the above pronunciations of simple syllables, I tried a few actual words, which will illustrate the Sanscrit phonetic synthesis; but this is so peculiar and important, and was so totally unanticipated by me, that instead of a few examples at the end of an hour's instruction, a long study should be devoted to it. Some of the following observations, however, appear to be new.]

प्रातिशाख्य (praatishāaikjīā), the य occasioned an anticipation of (i) in the preceding syllable, and the ख्य became = (kjīā), that is, nearly = (-kṣha). [We have here an instance of the anticipation of a following vowel by absolutely inserting it audibly in the preceding syllable, just as a note of a following chord is often anticipated to form a dissonance in the preceding chord, whereas in the German *umlaut* the following vowel merely gradates the preceding in a peculiar manner. Next we see the change of (j) to (i) after a consonant, this vowel however diphthongising with the following. The action of (k) on this vowel necessarily produces ("i), which is scarcely separable from (jh). In fact a written (aakṣa) becomes a spoken (āaikṣhiā), the hiss after the (k), which arises from commencing with an open glottis, being converted by the following (i), used for (j), into the true palatal (jh), by the same action which determined the native rule: "*visarjantya*, before a surd consonant, becomes of like position with the following sound" (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 96). As I was totally unprepared for this complicated action, I was much impressed by it, and ascertained the correctness of my analysis by several repetitions. On inquiring respecting the position of the *accent*, the answer was:] No accent beyond the quantity, no other accent known. Mr. Gupta knew that accents were written in the Vedas, but he knew nothing of the Vedas, or of the meaning of their

14. (wh)—*continued*.

accents. He read by quantity strictly [making a very marked distinction between short and long vowels. In speaking English Mr. Gupta seemed never to place the accent wrongly, as I have heard Indians not unfrequently do, who spoke English otherwise very well. He must have therefore fully understood my question. The next words are from Bopp's *Nalus*, lib. i. sloka 3, and the Latin translation added is Bopp's].

ब्रह्मण्यो *religiosus* (brā:muái,njioó), (bra:) followed by a silence, not (ɪ), not (ʌh), not (ɪ). [The (:) is a sudden check to the sound, a dead pull up; but it did not seem to be done with a jerk, although it imitated the jerk and replaced it. It was not (g), there was hence no such effect as (brā), already described (1135, *a*), indeed the ह *h*, although written as interlaced with the म *m*, instead of allowing the nasality of (m) to be anticipated on the vowel, completely separated the vowel from the (m). If any nasality was anticipated, I failed to notice it. But there were so many other curiosities in the word, that I might have readily overlooked so slight a difference as that between (*a a*). The silence after (:) produced the effect of lengthening the first syllable, although in itself this syllable was extremely short. I regret that I had marked no case like *upadhmāniya*, where a post-aspirated media comes before a sonant consonant. I can only conjecture by analogy that the effect of the post-aspirate would be merely to check or shorten the preceding consonant, introducing a pause, and that this word might consequently be called (upa:d:muái,njioó). It is well known that *dā* before a pause becomes (t). The latter part of the word is given on the analogy of what follows. The next sounds shew remarkable effects, and I had the word repeated many times to note them. The Sanscrit letters indicate only (ma,njoó), all else is generated. The labiality of (m) generated either an (u) or (o) sound upon the coming (*a*); (o) being as we know the labialisation of (*a*), it would be most natural, but as Indian organs are not accustomed to any short (o, o)-sound, but are used to short (u), it is probable that (u) was really uttered, although I received it as (u). It was very transient, but unmistakably

14. (wh)—*continued*.

touched. Then came (*a*) short with the force, and followed, as in the last case, by an (i) anticipated from the य (*y*) in the next syllable. Result so far, (mudi), which is probably more correct than (muái). Representing a short vowel, the whole triphthong was short and glided on to the (n), on which weight was laid. Now however ensued an action of the य (*y*), converted into (i) after a consonant as usual, and this displayed itself by converting (n) into (nj), as it sounded to me, but (qj) may have been the sound of course, as a palatal generated by the palatal. By this introduction sufficient time was gained for lengthening the syllable, and then the voice fell rapidly and briefly on the (i), and passed on to a long broad sustained (oo), producing the singular result (brā:muái,njioó), as it may perhaps be written.]

वेदविच् कूरो *Vēdorum-gnarus*, *heros*, (vee,davit kjuu,roo). I think (tkjɪ) was (tjkjɪ) meant for (kjkjɪ), after the Italian model. Mr. Gupta complained of the separation of the words, the च् कू for कू causing him to hesitate. There was no real doubling of (kj), but the first seemed to be a coronal (t), and not the dental (t), which would have been impossible as the substitute for a palatal. The lengthening of the syllable (vit) by the doubled consonant was very clear.] The quantities were brought out beautifully.

निषधेषु *in Nischadhis* (nishadhee-shu). [The long vowel quite distinctly marked, no glide of (sha) on to (dɪ), the (dhee) given very quietly, but quite distinct from (dee), and with no approach to (shad)hhee.]

महीपतिः *terrae-dominus* (mahiipa ti). Observe the visarga at the end distinct. [The effect of (ti) was clearly (ti:i) or nearly (ti:h), but very short and quick, just touched, and hence not so strong as would be implied by writing (ti:h). The medial (ɪ) was quite different from (ɪh). The first six words that follow are from the 5th sloka of *Nalus*.]

तथै 'वा' सोद्र विदर्भेषु *ita quoque fuit in Vidarbhis* (ta,tɪai vaa si:d

14. (wh)—continued.

vi.darbheeshu). [The dentality of (r) not observed.]

भीमो भीमपराक्रमः *Bhimus timenda-vi* (bhīmoo bhiimapaarakramaḥ). [The dentality of (r) not observed; the (a) distinct.]

धर्मवत् *officiorum-gnarus* (dharma-vi.t). [Sloka 7.]

सुमधमा *pulchro-medio corpore praedita* (suma dhīdmaa). [There being no hiss, there is no generation of (jh) in (dhīā). It is seen that the difficulty of (dhj) was got over by taking (j) as (i). From sloka 10.]

शतं सखीनञ्च *centum amicaeque* (shataḥ sakjii naanḥ kja). [Perhaps (qj) would have been more correct than (nj). Sloka 11. This concludes the observations on Mr. Gupta's pronunciation.]

Returning to English sounds I may notice the following information received from Prof. Haldeman: "About the year 1850, the lower classes of New York developed the form *b'hoy* from *boy*. It came to Philadelphia, and I heard it as far south as Washington, but there it acquired a vowel, say *bahoy*. This sound is rather an enforced than an 'aspirate' *b*, and is due to energetic speech, like German *pf* for *p*. In questions between Greek and Sanscrit, I believe that *p* is older than *p'h*, *pf*, and *f*, and *f* often newer than *p'h*; and *k*, *k'h*, *kh*, *χ*, have the same relations. It is a curious fact, that in India itself *p'hal*, fruit, has fallen into *fal* dialectically—if the sound is not really the labial *ph*." Query, was this lower-class New York sound (bh'o'i), and was it adopted from the Irish (bh'o'iz) who abound there?

The English language has the following pairs of mutes and sonants (p b, t d, k g), occasionally but not intentionally passing into (pjh bh, tjh dh, kjh gh). It has also the pairs of hisses and buzzes (f v, th dh, s z, sh zh) and, as I think, (wh w, jh j). But the murmurs (r, l, m, n, q) have at least no acknowledged hiss. Now in Dutch these are acknowledged, though not written, as (lh, rh) developed by a *sanhitā* action of a following voiceless letter (1114, *ḷ*), to which I draw particular attention, as it is the most

14. (wh)—continued.

marked European correlative of this combined Sanscrit action, to which we have very little corresponding in English. In all languages there are many synthetically generated sounds which are not marked in the alphabet. Thus I noticed a generated (z) in Mr. Magnússon's Icelandic (547, *ab*), and a generated (lh, mh, nh) after or before mutes (545, *d*. 546, *a*). In Sanscrit we have already noticed (1132, *a*) a generated (kh, ph) from Prof. Whitney, and other generated sounds from Mr. Gupta's pronunciation. The rules for the conversion of Sanscrit *m*, *n*, before surd mutes, into *visarjaniya* (Whitney, *ibid.* pp. 84, 85), seem to me to speak of this insertion of a generated (mh, nh) as (m-mh-p, n-nh-t) for (m|h, n|h) = (m-mh, n-nh). "It is sufficiently evident," says Prof. Whitney (*ibid.* p. 86), "that this insertion of a sibilant after a final *n*, before a surd mute, is no proper phonetical process: the combination of the nasal and following non-nasal is perfectly natural and easy, without the aid of a transition sound, nor can any physical explanation be given of the thrusting in between them of a sibilant which only enumerates the conjunction," and consequently he resorts to an historical development, which of course may have been the real process adopted. But it does not follow that the insertion may not be perfectly natural. The difficulty arises, not from the passage of a nasal into a non-nasal, but from voice to voicelessness. Now to us such a passage as (tiit) is easy enough, and most of us say simply (t < ii > t'). But it is easily imaginable that the glides must be mixed in some persons' mouths as (t < 'ii-'ii-'ii-'ii' > t < 'h) or (t|hiht'), where the change from voicelessness to voice takes place in the position of the voiced letter. In this case such a combination as (felt, læmp, tent, thiḥk) would be impossible, or at least disagreeable to his organs, which demand (fel-lh-t, læm-mh-p, ten-nh-t, thiḥq-ḥ-k), or, using the *visarjaniya* (|h), as would be natural in languages which had a sign for that, and not for (mh, nh), we should write (fel|ht, læm|h|p, ten|ht, thiḥ|h|k). Is such a state of things actual or only theoretical? I hear the four English words as (felt', læmp', tent', thiḥk'), Mr. Melville Bell gives them as (felht, læmph; tenht', thiḥk'),

14. (wh)—*continued*.

and says expressly (English Visible Speech for the Million, p. 15): "The abrupt *non-vocal* articulation of the 'liquids' *l, m, n, ng*, when before non-vocal consonants, is exhibited in the printing of such words as *felt, lamp, tent, think*, etc. In deliberate pronunciation, the voiceless *l, m*, etc., receive an initial *trace* of vocality from the preceding vowels;" that is, he admits (*fɛl-lht*), etc., "but if an attempt be made to *prolong* the 'liquid,' without altering its vernacular effect, the *characteristic voicelessness* of the latter will be demonstrated to the ear. The peculiarity of 'foreign' pronunciation of these English syllables arises simply from the undue *vocality* which is given to the *l, m*, etc." I do not know to what particular 'foreign' pronunciation he was alluding, but I do not recognize a *predominance* of (*lh*) as English. It is possible that (*fɛl-lh-t*), etc., may be said, but I have no more difficulty in saying (*fɛlt*) than in saying (*fælt*), that is, I can run the vocality on to the voiceless mute, and then cut it suddenly off, without any interposition of the hiss (*lh*). A distinct and much more a predominant pronunciation of (*lh*), etc., is something new to me. But in listening in 1870 to the English public speaking of Keshub Chunder Sen, a Bengalese gentleman, of considerable education, founder of the Brahmo Somaj or Indian theistic church, I was struck by the way in which he conveyed the vocality of his (*l, m, n*) into the following consonant, when it should have been quite voiceless, and then having given a faint indication of the voiced effect, passed on to voicelessness, *during* that consonant. This was more apparent when the following consonant was a hiss. His *since* was (*sɪn-lz-s*), his *felt* was (*fɛl-d-t*), the effect of which to an English ear was to create a confusion between *since* and *sins*, *felt* and *felled*. Now this was the more remarkable, because of our own habit of calling *sins* (*sɪnz*), see (547, *b*) and (1104, *c*), so that it would certainly be more English to call *since* (*sɪnnhs*) than (*sɪnz*). But the point to be noticed here is the *visarjantiya* or (*jh*) effect produced, the real change from voicelessness to voice and conversely, in the same position. We might write (*sɪnphs*, *sɪnzjh*) for (*sɪn-nh-s*, *sɪnz-s*). The introduction of whisper before or after

14. (wh)—*continued*.

voice is *not* confined to vowels, but may occur with any voiced consonants, and different ears will recognise the effect of the same pronunciations differently, according to the attention which education or habit has led them to give to the voiced or voiceless parts respectively. A German says (*szizee'en*) for *sie sehen*, and (*szii! szii!*) for *sieh! sieh!*, but he only knows and teaches that he says (*zizee'en*, *zii! zii!*). An Englishman says (*briidhzs*), but believes he says (*briidhz*), and if a voiced letter follows he does so. But he never says (*thdhee!*) as a German would, if he could. German is very deficient in correspondences of voiced and voiceless letters. Even if we admit initial and medial (*pjh b*, *tjh d*, *kjh g*), we find only final (*p*, *t*, *k*) or at most (*-bp*, *-dt*, *-gk*). Then to German (*f*) there is no (*v*), except in the north of Germany, and even there the (*v*) for (*bh*) arises so differently that there is no feeling of pairing, and hence (*fvii*) for (*bhii*) would be strange. And in those parts of Germany where (*bh*) is certainly pronounced, (*ph*) is only generated, and not even acknowledged, except by phonologists, in *pfau* = (*p-phau*), so that (*phbhii*) could not occur. The Germans have (*sh*) but no (*zh*), and (*tsh*) but no (*dzh*). They have (*kh*, *kjh*), but only medial and final, except in the syllable *-chen*, and some generated *ge*'s. Their (*gh*, *gjh*) are only medial. They know nothing of (*lh*, *rh*, *mh*, *nh*, *qh*), and hence there is no tendency to any *visarjantiya* consonant effect, except in initial (*sz-*). In English we have certainly, before a pause, (*-zs*, *-dhth*) frequently, and (*-vf*) occasionally, but as (*zh*) is never final, we have no (*zh*, *sh*). The consonantal diphthong in *judge*, however, often yields (*dzhadzhsh*), which Germans, at best, pronounce (*tshædtsh*), and a very curious effect they produce, making the (*æd*) extremely short. In the case of (*l, m, n, q*) we prolong them indefinitely as vocal, and so, I think, do Germans, with the exception of (*q*), which becomes (*qk'*) very often in Germany.

We are now prepared to consider the very difficult Ags. *hw*, *hr*, *hl*, *hm*, *hn*, with the Old Norse *hj*, *hv*, see (513, *a*), (544, *a*). Prof. Whitney, after defining *h* as (*jh*), see (1132, *a'*), continues (Ath. V. Pr. p. 66): "Thus the *h*'s of *ha*, of *hi*, of *hu*, and those heard before the

14. (wh)—*continued.*

semi-vowels *w* and *y* in the English words *when* and *hue*, for instance, are all different in position, corresponding in each case with the following vowel or semi-vowel. *H* is usually initial in a word or syllable, and is governed by the letter which succeeds, and not by that which precedes it." He therefore says, and hears from such American English speakers as do not omit the voiceless part altogether, (ʃhaa, ʃhii, ʃhuu, ʃhwen, ʃhiú), and he is apparently so convinced that all English speakers agree with himself and those whom he has both heard and noted, that he says elsewhere (Oriental and Linguistic Studies, p. 251) that Prof. Max Müller's "definition of the *wh* in *when*, etc., as a simple whispered counterpart of *w* in *wen*, instead of a *w* with a prefixed aspiration, is, we think, clearly false." When Prof. Max Müller, as a German, appealed to the opinions of Mr. M. Bell and myself as English phonologists who agreed with him, Prof. Whitney replied (*ibid.* p. 271): "The true phonetic value of the *wh*, as is well known to all who have studied English phonology, is greatly controverted; we happen to have a strong conviction on one side, which we take every convenient opportunity of expressing, without intending disrespect to those who differ from us." And then, alluding to me, he says, "We feel less scruple about disagreeing with him as to this particular point, inasmuch as he (and Bell as well) has what we cannot but regard as a special weakness in respect to labial modifications of vowels and consonants. With one who can hold the initial consonant sound of *dwell*, for example, to be not a *w* with *d* prefixed, but a labially modified *d*, we should not expect to agree in an analysis of the *wh* sound." On (*dw*) see (1115, *b*), where the last sentence was quoted without its context. The cases of (*wh*, *dw*) are not quite parallel, but this is of small importance. Prof. Whitney's *wh* = my (jhw) = my (wh-w). Now, of course, Prof. Whitney is an incontrovertible authority as to the way in which he pronounces, and wishes others to pronounce, the initial sounds of his own name, but that he should find it necessary to "take every convenient opportunity of expressing" his own "strong conviction" respecting the correctness of his analysis, shews me that he must have met with many who dis-

14. (wh)—*continued.*

puted it. Possibly he is often called (*Wí'tni*), as he certainly would be generally in London, and that must be as annoying as for *Smith* to be called (*Zmis*), as he would certainly be in France. That, however, (jhwíil) = (whwíil) is an acknowledged theoretical American pronunciation, the uncorroborated assertion of Prof. Whitney would be sufficient to establish. And it is not uncorroborated.

Prof. S. S. Haldeman, of Chickies, Columbia, Pennsylvania, U.S., says (Analytic Orthography, p. 101): "Latin *V* has a surd aspirate in English *wh*, which is always followed by *V way*, as in *when* = (whwen), which is not (when), as some suppose, nor is it *hwen*, as *hden* is not *then*. Unfortunately, this sound is departing. We heard *wig* for *whig*, the first time in July, 1848, and not unfrequently since. When this confusion is established between *when* *wen*; where *were*; which *witch*; whet *wet*; *wehy way*; wheel *weal*; the language will have ceased to be a refined one. The sound probably belongs to Welsh, provincial Danish, and ancient Greek." And in a note received while this was being prepared for press he observes: "If *when* is not my *wh-w-e-n* but *wh-e-n*, it approaches *fen*, as *wh-i-ch* approaches *fitch*," [precisely, and so we get Aberdeen (f) for initial (wh), and have got our received final (f) in *laugh dwarf*.] "I think those who say *w-e-n* drop *wh* and do not drop the aspirate merely. Similarly if *hue* is not (jh-j-u) but (jh-u), then it approaches (sh-u)." Query, are not Lancashire *hoo* and Leeds *shoo*, both meaning *she*, both derived from *heó* ags., the one through (hheó, hháo, hhu', hhuu) regular dialectal changes, and the other through (hheó hhió jhóo shóo)? The peculiar dialectal pronunciations will be discussed hereafter. The usual theory gives *hoo* to *heó*, and *she*, *shoo* to *seó*. But *she* could also come from *heó* through (hheó hhéoo jhé' she). The vowel changes will be justified hereafter. The form *zho* occurs in Orrmin (488, *d*), and *ghe*, *ge* in Genesis and Exodus (467, *cd*).

Prof. Haldeman adds: "I have known an intelligent lecturer on grammar to assert that in *when*, etc., the *h* precedes the *w*—meaning a true *h*. I then proposed that he should set his mouth for the initial of *hen*. 'Now

14. (wh)—continued.

say *when*.' Of course he failed, and admitted the labial nature of the initial. I have a cognate experiment upon about the only point where we do not agree. I say, 'Set the mouth for the initial of *ooze*, let it stand while you are *imagining* the syllab *now*, but relax at its final element and let the lips drop into —*w*. The result is a closer sound than that of *ooze* or *full*.' 'Set the mouth for the vowel of *eel* or *ill*, then imagine the organs relaxed upon the last element of *eye* or *boy*, when a closure of the organs will be felt.' I admit your glide, but a glide that proceeds to a consonant, and might proceed from *oo* to *b*. The glide is present in *boa* and *chaos*, but it cannot turn them into monosyllabs." These last remarks relate to my theory of diphthongs, and the experiment is to shew that the last element is consonantal. So it is, in the pronunciation of several English persons, but that is not sufficient for a general theory of diphthongs. The last examples, *boa* and *chaos*, are met by my slur — theory.

Prof. F. A. March, of Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S., in his private letter of 22 March, 1872,—already cited (1092, c),—has most obligingly entered into so much detail that I think it will be interesting and useful to quote his remarks at length. He says: "You call my *wh* (wh + w). I suppose you call my *h* (wh) because I have set my organs for (w) when I issue it. I suspect something wrong here, and fear that I have misled you as to the sound. When I say *he*, I set the organs for *e* (ii) and issue surd breath; to say *ha*, I set for *a* (aa) and issue surd breath, and so for other combinations" [That is, he says ("ii," "aa") initially, or (hi, haa) conjointly.] "No separate characters are used to indicate these 'settings.'" [*Hinc illae lacrymae*!] "I do not then see why *hw* is not the proper notation for my *wh*." [If *h* always indicated (h), then *hw* would indicate (hwh) = (whw), which is Prof. March's *wh*,—but not mine.] "When I compare *hoo* and *hwen* = when, it seems to me that the initial surd sound before the lip movement in *hw* is identical." [If (w) differ from (u), as I believe, then (hwh) differs from (phu), the first giving (wh-w), the second ("u-u).] "I have this moment stopped writing, and tried the experiment of saying *who eat*, pronouncing it as one word with

14. (wh)—continued.

the accent on *eat*, and the *o* = *oo* with slight sonancy. I find a person of good ear and some skilled attention takes it for *wheat*, and thinks it correctly uttered, though often repeated." [This depends upon habit. Now there are very various ways of uttering these words, and I feel sure that my *who eat* (huji't), even when allowed to degenerate into mere (huiit) is not at all like Prof. March's *wheat* = (whwiit), but of course his (huiit) would differ from (whwiit) only as (uii) from (wii), and the existence of this difference for at least 300 years, since the time of Sir Thos. Smith (185, a), has been a matter of dispute in England.] "This seems to me to indicate that in our pronunciation the initial sound is *h* as in *hoo*, and that the following sound is very like your diphthongal *oo*" [that is, (u) forming a diphthong with a following vowel which has the chief stress. Here I omit a passage on etymology, subsequently referred to.] "I cannot but think that phonetically, as certainly etymologically, Ang.-Sax. and New England *hw*'s are labialised *h*'s, standing parallel with Lat. *qu*." [Here Prof. March actually adopts as an argument an idea of my own, that *qu* = (kw) and not (kw), which Prof. Whitney adduced as a reason for disagreeing with me!] "I think it likely that these remarks are wholly needless; but I find that I *can* issue breath through organs set for *w*, in such a way that it will have from the first a plain labial modification, so that I should call it *wh*. The sound I *do* make for *hw* is not that, I think; but, as I have tried to expound it, like *h*. Perhaps, I do not really set my organs for your *w*."

Another American phonetic authority propounds a slight difference. Mr. Goodwin (*op. cit.* p. 10) says: "As to *wh*, it has generally been maintained by modern English grammarians that it is pronounced *hw* (i.e. *hoo*), as it was written by the Anglo-Saxons. But we doubt not that if a man will observe carefully for himself how, and with *wha* difference, he pronounces *wit* and *whit*, he will be satisfied that the *h* is really pronounced neither before nor after the *w*, but in the same sort of constant combination with it, which characterizes any other aspirate as connected with its lene. Whether the *h*, therefore, should be printed before or after the *w*, is a matter of indifference,

14. (wh)—*continued*.

except so far as consistency in the notation of a given alphabet is concerned. *Wh* is certainly the most consistent with the rest of the English alphabet." This seems to favour (whit) rather than (hwit).

It seems to me that the difficulty has arisen from want of discriminating symbols. Now that it is quite possible to distinguish (hufit, h̄hufit, h̄h̄hufit, h̄h̄h̄hufit, whiit, h̄whiit = h̄h̄whiit, wh̄wiit = h̄wh̄wiit, wiit), we may inquire in any particular case what is said. It is very probable, most probable, that in a case where accurate attention has been little paid, and where even symbolisation failed, great diversities exist, both traditionally and educationally, and that theorists should differ. Now it is certainly curious that three such competent American observers as Professors Whitney, Haldeman, and March, should practically agree in (wh-wiit) = (h̄wh̄wiit); and that two practised English observers like Mr. Melville Bell and myself should agree in (whiit). I have myself heard (wh-w) from Americans, and know that it differs from my own (wh-). Our Scotch friends called *quhat* (kw̄hat), not (khwat), and in Aberdeen we have (fat), or perhaps (phat), see (188, b. 580, c). Now this last (fat) is as easy to say as (fæt), which no one would think of calling (fvæt), except perhaps in the Somersetshire district, where this may be the real sound that generated (væt), see (1104, b). But such combinations as (fv-, thdh-, sz-, shzh-) are as un-English as (lhl-, mhm-), etc., and hence I think that the analogy of our language is in favour of (whiit, jhu) = *wheat*, *hew*. It is true, I call the last word (jhiúu), which certainly approaches (jh̄uu), but may be an individuality, but the word is not common; and when it is used, the sound flutters between (juu) and (hiúu). And similarly for *human*, *humour*, etc.

What *ought* we to say is another question. Should the Anglo-Saxon *hw* lead us to (wh-w-) in all cases? Prof. March, who is a potent authority in Anglo-Saxon, says, in passage omitted on (1143, b'), from the letter there cited: "Is it not true that this initial *h* is a weakening of a guttural aspirate *ch*, which again is a shifting from a mute *k*, and that the labial *v*, *w*, *u* is a parasitic utterance, which has here and there attached itself to the true root letter? Sansk. *ka-*, Lith. *ka-*, Slav.

14. (wh)—*continued*.

ko-, Lat. *quo-*, Goth. *hwa*, A. Sax. *hwa*, Engl. *who*." We enter now on a great question, the discussion of which would lead us very far, namely on "parasitic utterances," where a new sound intrudes itself. This new sound in the case of vowels is generally (i, u), which shews itself often by a mere palatalisation or labialisation of the preceding consonant, and sometimes ousts the consonant altogether, compare Lat. *homo*, Ital. old *huomo*, new *uomo*. Sometimes the intruder is (a) before (i, u), which through (ai, au) sometimes pass to distinctly different vowels, as (e, o), and sometimes dropping the old original vowels altogether, yield up their lives to the intruder, as in Yorkshire (aa) for *I*, and (aas) for *house*, ags. *hús*. All of this will naturally present itself later on, § 2, No. 6, iv. It would be too far to go to Sanscrit *ka-* or Latin *quo-* as an authority for the pronunciation of English *who*. It is enough to go to ags. *hwd*, and observe that what on this theory we must regard as an intrusive parasitic *v* has in this case quite absorbed the *d*. If ags. was (whwaa), English is (huu) or (ihuu), or rather both.

Let us rather observe what has happened in old spellings, and we find *hw* of the xiith and xiiith centuries becoming *wh* in the xivth, which may be due to a change from (whw-) to (wh-), or may simply be due to a revision of orthography, the sound remaining unchanged. In the latter case the *h* was placed after to shew that the sound was one, not two, precisely as in the case of *th*, *sch*. But we also find at a very early date simple *w*, continually in Robert of Gloucester, sometimes in Layamon. The old *hl*, *hr*, *hn*, sank to *l*, *r*, *n* very rapidly. I see no means of determining whether the sounds were originally (khw, kh̄r, kh̄l, khr, khm, khn) or (jhw, j̄hr, j̄hl, j̄hr, j̄hm, j̄hn) = (whw, wh̄r, hl̄r, rhr, mhm, nhn) or (wh, jh̄ lh, rh, mh, nh). Plausible arguments and analogies will apply to all of them. The modern (w, j, l, r, m, n) could descend from any one of them. But on the whole I am most tempted to believe that (wh, jh, lh, rh, mh, nh) existed at so very early a time, that I feel unable to go higher. As a matter of fact, say, habit, I use (wh, jh, l, r, m, n) at present. If asked what is the sound of *wh* in *wheat*, I reply, that *I* say (wh), others say (whw), and by far the

14. (wh)—*continued*.

greater number of educated people in London say (w). These speakers are mutually intelligible to each other. Perhaps the (wh) and (whw) people may mark the (w), and think that "h is dropped." Perhaps the (w) may think the (wh) and (whw) folk have an odd northern pronunciation, but generally they will not notice the matter. The (wh) and (whw) people might converse together for hours without finding out that there was any difference between their habits. How many Englishmen, or even Germans, know that Germans habitually call *sieh* (szii) and not (zii)? How many Englishmen know that they habitually call emphatic *is* (izs) and not (iz) before a pause? Who is to blame whom? In such a matter, at least, we must own that "Whatever is, is right"—(whate:var'izs, izro'it), as I repeat the words.

In these very excursive remarks the subject of aspiration is far from being exhausted, but as respects *wh* itself, it has been considered initially only. It constantly occurs *finally* in older English, as a form of *z*, perhaps at one time for (kh), or (kwh), of which it is an easier form, the back of the tongue being not quite so high, and hence the friction much less harsh, in (wh). Now this (wh) falls into (u), or drops away entirely, or becomes (f). Does not this look like (-kwh, -wh, -ph, -f) on the one hand, and (-kwh, -wh, -w, -u) on the other? I do not see a place for (-wwh) = (-wph), or *w* with *visār-janiya*. This observation points to the pure hiss (wh) in all cases, rather than the mixed (whw-) in one case, and the pure (-wh) in the other. But these are points for the older pronunciations. To gather present usage, we shall have to watch speakers very carefully.

(i). See No. 3, (ii), and No. 6, (i).

(p). The lips shut firmly, and the glottis closed airtight. If the glottis is in the voice position, the voice will sound producing (b), see (1103, a). In this case, where (p) is final, the effect is described (1111, a').

(whip). The glide (wh < i) is similar in its nature to the glide (s < i), see (1106, a). The glide (i < p) is similar

14. (whip)—*continued*.

to the glide (i > k), *ibid.* And the (p) glides off into pure flatus (h) before a pause. Thus (whip) = (wh < i > p < h) before a pause.

With regard to the length of the glide (i > p) and such like, the following remarks of Mr. Sweet are very important (Philolog. Trans. 1873-4, p. 110): "In Danish all final consonants are short without exception. In English, their quantity varies, the general rule being that they are *long* after a short, *short* after a long vowel; *tell* (tɛll), *bin* (binn), *tale* (teɪl), *been* (biin). Compare English *farewell* (feəhwɛɪl) with Danish *farvel* (fɑr'veɪl). Liquids and nasals coming before another consonant follow the same laws in both languages: they are *long* before voice, *short* before breath consonants: (this was first noticed in Danish by E. Jessen; see his Dansk Sproglaere, p. 21.). He has also noticed (in the T. f. Ph. ii.) the length of the E. final voice stops, treated of below, which I first discovered from comparing the E. and Norse sounds: *ham* (ɪham), *hamre* (ɪhamrɛ), *vel* (vɛl), *vældig* (vɛldigh), *valte* (vɛltə); *bill* (bɪll), *build* (bɪld), *built* (bɪlt)." [It is possible that the different lengths of (ll, l) in such words as (bɪld, bɪlt) led Mr. Bell to his distinction (bɪld, bɪlt), see (1141, a).] "The short final stops in Danish and Norwegian are important as bringing out very clearly a peculiar feature of English pronunciation, which has not hitherto been noticed. This is our tendency to lengthen the final stops. It is seen most clearly in the vocal stops. Compare E. *egg* (ɛgg) with Norw. *æg* (ɛg). That the voiceless final stops are also long in E. is apparent from a comparison of Danish *kat*, *hat*, with E. *cat*, *hat* (kætt, hætt). In short we may say that short accented monosyllables do not exist in English. Either the vowel or the consonant must be long (tɛll, teɪl). In the ordinary London pronunciation, the quantity of originally short vowels seems to be perfectly indifferent, the only limitation being that a short vowel and a short consonant must not come together. No Englishman ever says (tɛl). He must either lengthen the consonant (tɛll), or else the vowel, in which case the consonant becomes short (tɛɪl). I have often heard the latter from people of every rank, but chiefly among the vulgar."

14. (whip)—*continued*.

I wish to direct close attention to this original and acute observation. But the subject is, I think, far from exhausted. Mr. Sweet has not spoken of the *glide* between the vowel and the consonant. The very short (tel) of which he speaks would, to an Englishman, sound like an 'unfinished' (tell), and be most safely written (tel'), and so pronounced would, if (ee) occurred in our language, give the effect of a long vowel, as in (teel), which we should have to write (teel'). If we are speaking of the relative lengths of the parts of syllables, we can only properly indicate them by superimposed numbers, as already suggested (1131, *d*). In

1 2 1 5 1 2 1 1 1 5 1 2
(t < e > l, t < e > l, t < e > l) we have perhaps the relations roughly indicated by (tell) or (te'l), (tel:) and (teel). Mr. Bell marks Scotch *ell* = (e'l), did

3 1 1 5 3 1 2 2
he mean (e'h > l) or (e'h > l)? For practical purposes I should prefer writing (te'l, tel, teel), and (tell, tel:, teel:) for theoretical investigation, when the exactness of numbers is not necessary.

15. LAMP, Bell's (læmhp), my (læmp).

(1). One of the divided consonants. The tip of the tongue in the (d)-position, but the sides free; whereas in (r) the sides are fixed in the (d)-position, but the tip is free to trill. Hence (d) is, so to speak, an attempt to pronounce (l) and (r) together, resulting in a complete stop, as (l) stops the central and (r) the side passages. If (lh), or flatus through the (l)-position, occurred either consciously or unconsciously in *hl* in ags. (1141, *d*'), it is quite lost now. Even if Mr. Bell is right in supposing (lh) to be generated now (1141, *a*), it must be touched very lightly indeed. The Welsh *ll* (lhh) differs from (lh), see (756, *bc*). In (756, *d*') it is wrongly said that (lhh) occurs in Manx, whereas it is only the buzz of (lhh) or (lhh) which there occurs. Frenchmen do not admit that (lh) occurs in *table*, as stated in (756, *c*), but (lh) occurs both directly as *hl*, and indirectly before (t) in Icelandic (544, *a*, 545, *d*).

To the curious relation (d)-position

15. (l)—*continued*.

= (l)-position + (r)-position, is to be attributed the frequent confusions among (d, l, r). My own name, *Ellis*, has been frequently confused both with *Harris* and *Herries*. The Chinese, Japanese, as well as the Ancient Egyptians, and probably many other nations, confuse (l) and (r) systematically. In fact they seem not to know either (l) or (r), but to produce some intermediate sound, written (lr) and explained on (1133, *a*). The effect was that of a very short (l) or 'blurred' (r), followed by a distinct (r). When the (l) is distinct and (r) blurred, (lr) will be the proper form. Generally the combination (lr) or (l'r) is sufficient. The sounds could not be simultaneous, and the order appears to be (lr) not (rl). Both however are possible, and the symbols (lr, l'r, l'r, rl, r'l, r'l) must be selected accordingly. The combination (lr) necessarily recalls the transcription *lri*, *lri*, for Sanscrit लृ लृ, which in form are the letter ल ल, with the combining form of the vowels च च, usually written *ri*, *ri*. Now these last may have been ('r, 'r,r) a short and long trilled voice, which is quite vocal. That Pāṇini should place them among the dentals, and the commentator on the Ath. V. Pr. (Whitney's edition, p. 22) among the gutturals or *jihvāmūliya*, "formed at the base of the tongue," Prof. Whitney attributes to a diversity of pronunciation, as a dental (r) and uvular (r'), while he considers the classification of *lri*, *lri*, in the same category as due to its occurring solely in the root *klrip*, which begins with a guttural. The Rik Pr. makes the same classification; the Vāj. Pr. omits *lri*, *lri*, from the list. Now I think that the sign shews merely that लृ *lri* bears the same relation to ल l as च च does to र r. All will in that case depend on the *ri* vowel. This the Ath. V. Pr. commentator (Whitney, p. 32) describes as "an r combined with a half-measure or *mātrā* in the middle of the vowel-measure in the *ri*-vowel, just as a nail is with the finger; like a pearl on a string, some say; like a worm in grass, say others." Now reflecting on the Polish *szcz*, in which a continued (sh) is interrupted for a moment by throwing the tip of the tongue on to the hard palate and instantly withdrawing it, I

15. (l)—*continued*.

interpret this as a continued (ə) or (æ), interrupted for a moment by two or three beats of a trill, produced by trilling the point of the tongue, which is tolerably free for (ə), so that we have nearly (ərə), but by no means quite so, for first we have no proper glides (ə > r < ə), the true *r*-position not having been assumed, and secondly there is a feeling of a continued vowel-sound made *tremolo* in the middle, as has become the fashion in singing, and, consequently, thirdly the trill would differ from, at least, the theoretical (r), as the sound produced by a free-reed, or *anche libre*, as in an harmonium, from the sound produced by a striking-reed, as in the clarinet. It is remarkable that it acts to change (n) into (ŋ), "within the limits of the same word" (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 174), which would confirm this view, making (ərə) in fact retracted in comparison with (r). There seems to have been a difficulty with the Indians as well as the English in pronouncing (r) trilled before any other consonant. I have heard German *kirche* given as *kiriche*. This is the case of (r) before a spirant, where the Indians seem to have required a more sensible insertion of a *svarabhakti*, 'fraction or fragment of a vowel' (Whitney, *ibid.* p. 67), in short of Mr. Bell's voice glide ('h), than before other consonants. The Irish (wə'rək) is well known. Probably the process of speech changed Sanscrit (ə'r) into (ərə) and then into (rə) only. The 'guttural' classification of the (ərə) may merely indicate the retraction of the root of the tongue consequent on its vowel instead of its dental character. The *lri* may have been merely (ələ), a continued (ə) interrupted in the middle by a non-dental (l) or approximation to it, and probably with no sound of (r) in it at all. These sounds are perhaps best written (rə, lə), as the consonant part became predominant.

Mr. M. O. Mookerjee (see 1102, b,) called *ri, ri* (uri, urii), with a very distinct (u), but he said that *lri, lrii* were simple (li, lii). Both of these are apparently modernisms. But the (uri) at least shews that the sound consisted of some vowel, interrupted in what was perceptibly the middle of its duration by the beats of a trill. Mr. Gupta differed in this respect, (1136, d'. 1138, b').

15. (æ).

(æ). This vowel, as I pronounce it, is very thin, and foreigners have told me that I make no distinction between *man* and *men* (mæn, men), or (mæn, mæn) according to Mr. Bell. The position of the tongue appears to be identical for (æ) and (e), so that all Germans, French, and Italians hear (æ) as their open ä, é, e. But the back parts of the mouth and pharynx appear to be widened, and the quality thus approaches to (a), which it has replaced. Many persons, however, seem to me to use (ah), even now, for (a). The true thin English sound occurs in Hungarian, written *e* in accented syllables, but I observed that on removing the stress, it seemed to fall into (e). Land (*op. cit.* p. 16) says that the openest Dutch *e* sometimes approaches (a) in sound, and in the mouths of some speakers becomes quite the English (æ) in *man, bad*. He also says that Donders' *æ* (*op. cit.* p. 11), heard in Dutch *vet, gebed*=law, prayer, which is quite different from his *ea* heard in *bed*, is this (æ). In the Dutch of the Cape of Good Hope, (æ) appears to be the general pronunciation of open *e*. For the Somersetshire use, see (67, a), and for Welsh (67, c. 61, d). Mr. Nicol tells me that some English friends in Monmouthshire call *fach* (vekh, vekh) rather than (vækh), but call the first letter of the Welsh alphabet (aa), not (*ee*). With regard to the presumed use of (ææ) in Copenhagen, Mr. Sweet (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 105) makes it (a) or "mid back wide forward," or "outer," as I have called it on (1107, c), for he says: "This vowel has a very thin sound, almost as in E. *hat*, the tongue being considerably advanced in the mouth, but without the front being raised, so that it is distinct from the mid-mixed (ah): *mane* (maana); *mand* (ma; 'n); *kat* (k[ʰ]at)," where I have duly marked the (a, 'n) and changed his (k[ʰ]) into (k[ʰ]). Really to distinguish (a, ah, æ) becomes very difficult, and few ears are to be trusted. Signor Pagliardini makes the French *a* rather (a) or (ah) than (æ), the order of his vowels being, *pea, paid, pair, pat, patte* Fr., *part, (purr?) , pau, polygon, pole, pool, punir* Fr. These slight differentiations of sound, however, are important in the history of the transition from (a) to (æ), in England for the short vowel, and in Ireland for the long. I heard (pæpær) only the

15. (æ)—*continued*.

other day from an Irish labourer. In England, however, the long vowel has gone much further, even to (e'j) or (éi). In a certain class of words there is even now great diversity of use (68*d*). Fulton and Knight (Dictionary, London, 1843) say: "A sounds (aa) before *rm*, *lm*, *lf*, and *lve*, as in bar car, barb garb, bard pard, lark park, harl (?) snarl, arm farm, barn darn, carp harp, art dart, barge large, carve starve, farce parse, march parch; ba^lm ca^lm pa^lm psalm, ca^lf ha^lf, ca^lve ha^lve. This sound is contracted into (a) before *ff*, *ft*, *ss*, *sk*, *sp*, *st*, (th) and *nee*, as in: chaff staff, graft shaft, lass pass, ask bask, asp clasp, cast fast, bath lath path wrath, chance dance." Now in London I constantly hear (aa) in all these words from educated speakers, the *r* in *ar* being entirely dropped. On the other hand, I have heard (æ) in every one of the words also, and then, in the case of *ar*, either (æ') or (æc) was said, the vowel being short. I have also heard (a) short in every one, (a', ar,) being used. Again, in those words which have no *r*, I frequently hear (ææ), and more frequently (ah), both short and long, especially from ladies, and those who do not like broad sounds. Apparently this dread arises from the fear that if they said (aask, laaf), they would be accused of the vulgarity of inserting an *r*, and when *arsk*, *larf*, are written, they "look so very vulgar." Yet these speakers frequently drop the (k) and say (ahst) for (aaskt). The tendency seems to be towards (baa, paak, baahm, saahm, haahf, tshæf, stæf, bahth lahth, raath, tshæns dæns), but the words vary so much from mouth to mouth, that any pronunciation would do, and *short* (a) would probably hit a mean to which no one would object. In a performance of *King John*, I heard Mrs. Charles Kean speak of "(kææf) skin," with great emphasis, and Mr. Alfred Wigan immediately repeated it as "(kaaf) skin," with equal distinctness. Both were (I am sorry to use the past tense, though both are living off the stage) distinguished actors. Mr. Bell hears (a) in *part*, but I do not know (a) as a southern English sound.

(m). The lips are closed as for (b), but the uvula is detached from the

15. (m)—*continued*.

pharynx and there is *perfect* nasal resonance (1096, *d'*. 1123, *d'*). As there is a perfectly open passage for the voice, there is no condensed air in the mouth. The hum of (m) is well known, and it is instructive to *sing* upon (m, n, q), with the mouth first closed throughout, and then open for (n, q). It will be found that the opening of the mouth makes no difference, and that the three sounds scarcely differ when the glides from and to vowels are omitted. When I had a phonetic printing office, the letters (m, n, q) had to be frequently asked for, and such difficulty was found in distinguishing them when the same vowel was used for each, as (em, en, eq), that it became necessary to alter the vowels and call the letters (æm, en, iq), after which no trouble was experienced. Compare the modern Indian confusion of (n, n), mentioned in (1096, *c'*).

As to the use of (m) or (mh) or (m-mh) before (p) see (1141, *a*). The case is different when the following mute belongs to another organ. -*mk* does not occur, but -*mt* is frequent, as in *attempt*, and the tendency is to cut off the voice and close the nasal passage, before the lips are opened, so that (mp) or (mph) is generated. As to the length of the (m) in this case, see (1145, *bc'*). It is I think usually short. When *mb* is written, as in *lamb*, the (b) is not heard, but (m) is long, as (læmm, læ'm). Possibly at one time the nasality may have ceased before the voice, and thus real (lamb) may have been said, but I have not noticed such as a present usage. Compare (loqg) on (1124, *b'*). There is no tendency to develop an epenthetic (b) medially, compare *limner*, *limber*, *longer* = (lî'm, lî'mbr, lo'qgr). But between (m) and (r) both French and Spanish introduce (b), compare Latin *numerus*, French and Spanish *nombre*. But in English dialects there is much tendency to omit any such (b), as Scotch *nummer*, and dialectal *timmer*, *chammer*, for *timber*, *chamber*.

Initial (m) is always short, except rhetorically, expressing doubt, but final (m), after even a buzz, becomes syllabic, as *schism*, *rhythm* = (si'z'm, ri'th'm). After *l* it is not syllabic, as *l* is either very short as in *elm* = (elm'), often vulgarly (e'l'm, e'lem), or *l* quite disappears, as in *alms* = (aamz). After *r*,

15. (m)—*continued*.

when untrilled, and therefore purely voiced, *m* is not syllabic, and may be quite short, as in *warm* = (wʌm) or (wʌ'm, wʌr'm). But when *r* is trilled, we frequently hear the syllabic *m*, as (wʌr'm). This, however, is not a received sound.

(p). See No. 14, (p).

(læmp). The voice is set on with (l), which should be (l), not (l̥) or (l̥h). The murmur of (l) is very brief. The glide (l < æ) is almost quite the same as (d < æ), and the glide (æ > m) almost the same as (æ > b), but must be slightly changed by the dropping forward of the uvula at its termination. The lips should close at the same instant as the uvula falls, so that no (æ,) or (æʌ) should be heard. Then, as I think, the murmur (m) is continued for a short time, till both voice and nasality are cut off and (p) results, which, before a pause, is as usual made audible by flatus, thus (l < æ > m-p'). Mr. Bell, however, cuts off the voice with the closing of the lips and dropping of the uvula, allowing occasionally a trace of voice after closing the lips, and hence has generally (l < æ > m̥h-p') and occasionally (l < æ > m̥h-mh-p'). See (1140, d'). In all cases (p), having the position of (m), would be inaudible after (m), without some following flatus or voice.

16. ONIONS, Bell's (ʌnjənz), my (ə'njənzs).

(æ, ə). See No. 1, (æ, ə).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(j). This bears the same relation to (i) as (w) does to (u). The position for (i) is so much contracted that clear resonance becomes no longer possible, and the buzz is produced. German writers pair (kj̥h, j̥), that is, they confuse (gj̥h, j̥) together. But the buzz of (gj̥h) is, to an Englishman's ears, much harsher than for his (j̥). Lepsius (Standard Alphabet, 2nd ed. 1863, p. 73) says: "It is to be observed that (gj̥h)," which he defines as the voiced form of *ch* in *milch* = (milkjh), "and the semivowel (j̥) are so near each other that (kj̥h) will hardly appear in any language as a

16. (j)—*continued*.

distinct sound by the side of (j̥)." But both of them really seem to me to exist in German. At least in Saxony, *general, könige, berge*, sounded to my ear as (gjheneraa'l, kə'ni̯gjh̥, bɛrgjh̥); and I often heard (j̥eneraa'l, kə'ni̯j̥h̥, bɛ'rj̥h̥), especially the last, ridiculed by Dresdeners. The sounds were therefore distinguished. Brücke (Grundzüge, p. 44) distinguishes palatal k = (kj̥) and velar k = (k), and Arabic *kaf* ک = (κ), with their sonants (gj̥, g, ɔ). Then, proceeding to the corresponding hisses, he has (kj̥h), "as in *Recht* and *Licht*" (*ibid.* p. 48), (kh), "as *Wache, Woche, Wacht*," where I may notice that the (kh) frequently becomes (kw̥h) after (u) in German, and (k̥h), which he believes is the χ of the modern Greeks, before α, ο, ου, ω. From what he says (*ibid.* p. 49), I am inclined to think that he confuses (kh) with (kr̥h). Then he adds: "Allowing the voice to sound, we come to *Jot*, the *I consona* of the Germans," so that he makes German j = (gj̥h). Similarly he finds the voiced (kh), or (gh), in Platt-Deutsch *lüge* = (læh'ghe); it is quite common in Saxon, as in *lage* = (laa'ghe). Finally, he makes (gh), the modern Greek γ, before α, ο, ω. Then (*ibid.* p. 70) he says, referring to the English sounds: "Produce (i) and narrow still further the space between the tongue and palate where it is already narrowest, you will obtain a *Jot*, because you will have reached the position of (gj̥h). The vowel (i) does not become lost by so doing; we really hear both the vowel (i) and the consonant *Jot* at the same time." This seems to me an impossibility. "The most suitable example is the English *y*, when consonantal. When an (i) follows, as in *year*, it is exactly the same as the German *I consona*; but when another vowel follows, a light sound of (i) is heard before it, in educated pronunciation, which arises from raising the larynx, and consequently introducing the condition for (i)." Now I know that Englishmen in Saxony had the greatest difficulty in learning to say (kj̥h, gj̥h), which could hardly have been the case if they were their own (jh, j̥). The antecedent (i) in *you, yeast, yacht*, which he would of course call (i̯gjh̥u, i̯gjh̥ɛst, i̯j̥a.t̥), remind me of Prof. March's (l̥uw), see (1092,

16. (j)—*continued.*

c'). Brücke's identification of English *y*- with (ɿgjh-) is on a par with his identification of English *w*- with (ʷbh-), where, however, he says: "the vowel (u) and the consonant (bh) are really sounded at the same time," which is incorrect. But an attempt to pronounce (u*bh) will generate (w), and so an attempt to pronounce (i*gjh) might generate (j), but I think this attempt would not be quite so successful. I attribute this error to Brücke's Low Saxon habits of speech, to which real (gjh) is unknown, so that he imagines (j) to be the buzz of (kjh), with which he is acquainted practically. Merkel, however, a Middle Saxon, had no business to be astonished (Phys. d. mensch. Spr. p. 178) that Lepsius could find no hiss to (j), and had distinguished (j, gjh). In Saxony I have not unfrequently heard *ja* called (jhaa), where the speaker would have been posed had he been told to begin the word with *ch* in *ich*, because he would not have known how to arrange his organs, and would probably at least have said (kjh*i*ia), thinking of *chia*. Again (*jaa*) is the received and more usual pronunciation of *ja*, though great varieties are heard in a word which often sinks into an interjection. But to be told to begin with a "soft g" would sorely try a Saxon's phonetic intelligence. I found in Saxony very distinct differences (kh gh, kjh gjh, jh j). Merkel calls (kjh) *g molle*, and (gjh) = (j) voiced *g molle* (*ibid.* p. 183). Merkel allows of a modification of *g molle* when it comes from (y) instead of (i). In fact, we may have (jw) = (wj), the consonant formed from (y), similar to (j) from (i) and (w) from (u). And we have similarly (kwh, kwjh, gwh, gujh). The hiss of the English (j) is heard only in a few words, as *Hugh*, *hew*, *human* (see 1144, c).

All these German confusions of (kjh, gjh) with (jh, j) depend upon the prior confusion of (kj, gi) with (kj, gj), and receive their proper explanation so soon as these consonants are admitted; for which we are indebted in English books to the acuteness of the American Mr. Goodwin and the Englishman Mr. Melville Bell, although they have been long known in India (1120, c). The series (kj jh 'i-; gj j i-), where the hyphens point out the diphthongising character of the vowels, shew the exact

16. (j)—*continued.*

relation of (jh, j) to vowel and consonant. The labial series are much more complex, on account of the back of the tongue being raised for (u), giving it a labio-guttural character. They are, therefore, (kw kwɿ wh "u-; gw gwh w u-). Helmholtz (*Tonempfindungen*, 3rd ed. p. 166) recognizes an (u), for which the tongue is quite depressed; this would be (Au), a much duller sound than (u). For this then we have the labial series (p ph "Au; b bh Au-). The (f, v) hisses do not enter into either of the latter series, as they have no corresponding vowels. The usual (b v u) and (b w u) series are quite erroneous.

The whole history of (jh, j) is analogous to that of (wh, w), and we have the same varieties. On (186, c) I have elected to write (ja, ai), whatever the orthoepists wrote. But it must be observed that real differences exist, that (ia ija ja jia) are all possible, and different, and that (ai aj i ar) are possible and different. Mr. Sweet says of Danish (Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 107): "The voice-stop (g) becomes (gh), and often undergoes further weakening, passing through (gwh) into (w), which is frequently the case after back vowels, especially when labial, or (after palatal vowels) into (j). Thus are formed quasi-diphthongs, the only ones which the language possesses." This is extremely interesting in reference to the generation of (ai, au) in English from ags. *ag*, *aw*. The only diphthongs the English possessed independently of the Normans came in the same way, and the rhyming of these (ai) diphthongs with Norman *ai* proves that the English pronounced the Norman in the English way, whatever was the Norman sound. The Danish examples which Mr. Sweet gives are instructive. Thus, *en sag*, also written *saug* and *sav* (saw), 'saw,' *en vogn* (vow;n); *favr* (faw;'r) = Icelandic *fagr*, *en skor* (skow) = Icelandic *skógr*; *et navn* (naw;'n) = Icelandic *nafn*, *en ovn* (ow;'n); *jæg* (jaɹ), *en lög* (lɔɹ;'n), *et øje* (ɔɹə), *en højde* (hɔɹɔɹɔɹɔ). One sees here an exact modern presentment of the way in which Orrmín perceived the formation of English diphthongs 700 years ago (489, b). The very change of the common -li- into (lai) is paralleled by the colloquial Danish *mig*, *dig*, *sig*, *steg*, *megen*, *røg*, *bøger* = (maɹ, daɹ,

16. (ɹ)—*continued*.

saɹ, staɹ, maɹən, tɔɹ, bɔɹɪ). Mr. Sweet adds: "In identifying the second elements of the Danish diphthongs with (ɹ) and (w) I have been partly influenced by the views of Danish phoneticians themselves; as far as my own impressions are concerned I must still consider the matter as somewhat doubtful: these combinations may after all be true diphthongs with the second element rather closer than in other languages." If the glide is short, and the second element always short, instead of being long at pleasure, as in English, it becomes extremely difficult to determine whether it is (i, u) or (ɹ, w). The closeness of diphthongs consists, I think, 1) in the shortness of the *first* element, 2) in the shortness of the glide and its continuously decreasing or increasing force, 3) in the shortness of the *second* element, but this last has least share in producing the effect. The 'looseness' or 'openness' of diphthongs consists, 1) in the lengthening of the first element, especially when in connection with the lengthening of the second element, 2) in the first decreasing and secondly increasing force of the glide, which may amount to a slur (1131, *b*), and is, I think, then characteristic of the Italian diphthongs, whose existence is even denied by some writers. The actual forms of diphthongs, and the 'vanishes' of vowels, or sounds into which they merge on prolongation in various languages, have to be studied almost *ab initio*. The two usual statements, that they consist of prefixed and affixed (i, u) or (ɹ, w), are the roughest possible approximations. The 'glides' of Mr. Melville Bell were mere evasions of the difficulty, and have been given up by his son, Mr. Graham Bell, and by the two persons in England who have most used his Visible Speech, Messrs. Sweet and Nicol. The investigation has considerable philological interest, from the Sanscrit treatment and resolution of diphthongs, down to the introduction of diphthongs into English. But we are only just beginning to appreciate the determinants of the phenomena heard.

(v). See No. 12, (vɹ, ɹ). The peculiarities of unaccented syllables will be considered afterwards.

16. (n).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(zs). See No. 12, (zs).

(ən·jɛnz). The only difficulties in the glides occur in the passage from (n) to (ɹ). The first, and, I think, the usual English method, is to pass by a slur (1131, *b*), so that, although the voice never really ceases, it is so much reduced in force that the nature of the gliding sound necessarily produced while rapidly shifting from the (n) to the (ɹ) position, is inappreciable. The (n) may be lengthened as much as we please; but if very long, the force of sound decreases rapidly. It is of course un-English to make it very short. The second plan is to pass from the (n) to the (ɹ) position *gradually*, so that, *before* the (n) position is released, the middle, or, as Mr. Bell calls it, the front of the tongue rises into the (ɹ) position, the nasalised voice continuing all the time, and then the tip of the tongue is removed from the (n) position, the nasality ceases, and a pure (ɹ) glides on to the (v). We have thus (ə > n-nj-ɹ < v > n-s), and this action is most conveniently introduced for teaching Englishmen the real value of French and Italian (nj), which they are apt, like Brücke (*Grundzüge*, p. 71) and Goodwin (*op. cit.* p. 11), to confuse with (nr). The French *oignon* (onjoa), in which neither (n) nor (ɹ) are heard, but only (nj), should be carefully compared. An (lj) may be similarly generated from *million* viâ (m < i > l-lj-ɹ < v > n), the intermediate (lj) not occurring in English. Of course these (nj, lj) have been generated by the action of (i), and we find in modern French a tendency to omit (l) in such words as *chevalier*, which is quite similar to the reduction of (lj) to (i-) in that language. In Italian *gl* the (lj) remains pure. The (nj) is also pure in French. Englishmen should carefully study a Frenchman's pronunciation of this final (nj) in *signe peigne Espagne Cologne Boulogne*. The last two words in especial are usually execrably pronounced in England, where they are very commonly attempted. (Bulɔːq Bulooːn Bulɔːn Bulɔːiːn) may all be heard in place of (Bulonj). See also (1124, *d*).

17. BOAT, Bell's (bɔut), my (boot).

17. (b).

(b). See No. 9, (b).

(oo). The controversy respecting (ou, oo) is precisely similar to that about (ei, ee), see (1108, c'), and the same peculiarities are observable in Dutch (1109, d'). Thus Donders gives "ou in *hó* with short *u*" (*op. cit.* p. 15), and Land says, that Dutch oo in *boon*, *dook*, *loop*, is (oo), noticing that it becomes (oo) before *r*, but adds that "in English and low (*platte*) Hollandish it is replaced by *o^{2u}* or even *o^{2u}* (*óou*), and is even used before *r*" (*op. cit.* p. 18). The usage of (*óou*) before *r* is not now known in England.

As regards my own pronunciation, I feel that in *know*, *sow* v., etc., regularly, and in *no*, *so*, etc., often, I make this labial change, indicated by (*oo'w*). Wherein does this consist? In really raising the back of the tongue to the (*u*) position, and producing (*oou*) or (*óou*)? or in merely further closing or 'rounding' the mouth to the (*u*) degree, thus (*óo-on*)? or in disregarding the position of the tongue, and merely letting labialised voice, of some kind, come out through a lip aperture belonging to (*u*), that is strictly (*óo-'w*)? There is no intentional diphthong, but a diphthong results so markedly, especially when the sound is forcibly uttered, that I have often been puzzled, and could not tell whether *know*, *sow* *serere*; *no*, *so*; or *now*, *sow* *sus*, were intended; I heard (*nóu*, *sóu*). But these are exaggerations, and I believe by no means common among educated speakers. Whether they will prevail or not in a hundred years, those persons who then hunt out these pages as an antiquarian curiosity will be best able to determine. But that (*i*, *u*) should have developed into, say, (*ai*, *au*), by initial modification, and that (*e*, *o*), which are constantly generated from these diphthongs, should shew a tendency, which is sporadically and vulgarly consummated, to return to the same class of diphthongs by final amplification, is in itself a remarkable phonological fact which all philologists who would trace the history of words must bear in mind. As to the English tendency, I think that (*oo*) develops into (*oo'w*) most readily before the pause, the (*k*) and (*p*) series; the first and last owing to closing the mouth, the second owing to

17. (oo)—continued.

raising the back of the tongue. I find the tendency least before the (*t*) series. This, however, is crossed by the vocal action of (*l*, *n*, *r*), which develop a precedent ('*h*'), easily rounded into ('*hw*'), and hence generating (*oo'w*). So strong was this tendency of old that (*óul*, *óun*) were constant in the xvth century, and (*óul*) remains in Ireland, and many of the English counties also, even where no *u* appears in writing. Before (*t*, *d*) I do not perceive the tendency. In fact, the motion of the tongue is against it. The sound (*bóut*) is not only strange to me, but disagreeable to my ear and troublesome to my tongue. Even (*boo'wt*) sounds strange. Mr. M. Bell's consistent use of (*éi*, *óu*) as the only received pronunciation thoroughly disagrees with my own observations, but if orthoepists of repute inculcate such sounds, for which a tendency already exists, their future prevalence is tolerably secured. As to the 'correctness' or 'impropriety' of such sounds I do not see on what grounds I can offer an opinion. I can only say what I observe, and what best pleases my own ear, probably from long practice. Neither history nor pedantry can set the norm.

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(boot). The synthesis occasions no difficulty. The glide from (*oo*) to (*t*) is short. The voice ends as the closure is complete (1112, c').

18. CART, Bell's (*kart*), my (*kaart*).

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(aa). See (1148, b) as to (*aa*, *aa¹*). The sound of (*a*) is, so far as I know, quite strange to educated organs, though common in Scotland (69 c, d). "In reality," says Mr. Murray (Dialect of S. Scotland, p. 110), "the Scotch *a*, when most broadly pronounced, is only equal to the common Cockney *pass*, *ask*, *demand* (*paahs*, *aahsk*, *demaahnd*), and I have heard a London broker pronounce *demand drafts* with an *a* which, for broadness, I have never heard bettered in the North." It is the repulsion of such sounds which drives the educated, and especially ladies, into the thinness of (*ah*, *æ*).

18. (ɹ).

(ɹ). I use (ɹ) in Mr. Bell's (kart) for his 'point-glide' or 'semi-vowelized sound of (r).,' (Vis. Speech, p. 70) and (1099, *d*). I believe I almost always say and hear (kaat); but as I occasionally say (kaaɹt), I write (kaat). I am not sure that I ever hear or say (kaa't). I have heard (pa'k). No doubt many other varieties abound unobserved. But (park, kart), with a genuine short (a) and trilled (r), sound to me thoroughly un-English, and (park, kart) are either foreignisms or Northumbrianisms.

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(kart). The voice begins at the moment that the (k)-position is relaxed, and not before, the glottis being placed ready for voice from the first. The glide on to (t) is short, (a₁) being treated as a long vowel. Read (k < aa > t').

19. TENT, Bell's (tenht), my (tent).

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(ɛ, e). See No. 7, (ɛ, e).

(nh, n). See (1140, *d'*) and (1148, *b'*).

(tent). Glides (t < e > n - t'). The nasalised voice is heard up to (t), when both voice and nasality are cut off. But (t) would be quite inaudible unless some flatus or voice followed. In (tents) the (s) gives sufficient flatus to make (t) quite distinct. In *scentless* there is apt to be a glide on to the (l), which is etymologically wrong, but easy, (tl-) being often preferred in English speech to (kl-). But in *scent-bottle* (se'nt'hbɔ:t'l), a complete (h) is heard. Observe that in this word (t'hb) and not (t'b) is written, because to write (t'b) would be ambiguous, as it might = (t+'b), instead of = (t'+b). A Frenchman would use (t'hb).

20. HOUSES, Bell's (háuzyz), my (hə'uzɛz).

(ɪ, hɪ). See (1130, *b*. 1132, *d*. 1133, *d*. to 1135, *e*), and (598, *b'*).

20. (áu, ə'u).

(áu, ə'u). As to the first element, it is subject to at least all the varieties of those of long *i* (1100, *a'*). But owing to the labial final, the tendency to labialise the first element is more marked (597, *d'*). Our (xu, ahu, əu) must be considered as delabialisations of (ou, ou). The second element is rather (u) than (u), and may be even (ou). Mr. Sweet analyses his own diphthong as (əə'o) or (əə'hu). The great variety of forms which this diphthong consequently assumes, renders it difficult to fix upon any one form as the most usual. But as a general rule, the 'rounded' or labialised first element is thought provincial, and the broader (áu, du) seem eschewed, the narrower (áu, ə'u) or (ə'u) finding most favour. The first element is, I think, generally very short, the diphthong very close (1151, *b*), and the second element lengthened at pleasure. Mr. Sweet, however, lengthens the first element.

(z, zɛs). See No. 12, (zɛs).

(y, e). The unaccented vowels will be considered hereafter.

(hə'uzɛz). The initial (ɪ) has been already considered (1030, *b'*). I pronounce it generally by commencing the following vowel with a jerk, not *intentionally* accompanied by flatus. There is therefore no glide from (ɪ) to (ə'u). The glide from (ə) to (u) is very short and rapidly diminished in force. The glide thence on to (z) is short and weak. The (z) is not prolonged, but treated almost as an initial in *zeal*, and hence has a very short buzz. The first syllable practically ends at the end of the glide from (u) and does not encroach on the *buzz* of (z) at all. It is possible, and perhaps usual, to distinguish in pronunciation the verb and substantive in: 'he *houses* them in *houses*.' In the first the glide on (z) is distinct, and *all* the buzz of (z) seems to belong to the first syllable, the glide on to the following vowel being reserved for the second. The difference may be indicated thus, the slur dividing the syllables, which have no pause between them: (Hɪhə'uz-ɛzdhym inhə'uz-ɛzɛs).

21. DOG, (dɔg).

(d, g). For the distinction between these sounds and (t, k) see No. 9, (b). For the position of the tongue in (t, k) see (1095, *d'*, 1105, *d'*).

(ɔ). See No. 10, (ɔ, ʌ). To lengthen (ɔ) in this particular word is American, Cockney, or drawling (dɔɔg, dʌʌg).

(dɔg). It is instructive to compare *dock*, *dog* (dɔk', dɔg'), pronounced with very short and very long glides, and consonants, as (d < ɔ > k) k < 'h, d < ɔ > gg < 'h) and (d < ɔ > k', do < ɔ > g'), where (') is used to indicate extreme brevity. The 'foreign' effect of the latter will become evident. See (1145, *e'*).

22. MONKEY, Bell's (mɔqhki), my (mɔ'qki).

(m). See No. 15, (m).

(ɛ, ə). See No. 1, (ɛ, ə).

(q, qh). See No. 13, (q), and also generally (1140, *d'*).

(i). See No. 6, (i). As to the influence of the removal of accent, see hereafter.

(mɔ'qki). The voice begins nasal, and continues very briefly through (m), but the nasality is not dropped as long as the (m)-position is held, else we should get (mɔq) which is a South African initial, and almost inconceivable to an Englishman. The vowel (ə) must not be nasalised at all, though lying between two nasals (m) and (q). The nasalisation and the voice are dropped at the same moment in passing from (q) to (k), without altering the position of the tongue, but the retraction of the uvula causes a glide which will be heard distinctly on saying (mɔqq, mɔqk') sharply. The latter ends almost metallically. The syllable divides at the end of this glide, which, in ordinary speech, is followed by the glide of (k) on to (i) without sensible interval. We have then (m < ə > q-k < i).

23. CAGE, Bell's (kɛidzh), my (kɛɛdzh,sh).

(k). See No. 6, (k). There is no tendency to (kj-) before the sound of (e).

(ee, éi). See No. 8, (ee).

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(zh, zh). See No. 10, (sh, sh).

(zh,sh). Used only before a pause, see (1104, *c*).

(dzh). See (1118, *d'*) to (1119, *e'*). The change from (k) to (t,sh), through a palatal vowel, is distinctly developed in English (203, *d*) to (209, *b*), but the change of (g) to (dzh) is not so common, and hardly occurs initially. The French *ch, j*, became (t,sh, dzh) in English words, but reason has been assigned for supposing the French sounds to have been originally (t,sh, dzh) on (314, *c*), meaning of course (t,sh, dzh). The subsequent recognition of an Italian (sh, zh), independent of (t, d), on (1118, *a*, 800, *b'*), and Mr. Goodwin's re-discovery (1119, *c*) of the Indian (kj, gj), see (1120, *c*), renders it of course doubtful whether the passage of (k, g) Latin, into (sh, zh) French, as in *chant*, *gens* (shaʌ, zhaʌ), was really through (t,sh, dzh) at all. The transition may have been simply (k kj kj zh sh; g gj gj zh), just as (j) or diphthongising (i-) certainly became (zh) in French. It is, then, satisfactory to be able to shew a transition from (k, g), before palatal vowels, into (t,sh, dzh) at so recent a period and in so short a space of time that there is hardly room for the interposition of transitional forms. Martinique, in the West Indies, was colonized by the French in 1635, hence any French upon it cannot be older than the xvth or xvith century. To a large emigration from Martinique to Trinidad, which was only for a short time in possession of the French after 1696, Mr. J. J. Thomas (a negro of pure blood, who speaks English with a very pure pronunciation, and is the author of *The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar*, Port of Spain, 1869, on sale at Trübner's, London, a most

23. (d,zh)—continued.

remarkable book, indispensable to all students of romance languages) attributes the introduction of French into the (formerly Spanish, and since 1797 British) Island of Trinidad. Mr. Thomas was kind enough to give me an oral explanation of the principal peculiarities of the sounds in this Creole French (25 September, 1873), which is by no means merely mispronounced French, but rather a romance language in the second generation. The *ch*, *j* of the French remain as (sh, zh), but *k*, *g*, before palatal vowels, become (tsh, dzh). I ascertained, not merely by listening, but by inquiry, that Mr. Thomas really commenced the sound by striking his palate with the tip of the tongue behind the gums. The following are examples: French *cuite*, *culotte*, *re-culer*, *quinze*, *marquer*, *em-barquer*; Creole, in Mr. Thomas's orthography, *chuite*, *chilotte*, *chouler*, *chinze*, *mâcher*, *bâcher* = (tshiit, tshilot, tshule, tshe, z, maat she, baat she), where (*e*,) indicates Mr. Thomas's Creole nasality, which sounded to me less than the French (*ea*), and more than the South German (*e*,). French *figure*, *guêpe*, *gueule*; Creole *figie*, *gêpe*, *gôle* = (fidzhii, dzhæp, dzhool). Observe the short (*i*). For sound of vowels Creole *tini* (tini) would rhyme with *finny* (fi'ni), but the accent is of the French nature. Now French *e*, *qu*, *gu* in this position were considered by Volney (L'Alphabet Européen appliqué aux langues Asiatiques, Paris, 1819) to be quite palatal, apparently (kj, gj), and are distinguished as his 23rd and 24th consonants from (k, g) his 26th and 27th. Whether in his time, and in the older XVIIth century, the (kj, gj) were distinctly pronounced, there is no proof; but this Creole change leads to this hypothesis.

As I have had occasion to refer to this pronunciation, I may remark that the old pronunciations of *oi* occur, (ué) in *boète doègt toèle* and (ué) in *cloéson poéson poésson*; also that *eu* (æ, œ) falls into (*e*), and *u* (y) into (*i*) or (*u*), as so frequently in German, and that *e muet*, when not final, is often replaced by *é*, *i* as *léver*, *ritoû*, Fr. *lever*, *retour*, indicating its probable audibility in the XVIIth century, because these changes were entirely illiterate; and moreover that when the *h* is pronounced, it is, with Mr. Thomas, a distinct (hh), as *hâler* =

23. (d,zh)—continued.

(hhaale). The letter *r* seems to have suffered most. When not preceding a vowel, it is entirely mute. Elsewhere Mr. Thomas seemed to make it the glottal (ɾ), as in Danish; and just as this is sometimes replaced by uvular (ʀ) in cases of difficulty, so *r* seemed to become (ʀ) in Creole, especially after *a* and *g*, when an attempt was made to bring it out clearly. Also just as (ɾ, g) suggest (o, u) sounds, the *r* after *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, seems to Mr. Thomas to be the tense labial *r* (w) of those Englishmen who are accused of pronouncing their *r* as *w*, as distinct from the lax labial *r* (brh). He therefore writes *bouave*, *bouide*, *pouatique*, *pouix*, *voué*, for Fr. *brave*, *bride*, *pratique*, *prix*, *vrai*. But it seemed to me, when listening to his pronunciation, that even here the sound was (ɾ), thus (bræv, brid, prætik, pri, vɾe). At any rate this glottality would account for all the phenomena. Observe (æ), which, as well as (i), seemed to be used by Mr. Thomas. It is a pity that Mr. Thomas, in reducing the Trinidad Creole French *patois* to writing, did not venture to disregard etymology, at least to the extent of omitting all letters which were not pronounced. His final mute *e* has no syllabic force even in his verse. The final *e* then had disappeared from pronunciation before the internal. Of course Creole French differs in different West Indian Islands. See *Contributions to Creole Grammar*, by Addison van Name, Librarian of Yale College, Newhaven, U.S., in the Trans. of the Amer. Philol. Assn. for 1869-70, where an account is given of the varieties in Hayti, Martinique, St. Thomas, and Louisiana. It appears that in Louisiana (tsh) is also developed as in English from a palatal *t*, as *tchiré*, *tchéu* = Fr. *tirer*, *tuer*, and that (dzh) is found in all the varieties in *djôle* = Fr. *gueule*. There are also Dutch, Spanish, and English Creole dialects.

(keedzhsh). The voice is put on as the (k)-position is released, the glottis being from the first disposed for voice. The (ee) is, I think, seldom run on to (eej) in this word. The glide on to (d) is short, the buzz of (d) is very brief, so that (dzh) acts as an initial, and the voice, as a general rule, runs off into (sh) almost imme-

23. (keəd, zh, sh)—*continued*.

diately. Observe the effect of prolonging the voice in *caged* (keəd, zhd), which some seem to call (keəd, zh, sht').

24. AND, Bell's (ahnd), my (,ænd).

(ah, æ). See No. 15, (æ). Mr. Bell is treating *and* as an 'unaccented' word, accented he would have written (ænd). The unaccented form will be considered presently.

(n, d). See No. 1, (n).

(,ænd). The voice begins with a clear glottid (1129, *d'*), and is continued through (æ) with a glide to (n), care being taken that nasality does not begin too soon, as (æ-æ, > n-d), or too late, as (æ > d-n-d). The passage from (n) to (d) simply consists in dropping nasality. When the word is emphatic, the (n) is specially lengthened, and the glide from (æ) to (n) becomes clearer.

25. BIRD, Bell's (bəəd), my (bəd).

(b). See No. 9, (b).

(əɪ, ɪ). For (ɪ) preceded by other vowels, see No. 4, (ooɪ). What is the vowel-sound heard when (ɪ) is not preceded by other vowels? See (8, *b, c* 197, *a*). Mr. Bell seems to me very theoretical in his distinctions (197, *c* to 198, *a*). No doubt that in Scotland, the west of England, and probably many outlying districts, the sounds in *word, journey, furnish*, are distinguished from those in *prefer, earnest, firm*. Smart says (Principles, art. 35) that these distinctions are "delicacies of pronunciation which prevail only in the more refined classes of society," but adds that "in all very common words it would be somewhat affected to insist on the delicacy referred to." This is quite Gill's *docti interdum*, and indicates orthoepical fancy. It is easy enough to train the organs to make a distinction, but it is very difficult to determine the resulting vowels. In Mr. Bell's table of the relative heights of the tongue for the different vowels (Visible Speech, p. 74) they appear as follows, the left hand having the lowest

25. (əɪ, ɪ)—*continued*.

and the right hand the highest position of the tongue, and that position remaining the same for the vowels in each column, as the differences of effect are produced by other means:

Primary .	æ	ɛ	æ	ə	ə	ɪ	ɛ	ɛ	ɪ
Wide.....	a	a	æ	ə	ah	y	æ	e	i
Round....	ʌ	o	u	ə	oh	u	ə	ə	ɪ
Wide round	ɔ	o	u	ə	oh	uh	æ	æ	y

Hence in assigning (ə) to the *ir, er* set, and (ɛ) to the *ur* set, he does raise his tongue higher for the first. As I say (ə) for his (ɛ) always, it is natural that I should say (ə) for his (ə) as well, that is, in both the *er* and the *ur* set of sounds. To say (ɛ), or even (æ), as I seemed to hear in the west of England, is disagreeably deep to my ears. I recollect as a child being offended with (gæɪ) or (gæɪɪ), but I have never been able satisfactorily to determine how this extremely common word *girl* is actually pronounced. Smart writes "*gu'eryl*," where "*gu*" merely means (g) and ' indicates that speakers "suffer a slight sound of (i) to intervene, to render the junction smooth" (Principles, art. 77). As far as I can discover, I say (gɛəl). I do not feel any motion or sound corresponding to (r). The vulgar (gæɪ), and affected country actor's (gɪ'hl), seem to confirm this absence of (r). But I should write (gɪɪ), the (ɪ) shewing an (ə) sound interrupted, if described, with a gentle trill. I trill a final *r* so easily and readily myself with the tip of the tongue, that perhaps in avoiding this distinct trill I may run into the contrary extreme in my own speech. Yet whenever I hear any approach to a trill in others, it sounds strange.

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(bəd). The voice begins as soon as the lips are closed, continues through their closure, and glides on to the (ə)-position, and this vowel ends with a short glide on to a short (d). Were the glide distinct or the (d) lengthened, we should have (bədd). Whether, as I speak, the words *bird, bud* are distinguished otherwise than by the length of the glide, or of the (d), I am not sure; but as the short glide and (d) indicate a long vowel (1146, *b*), the effect is that of (bəəd, bəd). The distinction is very marked, and no

25. (bʌd)—*continued*.

doubt that it is partly the absence of means to indicate long (æ), partly the distinction felt between the little marked glide on to (d) in *bird*, and the strongly marked glide in *bad*, and partly the permissibility of trilling, that has made the use of *er*, *ur* so common for (æ), or whatever the sound may be in different mouths. Any one of the sounds (brʌd, bæd, bæəd, bæhd, bæd) would be recognized as an English, though often a broad and unpleasant, sound of *bird*. The recognition would not be destroyed by inserting a faint trill (r). But (berd), with short (e) and clear trill (r), would be provincial or foreign, and (bard) provincial. Such sounds as (be'd, be'd, be'd, bi'd) would hardly be understood.

26. CANARY, Bell's (kah-nee'r_ci), my (kənee'r_i).

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(ah). See No. 24, (ah, æ).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(ee). This is the long sound of (e), see (1106, c). It is remarkable that though Mr. Bell does not admit (e) as the short vowel in accented syllables, but always employs (e), yet he admits only (ee) as long, and not (eē), although we have the vulgar American confusion with (æe). The long (ee) never occurs in received English except before (ɹ) or (r), but it then always replaces (ee).

(r). On referring to p. 197, it will be seen that where Mr. Bell wrote (r), or, as it would be more accurate to transcribe him (r_c), I had written (ɹ), as in (kənee'r_i). But as this (ɹ) only indicates the vowel sound, an (r), followed optionally by (r), see (1099, c), it is clear that (r) is quite enough when (r) must follow, so that (kənee'r_i) has the same meaning as (kənee'r_i). Observe that whenever in course of inflection or apposition a vowel follows (ɹ), this last sound becomes (r), that is, the trill becomes necessary instead of optional. Now Mr.

26. (r)—*continued*.

Bell always writes his 'point-glide' (5d on p. 15) when in ordinary spelling *r* does not precede a vowel, but (r_c) when a vowel follows. I conclude therefore that his 'point glide' is always meant for (r) or (h), forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. If so, and there was no option of trilling, I was not quite right in transcribing it by (ɹ). Mr. Sweet at first analyzed this vocal *r* into (əh), forming a diphthong with the preceding element, but at present he feels inclined to substitute the simple voice glide unrounded, this is (h), as I have done, and also Mr. Graham Bell himself (1099, d). Cases of this change of (ɹ) into (r), are: *fear* *fearing* (fiɹ fi'r_i), *hair* *hairy* (heɹ he'r_i), *pour* *pouring* (poɹ po'r_i), *poor* *poorer* (puɹ pu'r_i). In case of (aa), the (r) is not inserted; *star* is (staa), not generally (staa'), but sometimes (staar), and *starry* is (staa'r_i), not (staa'r_i), which would have a drawly effect. Those who cannot say (ooɹ, oo'r-), generally give (AA, AA'r-), and rarely (AA', AA'r-); thus, (pAA, pAA'r_i). They do not usually distinguish *draws* *drawers*, but call both (draazs). For *glory* we often hear (dlAA'r_i), even from educated speakers, which is certainly much less peculiar than (gloo'r_i), which, when I heard it from the pulpit, completely distracted my attention from the matter to the manner. The words *four*, *fore*, *for*, would be constantly confused by London speakers, were not the last usually without force. We often hear *before* *me*, *for* *me*, *for* *instance*, pronounced (bifAA'mi, fami', fer'instens).

(i). See No. 6, (i). Here it occurs in an open syllable, see (1098, c), and 'unaccented.'

(kənee'r_i). The syllables are all distinctly separated in speech, but by slurs only, thus (k < v - n < ee - h - r_i), that is, although the voice is not *cut off* after (v, h), the force diminishes so much that there is no appreciable glide from (v) to (n) or (h) to (r). Here then we have the rather unusual case of syllabication, assumed to be general by Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 118), where the consonant begins and the vowel ends the syllable.

UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

By *accent* I mean a prominence invariably given to one or more *syllables in a word*, on all occasions when it is used, unless special reasons require attention to be drawn to one of the other syllables. By *emphasis* I mean a prominence given to one or more *words in a clause*, varying with the mood and intention of the speaker. Accent is therefore "fixed," and emphasis is "free." The mode in which prominence is given may be the same in each, but as accented syllables may occur in emphatic words, the effects of emphasis must be considered independently of the effects of accent. Modern versification is guided by prominence, whether due to accent or emphasis. Prominence in English accent is due principally to force, occasioning greater *loudness* of the most vocal parts of a syllable, and greater *clearness*. The non-prominent syllables, commonly called unaccented, are usually deficient in force, and in English decidedly obscure. Obscurity is, however, no necessary accompaniment of want of force, and not associated with it in all languages. The same is true for unemphatic syllables. There are many monosyllables which in English speech are habitually united with one another, and with the adjacent words, so as to form temporary new words, so far as pronunciation is concerned. It is only our habits of writing which lead us to consider them as distinct. In this combination they suffer alterations in various ways, but these are habitually disregarded in orthography; and the question of how far they should be recognized in any reformation of spelling is at present quite unsettled. Most English phonologists have written a *pada* or analysed, and not the real *sanhitā* or combined, words of speech. Mr. Melville Bell forms an exception, but only to a moderate extent. *Emphasis* in English does not consist merely of loudness, or of additional loudness. Length, quality, distinctness, rapidity, slowness, alterations of pitch, all those varieties of utterance which habitually indicate feeling in any language, come into play. With these I shall not interfere. The various physical constituents of accent and emphasis have been considered by me elsewhere.¹ Here we have only to consider, to some extent, the difference of pronunciation actually due to differences of prominence, so far as I have been able to note them.

Mr. Melville Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 116) lays down as one of the characteristics of English "the comparatively indefinite sounds of *unaccented* vowels," and explains this (*ib.* p. 117) as follows: "The difference between unaccented and accented vowels in colloquial pronunciation is one not merely of stress [force, loudness], but, in general, of quality also." This should mean that there are different series of vowel-sounds in accented and unaccented syllables. "The following are the tendencies of unaccented vowels," meaning, I believe, the tendencies of the speaker to alter the quality of a vowel as he removes force from it. The speaker thinks that he leaves the vowel unaltered, and the remission of force induces him involun-

¹ Transactions of the Philological Society for 1873-4, pp. 113-164.

tarily to replace it by another vowel. In our usual orthography, the *letter* generally remains, and hence we are led to say confusedly that the *vowel* itself alters. We are in the habit of considering two different sounds to be the same vowel when they are commonly represented by the same sign. Possibly at one time there was a clear pronunciation given to these vowels, similar to that given to vowels having the same written form in accented syllables. We have no proof of this, for writers may from the first have contented themselves with approximative signs in the unaccented syllables. This is in fact most probable in English, to which language alone the present remarks refer, every language having its own peculiar mode of treating such syllables. Mr. Bell proceeds to describe these 'tendencies' as follows:—for the technical language, see (13, b).

"I. From Long to Short.—II. From Primary to Wide.—III. From Low and Mid to Mid and High.—IV. From Back and Front to Mixed.—V. From 'Round' (Labio-Lingual) to Simple Lingual.—VI. From Diphthongs to single intermediate sounds. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th tendencies combined, affect all vowels in unaccented syllables, and give a general sameness to thin sounds. The 'High-Mixed Wide' vowel (*y*) is the one to which these tendencies point as the prevailing unaccentual sound.¹

"The next in frequency are:—the 'high-back-wide' (*ɤ*), which takes the place of the 'mid-back' vowels (*ɶ*, *a*);—the 'high-front-wide' (*ɨ*), which takes the place of the 'front' (*i*, *éi*);—the 'mid-front-wide' (*e*), which takes the place of (*ɛ*);—and the 'mid-mixed-wide' (*ah*), which takes the place of (*æ*). Greater precision is rarely heard, even from careful speakers; but among the vulgar the sound (*y*) almost represents the vowel-gamut in unaccented syllables.

"The 5th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of unaccented *ō* (in *borough*, *pronounce*, *geology*, *philosophy*, etc.) as (*ɶ*) instead of (*o*); and the (*ɶ*) constantly tends forwards and upwards to (*ə*, *ah*, *ɤ*) and (*y*).

"The 6th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of the pronouns *I* and *our* (*ə*, *ɶ*); in the change of *my* (*mái*) into (*my*) or (*mɨ*), when unemphatic; in the regular pronunciation of the terminations *-our*, *-ous* (*ɶ*, *ɶs*); in the change of the diphthong *day* (*déi*) into (*de*, *di*, *dy*) in *Monday*, etc.

"The possibility of alphabetically expressing such fluctuations of sound is a new fact in the history of writing. In ordinary 'Visible Speech' printing a standard of pronunciation must, of course, be adopted. Custom is the lawgiver, but the habits of the vulgar are not to be reflected in such a standard. The principle may be safely laid down that the less difference a speaker makes between accented and unaccented syllables—save in quantity—the better is his pronunciation."

From this last principle I dissent altogether. Any attempt to pronounce in accordance with it would be against English usage, and would be considered pedantic, affected, or 'strange,' in even

¹ See Buchanan's use of (*ɨ*) in many unaccented syllables, *suprà* pp. 1053-4.

the best educated society. Mr. Bell ends by referring to a table, which, he says, "exhibits the extent to which distinctive sounds for unaccented vowels may be written in accordance with educated usage." This table (Vis. Sp. p. 110) says that the following sounds "occur only in unaccented syllables, and in colloquial speech."

(v) in -tion, -tious, -er	(oh) in -or, -ward
(y) in the, -es	('hw) in now, out
(uh) in -ure, -ful	(uw) in our
(oh) in -ory	

Mr. Bell accordingly consistently carries out these 'tendencies' in his Visible Speech examples. I regret to say that I consider them principally theoretical, and that they differ both from my own use and my own observations. Historically of course his 6th tendency, as illustrated, is founded on a mistake, quite parallel to that which declares *a* to become *an* before a vowel, instead of *an* to have become *a* before a consonant. It is not the diphthong which has in these cases degenerated into a vowel, but the vowel which in accented syllables has developed into a diphthong. But so unfixed are the habits of our pronunciation, that almost any utterance of unaccented syllables would be intelligible; and so dreadfully afraid are many speakers of being classed among the 'vulgar' (whom Mr. Bell and most orthoepists condemn, but who, as the Latin *vulgus* implies, form the staple of speakers), that they become so 'careful' as almost to create a *spoken* as well as a *written* 'literary language,' which is altogether artificial.

To analyse our unaccented sounds is extremely difficult. They are so fleeting and obscure, and so apt, when we attempt to hold them, to alter in character, by involuntary muscular action of the speaker, that even when the observer is the speaker himself, no implicit reliance can be placed on his results. A word dislocated from its context is like a fish out of water, or a flower in an herbarium. In the introduction to the third part of this book (subsequently enlarged and distributed), I proposed certain lists of words containing unaccented syllables, in some faint hope of getting a few answers respecting them. I have received none. I shall therefore endeavour to answer them myself, so far, and so far only, as I believe I do actually pronounce in unaccented speech. Before doing so, I beg to call attention to my radical difference from Mr. Bell in using (e, ə) for his (ɛ, æ); to my omission of the permissive trill in (ɹ) and consequent substitution of (ə, v, 'h, '), together with my use of a trilled (r) before vowels in place of his untrilled (r_o), see (1098, *bc*); to my use of the simple jerk (ɪ) in place of (ɪh, ɪh, ɪh); and to my utter disregard for all conventionalities in this attempted photograph. As to the symbol (v) I do not feel quite sure whether it exactly represents my sound, which however I think is not quite (ə). As a general rule, when (ə) is written, it is supposed to glide on distinctly to the following consonant. When (v) is used, this is not the case. Hence, in closed syllables, (v) has the effect of a long unaccented vowel (æə), and (ə) of a short unaccented vowel. Consequently (v)

answers to the sound which English and American humorists write either *a* or *er* unaccented, in an open syllable; and (ə) to what they write *u* in a closed syllable. The exact analysis of the sounds is extremely difficult. The English sound meant is not French *e* mute, nor is it Icelandic *u* final, both of which appear to me as (ə). But I seem to hear it in the German *e* final as usually pronounced, when it is not pedantically or locally replaced by (e). And it is probably the same sound as was represented by final *e* in Old English, (119, c'. 318, a. 678, b). To those who, like Mr. Murray, use (æ) in accented syllables, the unaccented sound becomes (ə). When, however, as in my own case, the accented sound is already (ə), the unaccented decidedly differs from it, and this difference I represent, with considerable hesitation, by (v). This hesitation arises from my not being satisfactorily conscious of the rising of the back of the tongue in passing from (ə) to (v), as in (bæ'tə) *better*, and hence the uneasy sense that after all the difference may be merely one of mode of synthesis, dependent on the nature and length of glides. See (1145, c').

I. Terminations involving *R, L, M, N.*

-and, husband brigand headland midland (hæ'zbʊnd bri'gʌnd hɛd'lænd mi'dlænd). I doubt as to (ʌn), or ('n), but feel that there is some gliding and very obscure vocality before (n). Some 'careful speakers' might venture on (ænd) in the last three words, none would do so in the first, ags. hūsbonða; and yet I think the second vowel differs from the first, and that we do not say (hæ'zbənd). The final (d) of this word is constantly omitted before a following consonant, as (mæi hæ'zbən noo'wɪz).

-end, dividend legend (dɪ'vɪdɪnd lɛd'zɛnd). Both foreign words. The first from speakers not much used to it, like the second, ends in (-end), those much used to it say (-ɪnd), some may say (-ənd), but I think the intermediate (-ɪnd) more usual. The second, being a 'book word,' has quite an artificial pronunciation.

-ond, diamond almond (dæ'i'mænd æ'mend). Possibly some say (dæ'i'v-mend), many say (dæ'i'mend), or even (dæ'i'm'n).

-und, rubicund jocund (ruu'bɪkənd dʒɒ'kənd). Here (ən) is distinct, simply because the words are unusual.

-ard, haggard niggard sluggard renard leopard (hæ'gʌrd ni'gɜrd slə'gɜrd rɛ'nɛrd lɛ'pɜrd). Possibly (-əd, əəd) may be the real sound. Of course (-ɜrd) might be used, but would probably not be recognized, and also (-'rd). But (hæ'gæ'd, hæ'gærd) would be

ridiculous. The glide on to the (d) is short, and hence the preceding vowel has a long effect. Thus (ni'gʌd) is more like (ni'gæd) than (ni'gædd). This supplies the lost *r*.

-erd, halberd shepherd (hæ'l'bɜrd, -bʊt, she'pɜrd). The aspiration entirely falls away in the second word.

-ance, guidance dependance abundance clearance temperance ignorance resistance (gə'i'dəns dipe'ndəns ʌbʊndəns kli't'rəns tɛmpərəns i'gnərəns rɪ'zɪstəns). The termination is sometimes affectedly called (-æns), but this sound is more often used for clearness in public speaking, and it appeals to the hearer's knowledge of spelling. The first word has very frequently (gj), even from young speakers. The (dɪ-, rɪ-, v-) belong to III. Some 'careful speakers' will say (i'gnərəns)! Observe that (æns), considered as the historical English representative of Latin *-antia*, would be erroneous in the second and last words, and have no meaning in the first and fourth. 'Etymological' pronunciation is all pedantry in English, quite a figment of orthoepists.

-ence, licence confidence dependance patience (lə'i'səns kən'fɪdəns dipe'ndəns peə'shəns). This termination is absolutely undistinguishable from the last, except in the brains of orthoepists. Some 'careful speakers,' however, will give (-əns), some 'vulgar' speakers go in for (-ɪns), and some nondescripts hover into (-ɪns).

-some, meddlesome irksome quarrel-

some (me'd'lsem ee'ksəm kwə'relsem). The hiss of the (s) takes up so much of the syllable that the (-əm) is more than usually indistinct and difficult to determine, but I do not hear quite (sem). Some will say (kwə'relsəm), when they think of it.

-sure, pleasure measure leisure closure fissure (ple'zhə me'zhə le'zhə kloozhə fi'shə). Some say (lii'zhə). Before a following vowel (r) is retained, as (dhi ple'zhərev me'zhəriq frishəz). The spelling (-ure) has produced (-u', -uɪ, -iu'). They are all pseud-orthoepical.

-ture, creature furniture vulture venture. My own (-tiú', krii'tiú' fee'nitiú' vəl'tiú' ven'tiú') with (r) retained when a vowel follows, is, I fear, pedantically abnormal, although I habitually say so, and (krii't,shə, fee'nɪt,shə vəl't,shə ven't,shə) are the usual sounds. *Verdure verger* are usually both called (və'd,zhə).

-al, cymbal radical logical cynical metrical poetical local medial lineal victuals (sɪ'mbəl ræ'dɪkəl lɔ'dʒɪkəl sɪ'nɪkəl me'trɪkəl po'e'tɪkəl loo'kəl miɪ'dɪjəl lɪ'nɪjəl vɪ'tʌlʒ). The words *cymbal symbol* are identical in sound. Are the pairs of terminations -cal -cle, and -pal -ple, distinguished, compare *radical radicle*, and *principal principle*? If not, is -al really (-əl) or merely ('l)? I think that the distinction is sometimes made. I think that I make it. But this may be pedantic habit. No one can think much of how he speaks without becoming more or less pedantic, I fear. I think that generally -cal, -pal, are simply (-k'l, -p'l).

-el, camel pannel apparel (kæ'məl pæ'nəl ɒpə'rəl). Some may say (æpə'rəl).

-ol, carol wittol (kæ'rəl wɪ'təl). Some say (kæ'rəl). The last word being obsolete is also often read (wɪ'təl).

-am, madam quondam Clapham (mæ'dəm kwɒndəm Klæ'pəm). Of late, however, shopwomen say (mæ'dəm) very distinctly. I do not recall having ever heard (Klæ'pɒəm) either with (ɪ, ɪh) or (æ).

-om, freedom seldom fathom venom (frii'dəm seɪldəm fæðəm venəm). Perhaps emphatically (frii'dəm) may be heard, but I think that the (m) is more usually prolonged.

-an, suburban logician historian Christian metropolitan, and the compounds of man, as woman watchman

countryman (seɪə'bən lɔ'dʒɪʃən hɪstoʊ'riən krii's,tʃən me'trɒpə'li-tən, wʊ'mən wɒtʃsmən kən'trɪmən). No one says (wʊ'mæn), but (wɒtʃsmæn kən'trɪmæn) may be heard, as the composition is still felt.

-en, garden children linen woollen (gɑ:dn tʃɪl'drɪn lɪn'ɪn wʊ'lɪn). Here great arbitrariness prevails. See Smart's Principles, art. 114, who begins by quoting Walker's dictum: "nothing is so vulgar and childish as to hear *swivel* and *heaven* with the *e* distinct, and *novel* and *chicken* with the *e* suppressed," and then observes, "either the remark is a little extravagant, or our prejudices are grown a little more reasonable since it was written," and then adding, "still it is true that we cannot oppose the polite and well-bred in these small matters without some detraction from their favourable opinion; and the inquiry when we are to suppress the vowel in these situations, and when we are not, will deserve the best answer it is capable of," and he proceeds to examine them all. In the mouth of speakers who are not readers, the vowel is suppressed in all words they are in the constant habit of using. In the words learned out of books the vowel is preserved because written. In "polite" and "well-bred" families, the fear of being thought vulgar leads some, (especially the ladies who have been at school,) to speak differently from non-readers, and shew by their pronunciation that shibboleth of education, a knowledge of the current orthography of their language—the rest is all "leather and prunello," for who knows it but word-grubbers? and who are they? are they "polite" and "well-bred"? are they "in society"? Poor *Mopsae*! they are misled to be as bad as the *Docti interdum*! Affectation and pedantry are on a par in language.

-on, deacon pardon fashion legion minion occasion passion vocation mention question felon (di'i'kən pɑ:dn fæ'shən lii'jdʒən mɪ'nʃən ɔ'keɪʒən pæ'shən vɔ'keɪʒən me'nʃən kwə'stʃən fe'lən). Mr. Bell draws attention to the difference between *men shun him* and *mention him*, in the quality of the vowels (mən shən, mɛ'nshən), in Eng. Vis. Sp. p. 15. Some, not many, say (kwe'shən), and fewer still say perhaps (kwes'shən). In *felon* I hear clear (ən).

-ern, eastern cavern (iɪ'stən kævən).

But if so, what becomes of the distinction between *eastern* *Easton*? It seems quite lost, unless a speaker exaggerates the words into (i:stæn i:stænn). Having lived for some years in a set of houses called 'Western Villas,' I remember the great difficulty I always had in preventing people from writing 'Weston Villas,' shewing that *western* *Weston* were to them the same sounds.

-*ar*, vicar cedar vinegar scholar secular (vɪkə si:də vɪ'nɪgə skə'lə se:kju:lə). To say (-aa) in these words would be as disagreeable as in *together*, which I heard Toole the actor in a burlesque

exaggerate into (tʊ)gɛ'dhæa, the upper figures indicating length, see (1131, d).

-*er*, robber chamber member render (rɒ'bʊ tʃʃeə'mbɜ:mɛ'mbɜ:rɛ'ndɜ), unless a vowel follows, when (r) is added.

-*or*, splendor superior tenor error actor victor (splɛ'ndɜ siu'piu'ri)v te'nɜ e'rɜ æ'ktɜ vɪ'ktɜ). To use (-ə, -a) with or without (r) is to me quite strange.

-*our*, labour neighbour colour favour (lee'bɜ nee'bɜ kə'lɜ fee'vɜ). Considering that the distinction of spelling in -*or*, -*our* is quite arbitrary, any corresponding distinction of sound is out of the question.

-*ant*, pendant sergeant infant quadrant assistant truant (pendɛnt saa'dʒʌnt i'nfɛnt kwɔ'drɛnt esɪ'stɛnt tru'ɛnt). *Truant* is dialectally monosyllabic, as (traʌnt).

-*ent*, innocent quiescent president (i'nɛsɛnt kwɔ'ɪjɛ'sɛnt prɛ'zɪdɛnt). I can find no difference between this and the last.

-*ancy*, infancy tenancy constancy (i'nfɛnsɪ te'nɛnsɪ kɔnstɛnsɪ).

-*ency*, decency tendency currency (di'i'sɛnsɪ te'ndɛnsɪ kə'rensɪ). The slightly rarer occurrence of *tendency* would lead to occasional (te'ndɛnsɪ).

-*ary*, beggary summary granary notary literary (be'gɛrɪ sə'mɛrɪ græ'nɛrɪ noʊ'tɛrɪ li'tɛrɛrɪ). The last word varies, as (li'tɛrɛrɪ, li'tɛree:rɪ), with a double accent.

-*ery*, robbery bribery gunnery (rɒ'bɜrɪ brɔ'ɪbɜrɪ gɜ'nɛrɪ), absolutely the same as the last.

-*ory*, priory cursory victory history oratory (prɔ'ɪrɪ kə'sɔrɪ vɪ'ktɔrɪ hɪ'stɔrɪ ɔ'rɔtɔrɪ). Some endeavour to say (vɪ'ktɔrɪ hɪ'stɔrɪ), and probably succeed while they are thinking of it. In the last word there is often a slight secondary accent, so that (ɔ'rɔtɔ:rɪ) or perhaps

Mr. Bell might say (ɔ'rehtɔ:rɪ) may be heard; and similarly (prɪ'pɛrɔtɔ:rɪ), etc.

-*ury*, usury luxury (juu'zʊəri lə'kʃəri). Such forms as (juu'ziuri, lə'ksiuri), or even (juu'zʊrɪ lə'kʃʊrɪ), are pseud-orthoeptic.

II. Other Terminations.

-*a*, sofa idea sirrah (soo'fə ə'ɪdii'sɪrə). There is often a difficulty in separating *idea* from *I, dear*! (ə'ɪdii), but in *dear* (di') there should be a complete monosyllabic diphthong, in *idea* at most a slur (ə'ɪdii-ə). The last word is often called (sə're). In all these terminations the (-ə) recalling a written -*er*, and hence the supposed vulgarity of adding on an (r),—which in the -*er* case really occurs euphonically before a following vowel, — 'careful speakers,' and others when they want particularly to call attention to the absence of *r*, will often use (-ah) or (-aa), as (soo'fah ə'ɪdii'jah). This is oratorically permissible (by which I mean, that it is not offensive, unintelligible, or pedantic), and very convenient for giving distinctness. In ordinary speech, however, (-ə) is universal.

-*o*, -*ow*, -*ough*: hero stucco potato tobacco widow yellow fellow sorrow sparrow borough (hi'i'ro stə'ko potee'j-to tɒbə'ko wi'do ʒə'lə felə sɔ'ro spə'ro bɔ'ro). Here great varieties occur, but the usual 'educated' pronunciation is (-o); in the last word, however, (-ə) is very common, as (bɔ're). I think (o) in (hi'i'ro) is universal; the (v) in (stə'kə), the next word, seems to belong to journeyman plasterers. In the three next the well-known (teetə bækə wi'də), in Ireland (tæetɪ wi'dɪ), make (-o) obligatory among the "polite" and "well-bred." But (ʒə'lə felə) are very common in educated speech, and even (ʒə'lə) is heard from older speakers. I don't recollect hearing (sɔ're), but certainly (spə're) may be heard in London.

-*ue*, -*ow*: value nephew (vælɪu ne-viʊ). No educated person says (vælɪ ne-vɪ).

-*iff*, -*ock*: sheriff bannock haddock paddock (she'rif bæ'nək hæ'dək pæ'dək), with distinct ending in England, but all end in simple (-ə) in Scotland.

-*ible*, -*ibility*: possible possibility. I am used to say (pɔ'sɪbl pɔ'sɪbɪlɪtɪ), but the common custom, I think, is (pɔ'sebl, pɔ'seɪbɪlɪtɪ).

-*ach*, stomach lilach (stə'mæk lə'i'læk), with distinct (ə), but *maniac* (mæ'niæk) preserves (æ).

-*acy*, -*icy*: prelacy policy (pre'lesi pə'lisi) are my pronunciation, but (pə'lesi) is, I think, more common. In *obstinacy* (ə'bstinesi) a slight tendency to secondary accentual force and a reminiscence of *obstinate* (ə'bstinet) often preserves (-esi).

-*ate*, [in nouns] laureate frigate figurate (lɑɑ'rijet fri'get fi'giu'ret). Usage varies. In *frigate* the commonness of the word produces (fri'git); in *figureate*, its rarity gives (fi'giu'ret), but (fi'geret) would be its natural sound. In verbs, as *demonstrate*, I usually say (-eet, demən'street). Many persons, perhaps most, accentuate (dīmən'stret). I am accustomed to talk of the (*I*-lastreeted Nīūz), the newsboys generally shout out (*I*-lastretid Nuuz), with a tendency to drop into (lə'strɪ'd).

-*age*, village image manage cabbage marriage (vi'led, zh i'med, zh mæ'ned, zh kæ'bed, zh mæ'rɪd, zh). Of course (d, zh, sh) is said before the pause. The vowel is commonly (i) in all, but I feel a difference in *marriage carriage*. The (i) is very common in *village cabbage*.

-*ege*, privilege college (pri'velid, zh, kə'lid, zh). Some say (-ed, zh); (-iid, zh) is never heard. Some say (pri'velid, zh), apparently to prevent the concurrence of (i).

-*ain*, -*in*: certain Latin (səə'tɪn Læ'tɪn) are, I think, my sounds, but (səə'tɪn Læ'tɪn) are not uncommon, (səə'tɪn səə'teen) may occasionally be heard. *Captain* is generally (kæ'ptɪn), 'carefully' (kæ'pten), 'vulgarly' (kæ'pn).

-*ing*, a singing, a being (v si'ɪŋ, v bi'ɪŋ). In educated English pronunciation the -*ing*, either of noun or participle, is distinct (-ɪŋ). Any use of (-in) or distinction of (-in, -ɪŋ) is provincial or uneducated.

-*ful*, mouthful sorrowful (mə'u'thful sɔ'ɹɒfʊl). Educated speakers rarely seem to fall into (sə'ɹɒfʊl). In *mouthful* the composition is too evident to allow of this, and indeed the word is often made (mə'u'thful).

-*fy*, -*ize*: terrify signify civilize baptize (te'rɪfai si'gnɪfai si'vilə'iz bæptə'ɪz). The final diphthong is quite distinct.

-*it*, -*id*, -*ive*, -*ish*: pulpit rabbit rabid restive parish (pʊlpɪt ræ'bɪt ræ'bɪd rɛ'stɪv pæ'rɪʃ). The (i) is quite unobscured.

-*il*, evil devil (iɪ'vɪl de'vɪl). 'Careful speakers,' especially clergymen, insist on (iɪ'vɪl de'vɪl), pseud-orthoepically.

-*y*, -*ly*, -*ty*, etc.: mercy truly pity (məə'si tru:li pi'ti), with unobscured (i). To pronounce (tru:lə'i) is not now customary, even in biblical reading; and (tru:lə'i shu:lə'i) are mere 'vulgaritys.'

-*mony*, harmony matrimony testimony (hɑɑ'məni mə'trɪməni tɛ'stɪməni). The first word has, perhaps invariably, (-məni). In the other two a secondary accent sometimes supervenes, and (-mɔ:nɪ, -mɔ:ni, -moh:ni, -moh:nɪ) may be heard, which occasionally even amounts to (-moo:nɪ).

-*most*, hindmost utmost bettermost foremost (hə'i'ndmɔst ə'tmɔst be tɛmɔst fɔo'mɔst). This is, I think, the regular unconscious utterance, but (-moost) is occasionally said. The (-mɔst) is in fact a regular degradation of (-most).

-*ness*, sweetness, etc., (swi:tnes). The (s) generally saves a vowel from degradation, at least with me. Which of the three (-nes, -nis, -nys) is most common, I do not know.

-*eous*, righteous piteous plenteous (rə'i:tʃəs pi'tʃəs ple'ntʃəs) are, I think, my own 'careful,' i.e. rather pedantic, pronunciations. I believe that (rə'i:tʃəs, pi'tʃəs pi'tʃiʃəs pi'tiʃəs, ple'ntiʃəs ple'ntʃiʃəs) are more common. These are all orthographical changelings of uncommon words. The first is merely religious now-a-days, with a bastard, or rather a mistaken, French termination.

-*ious*, precious prodigious (pre'shəs prɒdɪ'dʒəs). Never divided into (-iʃəs).

-*ial*, -*ialty*, -*iality*: official, partial partiality, special specialty speciality (əfi'shəl, paa'shəl paa:ʃiʃiə'li:ti, spe'shəl spe'shəlti spe:ʃiʃiə'li:ti). All the (-i)ə:l- are orthographical products.

-*ward*, forward backward awkward upward downward froward toward towards (fɑɑ'wəd bæ'kwəd ɑɑ'kwəd ə'pʊəd də'u'nwəd frow'əd too'ɹəd too'dz). An older pronunciation of (fɔ'rəd bæ'kəd ɑɑ'kəd) may be occasionally heard from educated speakers; it is common among the 'vulgar.' I have not noticed the omission of (w) in *upward downward*, or its insertion in the rather unusual words *froward toward*. The word *towards* is variously called (too'dz, tuwɑɑ'dz), and even (tə'u'ɹdz), of which the first is most usual, the second not uncommon, and

the last very rare from educated speakers.

-wise, likewise sidewise (lə'i'kwə'iz sə'i'dwə'iz), with distinct diphthong.

-wife, midwife housewife goodwife. Here orthographical readers say (mi'd.wə'if hə'uswə'if gu'dwə'if). But (mi'də'if) is more common, and no actor would speak otherwise in describing Queen Mab, RJ 1, 4, 23 (717, 54). The thread-and-needle-case is always called a (həz'if), and the word (hə'zi), now spelled *hussy*, shews the old disuse of (w), and similarly (gu'di), now written *goody*.

-wich, Greenwich Woolwich Norwich Ipswich (Gr'i'ni'd,zh Wu'li'd,zh Nə'ri'd,zh I'psid,zh).. The last is the local pronunciation, (I'pswīt,sh) is merely orthographical, and similarly I have heard the Astronomer Royal say (Gri'nwīt,sh). Living in the place, no doubt (Gr'i'n-īd,zh) is an abomination in his ears. Railway porters also are apt to 'corrupt' names of places orthographically, as when they call *Uttoxeter* (Juntə'ksite), in place of (ʔ'ksete).

-eth, speaketh (spi'keth). The termination having gone out of use, the pronunciation is purely orthographical.

-ed, pitted pitied, added (pi'ted pi'tid, æ'ded). The *-ed* is lost in (d, t), except after (t, d). What the vowel is, seems to have been a matter of doubt from very early times, *-id*, *-ed* constantly interchanging in MSS. At present (*-ed*, *-id*, *-yd*) are heard. Few make the distinction, here given, between *pitted* and *pitied*.

-es, *-s*, *-s*: princes prince's, churches church's, paths path's, cloth's cloths clothes, wolves (pri'nsezs, tshə'atshesz, paadhzs paaths, kloths kloths kloodhzs, wulvzs). The vowel in *-es* is subject to the same doubt as that in *-ed*. In the genitive *path's*, I am accustomed to give (-ths), in the plural *paths*, to give (-dhzs). The plural *cloths* is unfamiliar to me, and my pronunciation is orthographical. In *clothes* the *th* is usually omitted, as (kloo'vz, tloo'wz). The cry (ol tloo)! for *old clothes*! used to be very well known in London fifty years ago, and is not yet quite extinct; although the familiar long-bearded Jew, with a black bag over his shoulder and a Dutch clock (really a Schwarzwälder Uhr) under his arm, the pendulum separate and held in his hand, while one finger moved the hammer which struck the hour, beating a ringing time to his (ol

tloo! tloo! tloo!), has given place to a "card" left in an envelope addressed "to the mistress of the house," and offering to buy "wardrobes" to any extent, "for shipment to the colonies"!

III. Various Initial Syllables.

a-, with various following consonants: among astride alas abuse avert advance adapt admire accept affix *v.* announce append alert alcove abyss. The utmost variety prevails. When two pronounced consonants follow, as in *accept advance admire alcove* (æksə'pt ædvaa'ns ædmə'i' ælkoov), there is generally an unobscured (æ). Otherwise the ordinary custom is to pronounce (ə, v), or even ('h) with excessive brevity and indistinctness, on account of the following accent. On the other hand, some speakers insist on (ah), or even (æ), although for (æ) they feel obliged to glide on to the following consonant. This is usually done when the following consonant is doubled in writing, and the pronunciation is then orthographical, as in (æno'ʊns, æpe'nd), and in unusual words as (æbi's). But (emə'q, l'hmə'q, ah)mə'q, æmə'q) may all be heard. If any one say (e), as (emə'q), it is a pure mistake.

e-, with various preceding consonants: elope event emit, beset begin, depend debate, despite destroy, precede repose. None of these words are of Saxon origin, hence varieties of fanciful and orthographical pronunciations, as (e, ii), and the more usual, but unacknowledged (i). In some cases, as *decent descent dissent*, fear of ambiguity will lead to (di'sent di'sent di'sent), but the two last words are usually (dis'ent). In *emerge immerge*, we have occasionally (ii'mæ:dzh i'mmæ:dzh), but usually (imæ'dzh) for both. After (r) the (i) is predominant. Simple (e) is often (ii) or (i), as (iiloo'p, iive'nt), but (i) seems easier for English organs at present. Many insist on (bese't, beg'in, depe'nd), etc., but this seems to me theoretical, though I hear occasionally (bə-, də-), etc. In *despite destroy*, the (s) preserves the (e) in my mouth, and I say (despo'i't destrə'i'). In *eclipse* I think I usually keep (e) and say (ekli'ps), but cannot be sure of not often saying (i)kli'ps).

bi-, binocular biennial bilingual. Here usage varies. Some insist on distinct (bə'i), but others use (bi) when the word has become familiar. Thus

(bə'ino:kɪʊlə) used always to be said, but since the binocular microscopes and opera glasses have become common, (bino:kɪʊlə) is often heard. In *bisect* we hear both (bə'ise:kt bise:kt) often from the same mathematical speaker, at short intervals. When the accent falls on the *bi*-, we usually have (bi'), as *bicycle biparous* (bi'sɪkl bi'perəs), but occasionally (bə'i) remains, as *binary* (bə'i'nəri); compare *combine combination* (kəmbo'i:n kə:mbinə'shen).

di-, direct divide (di're:kt di'və'id). The last word has always (di), the first has constantly (də'i). The same *diversity* exists in this word with *divest diversion*, etc. All these (də'i) are clearly orthographical.

o-, *pro*-, etc.: oblige occasion oppose promote produce *v.* propose (oblə'i:dʒ əke'e:ʒən opoo'z promoo't prɒdi'u:s propoo'z) seem to be my pronunciations, but (ə) is sometimes heard in all, and (ʊ) occasionally, as *I should be much obliged to you if you would occasionally promote this proposal*, (ə'i: shʊdbi mə'tʃəblə'i:dʒ,ʒ,ʃtʊrə i:frudeke'e-zheneli premoo't dhɪ:sprepoo'zəl).

to-, to-morrow together (tʊm'ro tʊge'dhe). I have been accustomed to consider these my pronunciations, but suspect that I often fall into (tu-, tʌ-).

for-, *fore*:- forbid forgive forego foretell (fab'i:d fagi'v foo'goo'w' foo'te'll). But the two last have frequently simple (fa-).

IV. Unemphatic Words.

These words may become emphatic or receive more or less degrees of force, causing their sound to vary. They have therefore clear forms and obscure forms, and these forms are assumed pretty much at the pleasure of the speaker. The obscurity often amounts to absolute suppression of vocalicity. They are here given, in the order of frequency of occurrence, according to Mr. D. Nasmyth (Practical Linguist, English, 1871), who determined this order by actual numeration in books of exceedingly different character. The clear sound is given first, separated by a (—) from the rest.

and (ænd—ənd, ən, n, nh), the (d) is most frequently omitted before a consonant, as *bread and milk* (bre:ðən'mɪlk). The sound is often so extremely brief that it is recognized by instinct rather than by hearing.

the (dhi—dhi dhy dhɪ dh dhe dhu

dhə). Some speakers always say (dhɪ) or (dhy), for it is difficult to determine the precise sound. Others use (dhi), and even try to keep (dhi, dhii), before vowels only. In poetry this (dhi) becomes (dhɪ) or even (dh). Before consonants some endeavour to use (dhe), but this generally results in (dhe) or (dhə), and singers are usually taught to sing (dhəə), precisely as if the word were written there.

I (ə'i). In received speech this word does not change in losing force. Whichever of its various sounds a speaker chooses (i100, ə') for his normal pronunciation is preserved throughout.

you (juu—ju, ju, jʊ). The (jʊ) is not recognized. After (t, d) the (j) often passes into (ʃ, ʒ), but this is also not recognized. Both are frequently heard nevertheless.

he (hi—hi hi i i). The (h), which includes (hɪ, ɪh), according to the speaker's habits, is constantly lost when *he* is enclitic.

she (shi—shi shi sh'i). The last is frequent in rapid conversation.

it (it). This does not seem to vary, except of course as (t) when convenient, but even this is rather 'poetical.'

we (wi—wi wi). The (w) is never lost.

they (dhee'j—dhe dhe), but not degenerating to (dhe).

have (hæv—hæv ev v). The (h, hɪ, ɪh) is constantly omitted when the word is enclitic, and simple (v) occurs after a vowel.

will (wɪl—wɪl wɪ l). The (l) is frequent after a vowel.

shall (ʃæl—ʃɪl shlh). The last form is frequent.

one (wən—wən). The degradation into (ən) is not received.

to (tuu—tu tu tʊ). Often extremely short. The pronunciation (too) may be heard from old people and Americans occasionally. The difference between *to too two* is well shewn in such a sentence as: *I gave two things to two men, and he gave two, too, to two, too* (ə'i: geev tuu'thi:qz tetuu' men, ɛnhii:geev tuu'tuu: tetuu'tuu:).

be (bi—bi bi bɛ). The last form is careless.

there (dhee'—dhe), before vowels (dhee'r dher dher).

a (ee'j—e əh v). 'Careful speakers' use (e) or (əh), but these sounds are quite theoretical; and (v) or (ə) is the only usual sound. Before a vowel (æn

en). Before (*n*), beginning an unaccented syllable, it is now the fashion to write *a*, and I suppose to say (*ee*) or (*ee'*), but I always use *an*, and say (*æ:n*) with a secondary *accent*, not omitting the following (*n*), but rather gaining a fulcrum for its introduction, as *an historical account, an harangue* (*æ:n-his-tō-ri-kəl ə-kə'u-nt, æ:n-hæ-ræŋ-q*).

my (*mə'i-mi*), in *myself, my lord*, always (*mi*), but otherwise (*mə'i*) is constantly preserved pure, (*mi*) is Irish.

his (*hizs, hīz-iz*), the (*n*) commonly lost when enclitic.

our (*ə'u, ə'u'r*), preserved pure.

your (*juu, juu'r-Je, Jer*). Although (*Je*) is not unfrequent, it is not recognized.

her (*hæ hæ-r-ə*). The (*n*) is dropped constantly in *he his him her*.

their, treated as *there*.

of (*əv-əv əv ə*), the (*ə*) is very common before consonants. Several old speakers still say (*əf*).

would (*wud-w'd d*), the last after vowels.

should (*shud-sh'd sh'd*), the last not very unfrequent.

or (*aa aar ōr-AA ar ə*), the (*r*) only before a vowel; the (*A*) most common, but (*ə*) not unfrequent before a consonant. Similarly for *nor*.

for (*faa faar fōr-fa far fə*) treated like *or*, but (*fə* *fer*) are very common.

that (*dhæt-dhæt dh't*). The demonstrative pronoun is always distinct, the subordinating conjunction and relative are almost always obscure, as *I know that that that that man says is not that that that one told me* (*əinoo'dh't dhæt dh'tdhæt mæn sez iz-not-dhæt dh't-dhæt-twən too'w'ldmi*).

on (*on*), preserved clear.

do (*duu-du du də*), the last not so rare.

which (*whitsh witsh-wh'tsh witsh*).

Numerous other peculiarities of modern pronunciation would require careful consideration in a full treatise, which must be passed over at present. The following comparison of Mr. Melville Bell's 'careful' system of unaccented vowels and my own 'colloquial' pronunciation will serve to show perhaps the extreme limits of 'educated' pronunciation. Mr. Bell has divided his words in the usual way, forming an isolated or *pada* text. I have grouped mine as much as possible into those divisions which the native speaker naturally adopts, and which invariably so much puzzle the foreigner who has learned only from books. This grouping gives therefore a combined or *sanhitā* text. Mr. Bell's specimen is taken from

Some speakers always preserve (*whitsh*), others always preserve (*witsh*).

who (*huu-hu hu u*), but (*u*) is rare.

by (*bə'i*), preserved pure, (*bi*) is hardly in use.

them (*dhem-dhym dhəm*), the last not thought 'elegant.' The (*em* *əm*) forms are due to the old *hem*, and are common enough even from educated speakers, but usually disowned.

me (*mii-mi mi mē*), the last is, perhaps, Irish, common in (*tuu me from-mē widh-mē*) to *me, from me, with me*, etc.

were (*wee', wee'r, wəə, wəər-we wer*).

with (*widh with-wi*), generally preserved pure, (*with*) is heard from older speakers.

into (*i'ntu intuu-intu intē*), unemphatically neither syllable receives force.

can (*kæn-k'n kn*), the last forms common.

cannot (*kæ'not, kaant*), kept pure.

from (*frəm-frəm*), often kept pure. *as* (*æzs æz-əz z*), (*əz*) common, (*z*) rare.

us (*əs-əs*), both common.

sir (*səə, səər-sə*), and after *yes* simply (*ə*), as *yes sir* (*Jə'sə*).

madam (*mæ'dem-mæm mem mim məm mem m'm m*). After *yes* and *no* the syllable used by servant girls is (or was, for the use is declining) hard to seize. *No ma'am* is not at all (*noo'wəm*), but nearer (*nom-m*), the first (*m*) being short, and the second introduced by a kind of internal decrease of force, which is scarcely well represented by a slur, but I have no sign for it, and so to indicate the dissyllabic character I write helplessly (*nom'm, jə'sm'm*). I have not succeeded in uttering the sound except enclitically.

pp. 13 and 14 of his 'English Visible Speech' (no date, but subsequent to his larger work, which was published in 1867), as containing his latest views. In transliterating his symbols I retain (ɹ) for his 'point-glide,' or glide from the vowel to his untrilled (r_o), see (1098, *bc*). In diphthongs Mr. Bell's 'glides' are represented by (i, u) connected with a vowel bearing an acute accent, as (ái, iú). Mr. Bell's aspirate is represented by (ɸh), see (1133, *b'*). It should be remembered that (ʋ, ɛ) are the capitals of (v, ə), and (:A, :E) of (A, ɛ); that (·) is the primary and (:) the secondary accent, both written immediately after the vowel in the accented syllable; and that in connected writing, marks of accent are not distinguished from marks of emphasis. In unconnected writing, like Mr. Bell's, (·) prefixed marks emphasis. Mr. Bell does not write the accent when it falls on the first syllable of a word, and he writes it in other cases before the initial consonant of the accented syllable, according to his own syllabic theory; but in this transliteration the usual palaeotype customs are of course followed. Mr. Bell has not always been very careful, as it appears to me, in marking quantities, but his quantities are here carefully reproduced. I have not thought it necessary to give the usual spelling, as most of the sentences are very familiar.

MELVILLE BELL.

Miseléi·nɪəs Sɛ·nhtenhsyz,
Prə·vɛɪbz, ɛtsɛ'tɔrah.

Ah laɪdʒh de'·rɔi·fəɪm.

Ah fáí'·rɔi·tɛmhpɛɪd fɛ'lo.

Whət ah fiú'·rɔi·s tɛ'mhpɛst.

Ah wái'·rɔi·hɛ'ɪd tɛ'rɔi·vɪ.

Ah rɔi'·rɔi·q stə'bɔhɪm dɔ'qhkɪ.

Ah glɔ'·rɔi·s nɦa·vɛst-táim.

Nə'mbɛɪz əhnd ɔ'bdʒɛkts.

Ah nə'mbɛɪ əhv pɪ'ktʃhɪz.

Kɔ'ɪnz wéits əhnd mɛ'zɦɪz.

Dɦis ɪz əhn ɪi'zi buk tu rɔiɪd.

Pliiz dɔunht biit dɦy dɔg.

Ah prɔy'ti li'tl gɔu'ld-fɪnhtsh.

Dɦy nɦu nɦá·u·zɪz əhv pɛɪ·ly·
mɛnht.

Ah pæk əhv plɛe'iq kɛɪdʒ.

Ah kɛ'pitəhl káind əhv wɔ'tsh·
dɔg.

Ah vɛ'·rɔi· pɪktiúhr·ɛ'sk ɔuld
nɦáus.

Whət əh mahnɪ'fɪsɛnht piis əhv
wɛɪk.

ɔuld prɔ·vɛɪbz əhnd wáiz
mɛ'ksɪmz.

:Aa'lweez thɪqhk bɪfɔ· ɦu spiik.

Lii·st sɛd suu'nɛst mɛ'ndɛd.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

Mi:sələ·nɪəs Sɛ·ntɛnsɛz,
Prə·vɛɪbz, ɛtsɛ'tɔrɛ.

ɔlaa'dʒh deɛ'·rɪfəa:m.

ɔfɔ'·rɪtɛ:mpɛd fɛ'lo.

Whɔtə fiú'·rɪs tɛmpɛst'.

ɔwə'·rɪhɛe':d tɛ'rɪɛ.

ɔri'·rɪq stə'bɛn dɔ'qki.

ɔglɔo'·rɪəs nɦa·vɪsttɔ'i:m.

Nə'mbɛɪz ɛn ɔ'bdʒɛks.

ɔnə'mbɛrɛv pɪ'ktʃhɛz
(pɪ'ktiú'z, pɪ'ktjɦu'z).

Kɔ'ɪnz wɛe'jts ɛnme'zɦɛz.

Dɦi'siz ɛni·zi buk tɛriɪd.

Pliiizdɔ'wɛnt biit dɦidɔg.

ɔ pri'tili:t'l gɔo'w'ldfɪ:ntsh.

Dɦi·nɦu:nɦə'w·zɛz ɛvpəa'li·mɪnt.

ɔpɛ·kɛv plɛe'iqkəa:dʒs.

ɔkɛ'pitɛl kə'ɪndɛv wɔ'tshdɔ:g.

ɔvɛ:rɪpɪk:t,shɛrɛ'sk ɔo'w'ld nɦə'us.

Whɔtə mægnɪ'fɪsɛnt pi·sɛv
wɛɪk.

ɔo'w'ld prɔ·vɛɪbz, ɛnwə'·z
mɛ'ksɪmz.

:Aa'lwez thɪqk',bɪfɔo'·ɦu spiik'.

Lii·st' sɛd, suu'nɪst' mɛ'ndɪd.

MELVILLE BELL.

Fir Gød, ɔ'nɛɪ dhy Kiq, ahnd
 duu dhæt dhaht iz r.áit.
 Mæn pr.ɔpóu'zyz, bæt Gød dís-
 póu'zyz.
 Faast báind, faast fáind.
 Wéist nœht, wanht nœht.
 Lív ahnd ·let lív.
 Ah bæd wær·kmahn kwɔ'r.ɛlz
 wídh nhíz tuulz.
 Fr.ɛndz ín niid aɪ fr.ɛndz ín dɪi'd.
 A'í·dll juuth méiks níi·dɪ éidzh.
 Ah bláidh nhæit méiks ah bluu-
 miq féis.
 Bɛ'tɛɪ ah smaaɪ fɪsh dhahn ahn
 ɛ'mhtɪ dɪsh.
 Bœidz ɔhv ah fɛ'dhɛɪ flɔk tu-
 gɛ'dhɛɪ.
 Bɛ'tɛɪ bi ahlóu'n dhahn ín bæd
 kɛ'mhpahnɪ.
 What kaanht bi kiú·d mæst bi
 endiú·d.
 Bi slóu tu pr.ɔ'mís, bæt kwík tu
 pɛɪfɔɪm.
 Kɔ'mɛn sɛnhs gr.óuz ín aal
 kɛ'nhtɪz.
 Tshir·fəhlɛs ahnd gudnéi·tiúhɪ
 aɪ dhy ɔɪ'nahmɛnhts ɔhv
 vœɪtiú.
 Kɔnsii·liq faalhts iz bæt æ·diq
 tu dhɛm.
 Kɔhmaa'nd ju'sɛɪlf íf ju wud
 kɔhmaa'nd ɔ'dhɛɪz.
 Pœɪsiví'·r.əhnhs kɔh'qhkeɪz aal
 dɪ·fɪkəlhtiz.
 Dái·yt kiú·z mɔɪ dhahn dɔ·ktəh-
 riq.
 Dizœɪv sɛksɛ's íf ju wud
 kɔhmaa'nd ít.
 Dɛt iz dhy wæst káind ɔhv
 pɔ·væti.
 Duu what ju aat, kɛm what
 méi.
 Wændz aɪ líivz, diidz aɪ fr.úut.
 Duu dzhæ'stɪs, lɛv mæɪ'si,
 pr.æ·ktɪs nhumí·liti.
 Dɔgz dhaht bæɪk móust báit líist.
 Íi·vɪl kɔhmiúni·kéi·shɛnz kɔh-
 r.əpt gud mæ·nɛz.
 ɛ'mhtɪ vɛ'sɛlz méik dhy gréitɛst
 sáund.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

Fii' Gød, ɔ:nɛdhekí'q, ɛnduu-
 dhæ'tdhetiz r.ə'it.
 ·Mæn prɛpoo'zyzs, b'tGɔ'd dɪ's-
 poo'zyz.
 Faast ·bə'ind', faast ·fə'ind'.
 Wɛɛ'stɔt, wɔ'ntɔt.
 Lɪ·v, ɛnlɛ't' lív.
 ʒbæ'dwæ:kɛmɛn kwɔ'rɛlz wídh-
 ɪztuu·lɪs.
 Frɛ:nzinnii'd a'frɛ:nzindii'd.
 ʒi:d'luu·th mɛksnii·dɪ, ɛɛ'd'zh·sh.
 ʒblɛ'í·dhæa:t mɛksebluu·míq-
 fɛɛ:s.
 Bɛ'tɛɪ smaa·lfi:sh dhɛnɛnɛ'mti-
 dɪ:sh.
 Bœ·dzœvɛfɛ:dhv flɔ·ktɛgɛ:dhv.
 Bɛ'tɛɪlɔo:n dhɛnɛnbæ'd kɛ'm-
 pɛni.
 Whɔt kaa'ntbi kiú·d mæsbii-
 ɛndiú·d.
 Bɪslóo'w tɛprɔ'mís, b'tkwí·k tɛ-
 pɛfæa'm.
 Kɔ:mɛnsɛns grɔo'wzin aal·kɔ'n-
 trɪz.
 T·shii'fɛlnɛs ɛngu'dnɛɛ:tshv
 ɛdhí·a·nɛmɪnts ɛv vœt'·shu
 (vœ·tiú).
 Kɔnsii·liq faalts iz·zb't æ·diqtɛ-
 dhym.
 Kɛmaa'nd ju'sɛɪlf, ífjuwud
 (í·frud) kɛmaa'nd ɔ'dhɛɪz.
 Pœɪ:siví'·rɛns kɔqkɛz ·aal dɪ·fi-
 kɛltɪz.
 ·Dɛ'í·ɛt kiú·z moo'·dhɛn dɔ·k-
 tɛriq.
 Dizœɪv sɛksɛ's ífjuwudkɛmaa'nd-
 ít.
 Dɛ'tɪzdhɪ wœɪst' kɔ'í·ndɛv
 pɔ·vɛti.
 Duu·whɔtju ·aat, (duu·wɔt·shu
 ·aat) kɛm whɔtmɛɛ'j'.
 ·Wœ·dzœ líivz, ·dii·dzœ fruut.
 Duu d·zhæ'stɪs, lɛv mæɪ'si, præk-
 tɪs jhumí·liti (jumí·liti).
 Dɔgz dhetbaa·k ·moost, bə'it líist.
 Íi·vɪl kɛmíúu:níkeɛ·sh'nz kɛrɔpt
 gud mæ·nɛz.
 ɛ'mti vɛ'sɛlz mɛɛ·kdhɛ grɛɛ'tyst
 sɔ'und.

MELVILLE BELL.

Egzaa'mhp̄ll̄ tii'tshyz mōi dhahn
 pr̄ii'sept.
 Ende'vei fōhi dhy best, ahnd
 pr̄ovái'd ahgá'nht dhy wáist.
 :E'v'r̄ibōhdiz bi'znes iz nōu-
 bōhdiz bi'znes.
 Dhy br̄ái'test láit kaasts dhy
 daa'kest shæ'do.
 Dhy fiu ōhv Gōd iz dhy bigi'n-
 iq ōhv wi'zdem.
 :Aal ōa'thl̄i tr̄e'zhw̄hiz ai véin
 ahnd flii'tiq.
 Gud wáidz kōst nā'thiq bēt ai
 wāth mātsh.
 Hhii dhaht gi'veth tu dhy pu
 lēndeth tu dhy Lōd.
 Hhii dā'blz h̄hiz gift h̄hu gi'vz
 in táim.
 Hhii h̄hu sōuz br̄æ'mblz m̄ast
 nōt gōu 'bē'fut.
 Hhōup lōq difōa'd mēi'keth dhy
 h̄hart s̄ik.
 Hhii h̄hu wāhts kōhntē'nht
 kē'nōht fáind ahn ii'zi tshēi.
 Hhii dhaht nōuz h̄h̄mse'lf 'best,
 istii'mz h̄h̄mse'lf 'liist.
 :Hhōup iz gr̄iifs best miúu'zik.
 If wi' du nōht sēbdiúu' áu
 pē'shenz dhēi w̄il sēbdiúu' 'as.
 In juuth ahnd str̄eqth thi'qhk
 ōhv éidzh ahnd wi'knēs.
 It iz nē'vei tuu léit tu mēnd.
 If ju wish ah thi'q dān, 'gōu;
 if nōt, sēnd.
 Dzho'kiúl̄er slā'ndērz ō'fnn
 pr̄uuv si'r̄iēs i'ndzhuhr̄iz.
 Kiip nōht nāi k̄a'vyt what iz nōht
 j̄ur̄o ōun.
 Láii'iq iz dhy váis ōhv ah slēiv.
 Lōm tu liv æz ju wud wish tu
 dái.
 Mē'dll nōht wiðh dhæt wh̄itsh
 kōhnsēa'nz ju nōt.
 Mēik nōht ah dzhest aht ahn-
 a'dherz infōa'mitiz.
 Mātsh iz ekspe'kted wh̄er mātsh
 iz gi'vnn.
 Mēni ah tr̄uu wáid iz spōu'kyn
 in dzhest.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

Egzaa'mp'l̄ tii't'shez moo'dhēn
 prii'sept.
 Ende've fēdhēbe'st, ēn prēvō'i'd
 ēge'nst' dhēwō'st'.
 E'vribēdiz bi'znys iz nōo bēdiz
 bi'znys.
 Dhēbr̄ē'i'tyst lō'it kaa'stsdhē
 daa'kyst' shæ'do.
 Dhifi'i'rēvGōd i:zdh̄ibigi'n̄iqēv
 wi'zdem.
 :Aal ōa'thl̄i trē:zhēz v̄vēēn ēn-
 flii'tiq.
 Gud wōēdz kaa'st nā'thiq bēv-
 wōēth mātsh.
 Hii'dhet gi'vith tedhēpuu'.
 lēndith tedhaLAA'd.
 Hii dē'bl̄z h̄izgi'ft hugi'vz
 intō'im.
 Hii'hu sōoz br̄æ'mblz mē'sent
 gōō'w bēē'fut'.
 Hōōp-lō:qdifēa'd mēē'kithdhē
 haat s̄ik'.
 Hii'hu wōnts kēntē'nt, kēnet-
 fō'i'nd ēnii'zi t'shēē'.
 Hii'dhet nōō'wz h̄imse'lf 'best',
 estii'mz h̄imse'lf 'liist'.
 Hōōpiz griifs best' miúu'zik'.
 Ifwiduu'not sēbdiúu' ō'u'pē-
 shēnz 'dhēē'j' w̄ilsēbdiúu' 'as.
 Injuuth ēnstre'qth thi'qkēv
 ēē'jdzh ēnwii'knys.
 Itiznē've tuu lēē'jt tēē'nd.
 Ifjuw̄i'sh ēthi'q dēn, 'gōō'w;
 ifnō't, 'sēnd.
 Dzho'kiúle slā'ndēz ō'f'n
 pr̄uuv si'i'r̄iēs i'ndzheriz.
 Kiipnōt nakēvet whōtiznōt
 juroo'w'n.
 Lēi'i'iq izdhevō'i's ēvēslee'vf.
 Lōēn tēli'v ēzjuwudw̄i'sh tēdē'i'i.
 Mē'd'lnot wiðhdhæt wh̄itsh
 kēnsēa'nz ju nōt.
 Mēē'knōtē d̄zhest ētēnē'dhez
 infōa'mitiz.
 Mētshiz ekspe'ktyd whē'-
 mētshiz gi'v'n.
 Mēnē truu wōēdiz spōō'k'n̄in
 d̄zhest.

MELVILLE BELL.

Misfóhrtiúnz ai dhy di'siplín
ohv hhiámæ'níti.

Næthiq óu'vekæmz pæ'shén
mœ dhahn sái'lenhs.

Nise'siti iz dhy mæ'dher, ohv
ínve'nshén.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

MisfAA't.shénz (misfAA'tiúnz)
a':dhidi'siplín [ɔvjhumæ'níti
([ɔvjumæ'níti).

Næthiq oo'vekæmz pæ'shén
moo'dhén sœ'i'lyns.

Nise'siti izdhæmæ'dher evínve'n-
shén.

COMPARISON OF MELVILLE BELL'S AND ALEX. J. ELLIS'S PRONUNCIATIONS.

The Parable of the Prodigal Son, which has been already given in Anglo-Saxon p. 534, Icelandic p. 550, Gothic p. 561, and Wycliffite English p. 740, is now annexed for comparison, as transcribed from Mr. M. Bell's English Visible Speech, p. 10, and as rendered by myself. Mr. Bell's is intended to represent a model pronunciation, and although the words are disjunct, they are meant to be read together, and the unemphatic monosyllables are treated by him accordingly, as (ah hahd ahnd), which, under the emphasis, he would write (éi h hæd ænd). My pronunciation is such as I should employ naturally if I had to read the passage to a large audience. The words connected in speech are connected by hyphens, instead of being run together as before, and the force is pointed out in each group. Mr. Bell had used hyphens to separate the syllables, but these are omitted in order not to employ hyphens in different senses in the two versions. Accent and emphasis are written as before, see p. 1168. Mr. Bell's glides are indicated by (ái áu ɹ) as before, and his untrilled (r) is thus marked.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON. LUKE xv. 11—32.

MELVILLE BELL.

11. Ah sœr'tyn mæn hahd
tuu sœnz :

12. ahnd dhy ɹæq'ger, ohv
dhém sœd tu hhi'z faa'dhæɹ:
Faa'dhæɹ, giv mi dhy pœr'shén
ohv gud'z dhaht faa'leth tu mi.
Ænd hhi divái'ded æntu dhém
hhi'z li'viq.

13. Ænd nœt me'ni déiz aah'f-
tæɹ, dhy ɹæq'ger sœn gæ'dhæd
aæl tuge'dhæɹ, ahnd tuk hhi'z
dzhæɹ'ni i'nhtu ah faɹ kæn'htɹ*i*,
ahnd dhæ wæist'ed hhi'z sœ'b-
stahnhs wiðh ɹæi'vætəs li'viq.

14. Ænd, when hhi hahd
spenht 'aæl, dhæɹ æhrœu'z ah
mái'ti fæ'mín in dhæt lænd;
ahnd hhi bigæ'n tu bi in wanh't.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

11. ʊ-sœæ'tyn mæn hæd-tuu
sœnz :

12. ʊn-dhæ-ɹæq'ger-ɐv dhym
sœd tu-iz-faa'dhæ, Faa'dhæ, giv-
mi-dhæ poo'shén-ɐv-gud'z dhæt-
faa'leth tu-mii'. Ænd hi-
divœ'i'ded œntu-dhém híz-li'viq.

13. ʊnd-nœt me'ni deez aa'ftæ,
dhæ-ɹæq'gæ sœn gæ'dhæd aæl
tuge'dhæ, ɐn-tu-k-iz dzhæœ'ni
intu-æ-faa' kæn'tri, ɐn-dhæe'
wæe'stæd-iz sœ'bstæns wiðh-
ræi'vætəs li'viq.

14. ʊn-whæn ni-ɐd-spœnt
'aæl, dhæɹ-ɐrœu'z ɐ-mæi'ti fæ'mín
in-dhæt lænd, ɐn-hi-bigæ'n
tu-bi-in-wœnt.

MELVILLE BELL.

15. Ahnd hhi wenht ahnd dzhó'ind hhimse'lf tu ah sítizen ohv dhæt kánh'trói, ahnd hhi senht hhim i'nhtu hhiiz fiildz tu fiid swáin.

16. Ahnd nhii wud féin nhahv fild hhiiz be'li widh dhy hñæks dhaht dhy swáin did iit: ahnd nóu mæn géiv anh'tu hhim.

17. Ænd, when hhi kéim tu hhimse'lf, hhi sed, Hháu me'ni hháid sœrvahnhts ohv mi faa'dhæz nhæv bræd inæf ahnd tu speɹ, ahnd ái pe'rish widh hñæqgeɹ.

18. Ái wíl ahr.ái'z ahnd góu tu mi faa'dhæɹ, ænd wíl séi ænhtu hhim, Faa'dhæɹ, ái nhahv sind ahge'nht hñevnn, ænd bifor dhii,

19. ahnd æm nóu moɹ wæɹ'dhi tu bi kaald dhái sæn: méik mi ahz wæn ohv dhái hháid sœrvahnhts.

20. Ænd hhi ahr.óu'z, ahnd kéim tu hhiiz faa'dhæɹ. Bæt, when hhi waz jæt ah gr.éit wéi 'of, hhiiz faa'dhæɹ saa hhim, ahnd nhæd kœmpæ'shæn, ahnd r.æn, ahnd fel ohn hhiiz nek, ahnd kist hhim.

21. Ahnd dhy sæn sed ænhtu hhim, Faa'dhæɹ, ái nhahv sind, ahge'nht hñevnn, ænd in dhái sáit, ahnd æm nóu moɹ wæɹ'dhi tu bi kaald dhái sæn.

22. Bæt dhy faa'dhæɹ sed tu hhiiz sœrvahnhts, Briq fouth dhy bést róub, ahnd put it on hhim; ænd put ah r.íq ohn hhiiz nhænd, ahnd shuuz ohn hhiiz fiit.

23. Ahnd briq hhi'dhæɹ dhy fæ'ted kaaf, ahnd kíl ít, ahnd lét æs iit ahnd bi me'ri.

24. Fœɹ dhís mái sæn wœz ded, ahnd iz ahlái'v ahge'n; hhi wœz lœst, ahnd iz fáund. Ahnd dhe bigæ n tu bi me'ri.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

15. ðn-i-went en-dzhó'i'nd hímse'lf tu-ə-sítizen ev-dhæt kə'ntri, en-i-sen't-im i'ntu-iz-fiildz tu-fii'd swə'in.

16. ðn-i-wud-feen ev-fi'ld iz-be'li widh-dhæ-hæ'sks dhæt-dhæ-swə'in did-iit:en-noo-mæn geev-əntu-hím.

17. ðn-when-i-keem tu-imself, hi'sed, Həume'ni'hə'i'd sœ'vents ev-mi-faa'dhæz ev-bre'd-inəf en-tu-spee', en-ə'i' pe'rish widh-hə'qge.

18. 'i'-wíl wə'i'z en-goo tu-mi-faa'dhæɹ, en-wíl-see'j' əntu-hím, Faa'dhæɹ, ə'i-ev-sind ege'nst he-v'n en-bifoo'-dhii,

19. en-em-noo' moo' wœ'dhi tu bi kaald dhə'i-sən: mee'k-mi ez-wə'n-ev-dhə'i'hə'i'd sœ'vents.

20. ðn-i-erooz en-kee'm tu-iz-faa'dhæ. Bæt-when-i-wæz-jæt ə-gree'j't. wee 'əuf, hiz-faa'dhæ saa-hím, en-hæ'd kempæshe n, en-ræn, en-fe'l ən-iz-ne'k, en-ki'st hím.

21. ðn-dhæ-sən sed əntu-hím, Faa'dhæɹ, ə'i-ev-sind ege'nst he-v'n, en-in-dhə'i' sə'it, en-em-noo' moo' wœ'dhi tu-bi-kaa'ld dhə'i-sən.

22. Bæt-dhæ-faa'dhæ sed tu-iz-sœ'vents, Briq foo'th dhæ-be'st roob, en-put-it-ən-hím, en-put e-ri'q ən-iz-hæ'nd, en-shuuz ən-iz-fii't.

23. ðn-bri'q hi'dhæ dhæ-fæ'ted kaaf, en-ki'l-ít, en-le't-əs iit en-bi-me'ri.

24. Fə-dhi's mə'i-sən wæz-ded, en-iz-el's'i'v ege'n, hi-wæz-lœst, en-iz-fə'und. ðn-dhæ-bigæ n tu-bi-me ri.

MELVILLE BELL.

25. Náu hñiz e'ldæi sən wəz
in dhy fiild, ahnd, æz hñi kéim
ahnd druu náí tu dhy hñáus,
hñi hñæwð miúu'zík ahnd
dæ'nhsiq.

26. Ænd hñi kaald wən əhv
dhy sœrvahnhts, ahnd aaskt
whot dhiiz thiqz menht.

27. Ahnd hñi sed æ'nhthu
hñim, Dhái bræ'dher, iz kəm;
ahnd dhái faa'dher hñahz kild
dhy fæ'ted kaaf, bikAA'z hñi
hñhth r,jsii'vd hñim séif ahnd
sáund.

28. Ahnd hñi wəz æ'qgr,i,
ahnd wud nəht góu in: dhœr-
fœhí kēim hñiz faa'dher, áut,
ahnd entr,ii'ted hñim.

29. Ahnd hñi, aa'nhsœriq,
sed tu hñiz faa'dher, Lóu, dhiiz
mæ'ni jii'z du ái sœrv dhi,
nii'dher trahnhsgræst ái aht æ'ni
táim dhái kôhmaa'ndmenht:
ahnd jæt dhóu ne'væi géivest
mii ah 'kíd, dhaht ái máit méik
mæ'r,i wiðh mi fræ'ndz:

30. bæt ahz suun ahz dhís
dhái sən wəz kəm, whtsh
hñahth diváur'd dhái l'i'viq
wiðh hær'lets, dháu hñahst kild
fœhí hñim dhy fæ'ted 'kaaf.

31. Ahnd hñi sed æ'nhthu hñim
Sən, dháu æt e'væi wiðh mi,
ahnd 'aal dhaht ái hñæv iz
dháin.

32. It wəz miit dhaht wi shəd
méik mæ'r,i, ahnd be glæd:
fœhí dhís dhái bræ'dher wəz ded,
ahnd iz ahlái'v ahgæn, ænd wəz
lost ahnd iz fáund.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

25. Nœ'u-iz e'ldæ sən wəz-in
dhæ-fii'ld, ænd ez-i-kœ'm ən
druu nœ'i tu-dhæ-nœ'u's, hñ-hœ'ð
miúu'zík ən-daa'nsiq.

26. ʔn-i-kaa'ld wən-əv-dhæ
sœ'vnts, ən-aa'skt what dhiiz
thiqz ment.

27. ʔn-i-se'd-ən-tu-him,
Dhœ'i bræ'dher iz-kœ'm, ən-dhœ'i-
faa'dher ez-kild dhæ-fæ'ted kaaf,
bikAA'z-i hæth risii'vd him seef
ən-sœ'u'nd.

28. ʔn-i-wəz æ'qgr,i, ən-wu'd
-næt goo' in: dhe'e'fa kœm hñz-
faa'dher œ'ut, ən-entrii'tid-him.

29. ʔn-hii, aa'nhsœriq, sed tu-
iz-faa'dhæ, Loo'w, dhiiz-mæ'ni
jii'z du-œ'i-sœ'v-dhi, nœ'i-dhæ
trænsgræst æi et-e'ni tœ'im dhœ'i-
kœmaa'ndmynt; ən-jæt dhœ'u
ne'væi gee'vyst mii e-'kíd, dhæt
œ'i-mœ'it-mœek-mæ'ri wiðh-mi-
fræ'ndz:

30. bæt ez-suun-ez dhís dhœ'i-
sən wəz-kœ'm, whtsh-eth-
divœ'u'd dhœ'i-l'i'viq wiðh-
hæa'lets, dhœ'u-est kild fa him
dhæ-fæ'ted 'kaaf.

31. ʔn-i-se'd-ən-tu-him, Sən,
dhœ'u-'t e'væ-wiðh-mi, ən-'aal
dhæt-œ'i-hœ'v-iz-dhœ'i n.

32. It-wəz-miit dhæt-wi-shəd-
mœek-mæ'ri ən-bi-glæ'd, fa-dhís
dhœ'i bræ'dhæ wəz-de'd, ən-iz
elœi'v ege'n, ən-wəz-lœ'ost ən-iz-
fœ'u'nd.

ENGLISH SPELLING, PAST AND POSSIBLE.

It is impossible to pass over these specimens of pronunciation without comparing them with orthography, in the spirit of the remarks in Chap. VI., pp. 606-632. Hence I annex the same passage in four different practical orthographies of the xviii th and xix th centuries.

First, after "Barker's Bible," 1611, the date of the Authorized Version, shewing the orthography in which it was presented to the English public.

The full title of this edition is:
 The | HOLY | BIBLE, | Con-
 tainyng the Old Testa- | ment, and the
 New: | ¶ *Newly translated out of* |
 the Originall Tongues: and with | the
 former Translations diligently | com-
 pared and reuised, by his | Maiesties
 Speciall Com- | mandement. | ¶ *Ap-
 pointed to be read in Churches.* |
 ¶ IMPRINTED | at London by
Robert | Barker, Printer to the | Kings

most Excellent | Maiestie. | ANNO DOM.
 1611. | *Cum Priuilegio.*

Large folio, for placing on reading desks in churches. Text in black letter; Chapter headings in Roman type. Supplied words (now usually put in Italics) not distinguished. Press-mark at British Museum (on 11th October, 1873, the date is mentioned, as alterations occasionally occur in these press-marks) 1276, l. 4.
 1-2.

Secondly, in "Glossic," the improved form of Glossotype (given on pp. 15, 614), which I presented to the Philological Society on 20 May, 1870, or about a year after Chap. VI. was in type. This paper on "Glossic" is printed in the Philological Transactions for 1870, pp. 89-118, entirely in the Glossic orthography. It is further explained and extended on pp. xiii-xx of the Notice prefixed to the Third Part of the present work, published 13 February, 1871. The principal object which I had in view, was the writing the pronunciation of all English dialects approximatively by one system of spelling founded upon ordinary usages, and for that purpose it will possibly be extensively employed by the English Dialect Society, which the Rev. W. W. Skeat started in May, 1873. What is required for this purpose is more fully considered in § 2, No. 5, and is exemplified in § 2, No. 10. Glossic was further explained before the College of Preceptors (see *Educational Times* for May, 1870), and the Society of Arts (see their Journal for 22 April, 1870), as a system by which instruction might be advantageously given in teaching children to read, and as a means of avoiding the "spelling difficulty," because writing according to this system, whatever the pronunciation indicated, would be perfectly legible, without previous instruction, to all who could read in our ordinary orthography. This, together with completeness and typographical facility, was the aim of the alterations introduced subsequently to the printing of Chap. VI.

As at present presented, there are only three glossic groups of letters, *uo*, *dh*, *zh*, with which a reader is not familiar, and of these *dh*, *zh*, have long been used by writers on pronunciation. The first, *uo*, has been employed for

short *oo* in *wood*, *ou* in *would*, *o* in *woman*, and *u* in *put*, as suggesting all the four forms, *oo*, *ou*, *o*, *u*, by a combination, *uo*, which had no other associations in English. The glossic combinations are, then, the Italic letters in :

beet bait baa caul coal
 knit net gnat not nut fuot (for foot)
 height foil foul feud — yea way whey — hay
 pea bee, toe doe, chest jest, keep gape,—
 fie vie, thin dhen (for then), seal zeal, rush rouzhe (for rouge),—
 ring lay, may nay sing—
 peer pair soar poor, peerring pairing soaring mooring—
 deter deterring, star starry, abhor abhorring.

The spelling is not perfect, and, for convenience, combinations rather than separate letters have definite sounds. Thus *u* in *nut* has one sound, but the combinations *uo*, *ou*, *eu*, have no trace of this sound. Similarly for *h*, *th*, *dh*, *sh*, *zh*, *ch*, the last combination being indispensable in English. Also *r* has two senses, according as it comes before a vowel or not, and when it follows *ee*, *ai*, *oa*, *oo*, it forms the diphthongs in *peer* pair *soar* poor, and hence must be doubled in *peerring* *pairring* *soarring* *moorring*, the first *r* forming part of the combination, and the second the trill, = (pi'r'riq pee' riq soo' riq puu' riq). The (i) sounds, as (æ, ʊ) with permissible (r) following, are uniformly written *er*, when not before a vowel, the *r* being then untrilled; but as *er* before a vowel would trill the *r*, it is necessary to write *err* in this case, thus *ering* = (e'riq), but *derrring* = (di'tæ'riq). In the case of *ar*, *or*, I used *aar*, *aur*, in the papers cited, but I believe it more consonant with usual habits to employ the same principle of combinational use, and to write *star* *starri* *abhor* *abhorring* = (staa staa'ri æbhAA' æbhAA'riq). This, however, has again the very serious disadvantage of employing two signs *ar* *aa'*, or *or* *au'*, for the same sound (aa) or (AA). The whole use of *r*, in any practical system of spelling, must be a system of compromises. When the trilled *r* has to be especially noted in unusual places, as in Scotch or provincial pronunciation, *r'* must be employed, and this sign may be of course always used. The untrilled *r* should never be used where it may not be followed by a trilled *r*. If we write *soar*, it is implied that either (soo') or (soo'r) may be said. Hence it may not be used for the provincial sound of (soo') or (sôv) = *so*. The obscure unaccented or unemphatic syllables present another difficulty. As all the (ʊ, ə) sounds, where (ʊr, ər) may be sounded, are sunk into *er*, I think it best to sink all the (ɛl, ɛm, ɛn) sounds into *el*, *em*, *en*. But those (ʊ) sounds where (r) may not be sounded, I write *a* at present, though *u* would be perhaps better, if it did not unfortunately suggest (iu). Hence the provincial (soo', sôv) may be written *soa-a*, *sou-u*, or, without a hyphen, *soaa*, *soau*, on the principle that when several letters come together which might be read as different groups, the two first

must be read together, and not the two last; thus *soaa* = *soa-a*, and not *so-aa*. Or, as is best, *soah'*, the *h'* indicating this sound when forming a diphthong with the preceding letter. This *h'* replacing (') forms a very important sign in dialectal glossic, and it ought really to replace untrilled *r* in ordinary glossic spelling. But at present habits are too fixed for such an innovation.

It becomes, therefore, necessary to mark accent and emphasis in every word. Hence I use (·) for accent, whenever the force does not fall on the first syllable, so that the absence of such mark indicates the stress on the first syllable. This mark is put after a vowel when long, after a diphthong (and hence after the untrilled *r* in *eer*, etc.), and after the first consonant following a short vowel. It thus becomes a mark of length, and may be inserted in all accented syllables when it is important to mark the length,—as, in dialects, to distinguish the short sound of *aa* in *kaat* *haad* = (kat ha'd) and not (kaat haad), which would be written *kaa't* *haa'd*, and are really the sounds heard when *kart* *hard* are written with the untrilled *r*; of course not the sounds of *kar't*, *har'd*, which = (kært, hærd). In received English the marking of quantity is not of much consequence, accented *ee*, *ai*, *aa*, *au*, *oa*, *oo*, being received as long, and *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *uo*, as short; and hence the omission of the accent mark is possible. Similarly, when *el*, *em*, *en*, are not obscured, write *el'*, *em'*, *en'*.

Emphatic monosyllables have (·) preceding, as *dhat dhat' dhat man sed'*, *too too wun*, *ei' ei eu*. The obscure unemphatic form has not been given, except in *a*, *dhi* for the articles. How far the use of such changing forms is practicable in writing cannot be determined at present. Phonetic spellers generally preserve the clear forms, just as children are taught to read *ai man* and *ai dog*, *dhee wuom-an sau dhee*, = (ee mæn ænd ee dɔg, dhii wæ'mæn sAA dhii), instead of (ɛmæn' ɛnədɔg, dhæwæm'ɛn sAA dhɛ'). All these points are niceties which the rough usage of every-day life would neglect, but which the proposer of a system of spelling, founded in any degree on pronunciation, has to bear in mind. As pointed out before (630, bc), even extremely different usages would not impair legibility.

Thirdly, Mr. Danby P. Fry has, at my request, furnished me with a transcription of the same passage into that improved system of English spelling which forms the subject of his paper in the *Philological Transactions* for 1870, pp. 17–88, to which I must refer for a detailed account of the principles upon which it is constructed. The following abstract has been furnished by Mr. Fry in his own orthography.

Explanatory Notes.

Words derived directly from Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, rightly follow dhe etymological spelling. In such words, dhe question iz not az to dhe orthography, but az to dhe pronunciation.

Words borrowed from living tungs cum into English in dheir nativ dress, and continue to wear it until dhey ar naturalized.

In menny English words, in which dhe spelling differs from dhe pronunciation, dhe preliminary question arizes, which shuld be altered,—dhe spelling or dhe pronunciation? In dhe following specimen dhis question iz raised raadher dhan determined. Dhe *italics* suggest it in certain words. Ought not dhe correct, which iz stil dhe provincial pronunciation to be restored to such words az *one, two, answer, son*? Az to dhe laast, compare dhe English widh dhe German :

dhe son	der sohn
dhe sun	die sonne.

Widh respect to *aa*, menny persons say *ans'er, danc'ing, laast*, insted ov *aans'er, daanc'ing, laast*; while dhe provincial pronunciation ov *faadher* iz *faidher*.

Dhe digraph *dh* iz uzed for dhe flat sound ov *th*, az in *then*; for az *th* iz to *t*, so iz *dh* to *d*; e.g. *tin, thin; den, dhen*. A new letter iz needed for dhe sound ov *ng* in *long*; and dhe want ov it necessitates dhe clumsy-looking combination *ngg* for dhe sound herd in *longger*. Dhe smaul capital *v* denotes dhe short sound ov *oo*, az in *good* (*gud*); dhe long sound, az in *food*, being expressed by *oo*.

Dhe *general* rule in English spelling, dhat a monosyllabel shal not end widh a double (or dubbel) consonant, iz made

universal. Hence, *fel, nek*, insted ov *fell, neck*. Dhe letter *v* iz delt widh like enny udher consonant; so dhat it iz dubbedel where enny udher consonant wuld be dubbedel, and iz allowed to end a word, widhout being followed by a servile or silent *e*; az *hav, havving; liv, livving*. Dhe rules which ar followed in vowel-spelling wil be obvious on inspection: dhus, for exampel, it wil be seen dhat a long vowel iz denoted by a digraph, and a short vowel by a singul letter, in a monosyllabel; and dhat in an accented syllabel, where dhe vowel iz short, dhe following consonant iz dubbedel, but not where it iz long. An aspirate digraph servs dhe same purpose az a dubbedel consonant in dhis respect. Where, however, in dhe present spelling, dhe servile *e* iz uzed to denote a long vowel, dhat practice iz not altered; az, *arize, aroze*.

Dhe flat consonants ar generally indicated, not only in *dh* for *th* (*gadher* for *gather*), but in *v* for *f* (*ov* for *of*), and in *z* for *s* (az for *as; iz* for *is*); but no variation iz made in inflexions, so dhat *s* remains unaltered in words like *has, his, years*.

Dhe digraph *gh* iz retained, when it iz not preceded by *u*, az in *might*; but when it iz preceded by *u* widh dhe sound ov *f*, *gh* iz omitted, and dhe present pronunciation iz expressed, az in *enuf*. Generally, etymological silent consonants ar retained when dheir silence can be determined by "rules ov position."

No attempt iz made to denote accent, except in dhe instance ov dubbling dhe consonant after an accented short vowel.

Fourthly, Mr. E. Jones, whose efforts to improve our orthography are mentioned above (p. 590, note 1, and p. 591, note 2), and also in my paper on *Glossic* (*Philol. Trans.* p. 105, note 3, and text, p. 106), has been good enough to transcribe the same passage in the orthography which he at present recommends. I gladly give insertion to the following condensed statement of "principles" furnished by himself.

Analogue Spelling by E. Jones.

Object.—To reduce the difficulties of spelling to a minimum, with the least possible deviation from the current orthography.

Uses.—1. Immediate. To assist children, ignorant adults, and foreigners, in learning to read books in the present spelling; and also for writing purposes by the same, concurrently with the present system.

2. Ultimate. To supersede, gradually, as the public may feel disposed, the present spelling.

Means.—Allow books in the Revised Spelling to be used in the National Schools, which would serve the double purpose of being the best means of teaching reading to children, and also of familiarising the rising generation with the appearance of the new spelling, in the same manner as the Metric System is now exhibited in the National Schools.

General Notes.

1. It is assumed that the object of spelling, or writing, is to express by letters, the sounds of words.

2. In order to disarm prejudice, and to facilitate the transition from the new spelling to the old in reading, it is desirable to make the difference between the one and the other as little as possible.

3. To do this the following general principle will serve as a safe guide.

Use every letter, and combination of letters, in their *most common power* in the present spelling.

The adoption of this rule settles clearly the point as between the retention of ‘c’ and ‘k’ for the hard guttural sound. ‘C’ in its hard sound occurs about twelve times as often as ‘k’ for the same sound, and six times as often as ‘k,’ ‘q,’ and ‘x’ together. In the following alphabet, therefore, ‘k,’ ‘q,’ and ‘x’ are rejected, and ‘c’ is called *cay*.

Again, in a still more decided proportion, the question as to the use of the digraph “th,” for the hard or the flat sound in *this* and *thin*, is settled by the fact that “th” represents the flat sound about twenty times as often as the sharp sound. “Th” as in *thin* is indicated by Italics.

The long *ah* as in “alms” and *u* in “put” are the only vowels for which no provision is made in the common mode of representing the vowel-sounds at present. These sounds however occur very rarely and in very few words, they are marked respectively thus: alms = ânz, put = pût.

The Alphabet.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a,	â,	ai,	au,	b,	c,	ch,
mat,	alms,	maid,	laud,	bed,	cat,	chip,

8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
d,	e,	ee,	f,	g,	h,	i,	ie,
dog,	met,	meet,	fan,	go,	hay,	pin,	pies,

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
j,	l,	m,	n,	ng,	o,	oe,	oi,
jet,	lad,	mat,	nut,	sing,	not,	foes,	oil,

24	25	26	27	28	29	30
oo,	ou,	p,	r,	s,	sh,	t,
food,	out,	pen,	run,	sit,	ship,	ten,

31	32	33	34	35	36
th,	th,	u,	ue,	û,	v,
then,	thin,	tun,	hues,	bull,	van,

37	38	39	40
w,	y,	z,	zh.
ward,	yard,	zeal,	vision.

Note.—At the end of words *y* unaccented = *i*, and accented *y* = *ie*. Also at the end of words *ow* = *ou* and *aw* = *au*. This simple rule obviates the changing of thousands of the most common words. The little words, ‘be,’ ‘me’; ‘go,’ ‘no,’ etc., are used for the theoretical, ‘bee,’ ‘mee’; ‘goe,’ ‘noe.’

Pronunciation.

As the pronunciation varies considerably even among educated people, the rule is followed here of inclining to the pronunciation indicated by the present spelling, and no attempt is made at extreme refinements of pronunciation. The proportion of words changed in spelling, in the example given below, is about 1 in 3, or say 30 per cent. Children might be taught on this plan to read in a few lessons, and the transition to the present spelling would be very easy.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, LUKE XV. 11—32.

BARKER'S BIBLE, 1611.

11. A certaine man had two sonnes:

12. And the yonger of them said to his father, Father, giue me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he diuided vnto them his liuing.

13. And not many dayes after, the yonger sonne gathered all together, and took his iourney into a farre countrey, and there waisted his sub stance with riotous liuing.

14. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land, and he began to be in want.

15. And he went and ioyned himse lfe to a citizen of that countrey, and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

16. And he would faine haue filled his belly with the huskes that the swine did eate: and no man gaue vnto him.

17. And when hee came to himse lfe, hee said, How many hired seruants of my fathers haue bread ynough and to spare, and I perish with hunger?

18. I will arise and goe to my father, and will say vnto him, Father, I haue sinned against heauen and before thee.

19. And am no more worthy to be called thy sonne: make me as one of thy hired seruants.

20. And he arose and came to his father. But when hee was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ranne, and fell on his necke, and kissed him.

21. And the sonne said vnto him, Father, I haue sinned against heauen, and in thy fight, and am no more worthy to be called thy sonne.

GLOSSIC ORTHOGRAPHY.

11. A serten man had too sunz:

12. And dhi yungger ov dhem sed too hiz faadher, Faadher, giu mee dhi poarshen ov guodz dhat fauleth too mee. And hee di-vei'ded untoo dhem hiz living.

13. And not meni daiz aafter, dhi yungger sun gadherd aul toogeth'er, and tuok hiz jurni intoo a far kuntri, and dhair waisted hiz substanswidh reiutus living.

14. And when hee had spent aul, dhair aroa'z a meiti famin in 'dhat land, and hee bigan too bee in wont.

15. And hee went and joind himse l'f too a sitizen ov 'dhat kuntri, and hee sent him intoo hiz feeldz too feed swein.

16. And hee wuod fain hav fld hiz beli widh dhi husks dhat dhi swein did eet: and noa man gaiv untoo him.

17. And when hee kaim too himse l'f, hee sed, Hou meni heird servents ov mei faadherz hav bred enuf and too spair, and ei perish widh hungger!

18. Ei wil arei'z, and goa too mei faadher, and wil sai untoo him, Faadher, ei hav sind agen'st hevn and bifoa'r dhee,

19. And am noa moar werdhi too bee kauld dhei sun: maik mee az wun ov dhei heird servents.

20. And hee aroa'z and kaim too hiz faadher. But when hee woz yet a grait wai of, hiz faadher sau him, and had kom-pa'shun, and ran, and fel on hiz nek, and kist him.

21. And dhi sun sed untoo him, Faadher, ei hav sind agen'st hevn, and in dhei seit, and am noa moar werdhi too bee kauld dhei sun.

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, LUKE XV. 11—32.

DANBY P. FRY.

11. And he said, A certain man had *two* sons :

12. And dhe *yunger* ov dhem said to his faadher, Faadher, giv me dhe portion ov guds dhat fauleth to me. And he divided unto dhem his livving.

13. And not menny days after dhe *yunger son* gadhered aul togedher, and tuk his jurny into a far cuntry, and dhere waisted his substance widh riotous livving.

14. And when he had spent aul, dhere aroze a mighty fammin in dhat land; and he began to be in want.

15. And he went and joined himself to a cittizen ov dhat cuntry; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

16. And he wuld fain hav filled his belly widh dhe husks dhat dhe swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

17. And when he came to himself, he said, How menny hired servants ov my faadher's hav bred enuf and to spare, and I perrish widh hunger!

18. I wil arize and go to my faadher, and wil say unto him, Faadher, I hav sinned against hevven, and before dhe,

19. And am no more wordhy to be cauled dhy son: make me az *one* ov dhy hired servants.

20. And he aroze, and came to his faadher. But when he waz yet a grait way off, his faadher saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fel on his nek, and kissed him.

21. And dhe son said unto him, Faadher, I hav sinned against hevven and in dhy sight, and am no more wordhy to be cauled dhy son.

E. JONES.

11. And he said, A sertain man had too sunz :

12. And the *yunger* ov them said to hiz father, Father, giv me the porshon ov goodz that fauleth to me. And he divided unto them hiz living.

13. And not meny daiz after the *yunger sun* gatherd aul together, and tooc hiz jurny into a far cuntry, and thair waisted hiz substans with rieotus living.

14. And when he had spent aul, thair aroez a miety famin in that land; and he began to be in wont.

15. And he went and joind himself to a sitizen ov that cuntry; and he sent him into hiz feeldz to feed swien.

16. And he wuld fain hav fild hiz bely with the huses that the swien did eet: and no man gaiv unto him.

17. And when he caim to himself, he said, How meny hierd servants ov my father's hav bred enuf and to spair, and I perish with hunger!

18. I wil ariez and go to my father, and wil say unto him, Father, I hav sind against hevven and befor thee,

19. And am no moer wurthy to be cauld thy sun: maic me az won ov thy hierd servants.

20. And he aroez, and caim to hiz father. But when he woz yet a grait way of, hiz father saw him, and had compashon, and ran, and fel on hiz nec, and cist him.

21. And the sun said unto him, Father, I hav sind against hevven, and in thy siet, and am no moer wurthy to be cauld thy sun.

BARKER'S BIBLE, 1611.

22. But the father said to his seruants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand, and shooes on his feet.

23. And bring hither the fatted calfe, and kill it, and let vs eate and be merry.

24. For this my sonne was dead, and is aliuē againe; he was lost, & is found. And they began to be merry.

25. Now his elder sonne was in the field, and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musicke & dauncing,

26. And he called one of the seruants, and asked what these things meant.

27. And he said vnto him Thy brother is come, and thy father hath killed the fatted calfe, because he hath receiued him safe and found.

28. And he was angry, and would not goe in: therefore came his father out, and intreated him.

29. And he answering said to his father, Loe, these many yeeres doe I serue thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandement, and yet thou neuer gauest me a kidde, that I might make merry with my friends:

30. But as soone as this thy sonne was come, which hath deuoured thy liuing with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calfe.

31. And he said vnto him, Sonne, thou art euer with mee, and all that I haue is thine.

32. It was meete that wee should make merry, and bee glad; for this thy brother was dead, and is aliuē againe; and was lost, and is found.

GLOSSIC ORTHOGRAPHY.

22. But dhi faadher sed too hiz seruents, Bring foarth dhi best roab, and puot it on him, and puot a ring on hiz hand, and shooz on hiz feet.

23. And bring hidher dhi fated kaaf, and kil it, and let us eet and bee meri.

24. For dhis mei sun woz ded, and iz alei·v agen; hee woz lost, and iz found. And dhai bigan· too bee meri.

25. Now hiz elder sun woz in dhi feeld, and az hee kaim and droo nei too dhi hous, hee herd meuzik and daansing.

26. And hee kauld wun ov dhi servents and aaskt whot dheez thingz ment.

27. And hee sed untoo him, Dhei brudher iz kum, and dhei faadher hath kild dhi fated kaaf, bikau·z hee hath risee·vd him saif and sound.

28. And hee woz anggri, and wuod not goa in: dhair·foar kaim hiz faadher out, and entree·ted him.

29. And hee aanswering sed too hiz faadher, Loa dheez meni yeerz doo ei serv dhee, neidher transgre·st ei at eni teim dhei komaa·ndment; and yet dhou never gaivest mee a kid, dhat ei meit maik meri widh mei frendz:

30. But az soon az dhis dhei sun woz kum, which hath divour·d dhei living widh haarluts, dhou hast kild for him dhi fated kaaf.

31. And hee sed untoo him, Sun, dhou art ever widh mee, and aul dhat ei hav iz dhein.

32. It woz meet dhat wee shuod maik meri and bee glad, for dhis dhei brudher woz ded, and iz alei·v agen; and woz lost, and iz found.

DANBY P. FRY.

22. But dhe faadher said to his servants, Bring forth dhe best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoos on his feet:

23. And bring hidher dhe fatted caalf, and kil it: and let us eat and be merry:

24. For dhis my son waz ded, and iz alive again; he waz lost, and iz found. And dhey began to be merry.

25. Now his elder son waz in dhe feeld: and az he came and drew nigh to dhe hous, he herd music and daansing.

26. And he cauled *one* ov dhe servants, and aasked what dheze things ment.

27. And he said unto him, Dhy brudher iz cum; and dhy faadher hath killed dhe fatted caalf, because he hath receved him safe and sound.

28. And he waz anggy, and wuld not go in: dherefore came his faadher out, and entreated him.

29. And he aanswering said to his faadher, Lo, dheze menny years doo I serv dhe, neidher transgressed I at enny time dhy commandment: and yet dhow nevver gavest me a kid, dhat I might make merry widh my frends:

30. But az soon az dhis dhy son waz cum, which hath devoured dhy livving widh harlots, dhow hast killed for him dhe fatted caalf.

31. And he said unto him, Son, dhow art evver widh me, and aul dhat I hav iz dhine.

32. It waz meet dhat we shuld make merry, and be glad: for dhis dhy brudher waz ded, and iz alive again; and waz lost, and iz found.

E. JONES.

22. But the father said to hiz servants, Bring forth the best roeb, and put it on him; and put a ring on hiz hand, and shooz on hiz feet:

23. And bring hither the fated cãf, and cil it; and let us eet and be mery:

24. For this my sun woz ded, and iz aliev again; he woz lost, and iz found. And thay began to be mery.

25. Now hiz elder sun woz in the feeld; and az he caim and drue ny to the hous he herd muezic and dansing.

26. And he cauld won ov the servants, and askt whot theez thingz ment.

27. And he said unto him, Thy bruther iz cum; and thy father hath cild the fated cãf, becauz he hath reseevd him saif and sound.

28. And he woz angry, and wud not go in; thairfor caim hiz father out and intreeted him.

29. And he ansering said to hiz father, Lo theez meny yeerz doo I serv thee, neether transgrest I at eny tiem thy comandment; and yet thou never gaivest me a cid, that I miet maic mery with my frendz:

30. But az soon az this thy sun woz cum, which hath devourd thy living with harlots, thou hast cild for him the fated cãf.

31. And he said unto him, Sun, thou art ever with me, and aul that I hav iz thien.

32. It waz meet that we shud maic mery, and be glad: for this thy bruther woz ded, and iz aliev again: and woz lost, and iz found.

The reader will, I trust, excuse me for preserving in this book a record of those early phonetic attempts to which the book itself is due. Mr. Isaac Pitman of Bath, the inventor of Phonography, or a peculiar kind of English shorthand founded upon phonetic spelling, in his *Phonotypic Journal*, for January, 1843, started the notion of Phonotypy or Phonetic Printing for general English use. In the course of that year my attention was drawn to his attempt, and I entered into a correspondence with him, which resulted in the concoction of various schemes of phonetic printing, for which types were cast, so that they could be actually used, and specimens were printed in the *Phonotypic Journal*, beginning with January, 1844, till by December, 1846, we considered that a practical alphabet had been reached.¹ It was in this Journal that I commenced my phonetic studies,² and for one year, 1848, I conducted it myself,

¹ See *suprà* p. 607.

² The following list of the principal phonetic essays which I published in this Journal will shew the slow and painful process by which I acquired the knowledge of speech-sounds necessary for the compilation of the present work. They form but a small part of the whole work, or even of my whole writings on this subject, and the titles are merely preserved as indications of *incunabula*.

1844.

On the letter R, pp. 5-12.

On Syllabication and the Indistinct Vowel, pp. 33-43.

Ambiguities of Language, pp. 71-73.

Unstable Combinations, pp. 74-76.

What an Alphabet should be (a translated account of Volney's *L'Alphabet Européen appliqué aux Langues asiatiques*, with explanations), pp. 106-114.

Phonetic Literature (an account of the principal grammars, dictionaries, and miscellaneous treatises containing more or less extensive essays on phonetics and English alphabets; it is very incomplete), pp. 133-144, 322-329.

Phonotypic Suggestions, pp. 201-204.

A Key to Phonotypy or printing by sound, pp. 265-279.

The Alphabet of Nature, part I. Analysis of Spoken Sounds, pp. 1-128, forming a supplement from June to December, 1844.

1845.

The Alphabet of Nature, part II. Synthesis of Spoken Sounds, pp. 129-157; part III. Phonetical Alphabets, pp. 158-194, forming a supplement from March to June, 1845.

On the Vowel Notation, pp. 10-19.

On the Natural Vowel, a paper by Mr. Danby P. Fry, (whose present views on orthography have just been illustrated,) printed phonetically, pp. 59-62, with remarks by A. J. Ellis, pp. 62-66.

1846 (all printed phonotypically).

Remarks on the New English Phonotypic Alphabet, pp. 4-12.

On Phonetic Spelling, pp. 124-128.

Practical Form of Phonotypy, pp. 171-174.

The Contrast, Phonotypy *v.* Heterotypy, pp. 197-206.

Far, For, Fur, pp. 305-308.

1847.

In May, this year, a vote of those interested in phonotypy was taken on the Alphabet, and results are given in an appendix, between pp. 148 and 149.

The Principles of English Phonetic Spelling considered, pp. 181-207, 277-280, including errata.

1848 (Phonetic Journal).

Origin and Use of the Phonetic Alphabet, pp. 4-31.

Tam o' Shanter, printed in phonotypy, from the writing of Mr. Laing, of Kilmarnock, with glossary, pp. 145-152, with remarks on Scotch Pronunciation by Prof. Gregory, Carstairs Douglas, Laing and myself, p. 198, 227-229, 276-282, being the first attempt at a stricter phonetic representation of dialectal pronunciation.

On Rhyme, pp. 340-345.

On 1st September, 1848, I published my "Essentials of Phonetics. In lieu of a Second Edition of the *Alphabet of Nature*." It was printed entirely in the 1846 Alphabet.

under the changed name of the *Phonetic Journal*. In 1849 I abandoned it for the weekly phonetic newspaper called the *Phonetic News*, and at the close of that year my health gave way altogether, so that for some years I was unable to prosecute any studies, and phonetic investigations were peculiarly trying to me. Mr. Pitman, however, revived the *Journal*, and, in various forms, has continued its publication to the present day. He became dissatisfied with the forms of type to which we had agreed in 1846, and, notwithstanding a large amount of literature printed in them, he continued to make alterations, with the view of amending. Even in 1873 theoretical considerations lead me to suppose that his alphabet may be further changed, although Mr. Pitman himself expresses much faith in the stability of his present results.

The following is a comparative view of palaeotype, glossic, the 1846 and 1873 alphabets, in the order used for 1846, with the Parable of the Prodigal Son, shewing in parallel columns the 1846 and 1873 forms of phonotypy. Mr. Isaac Pitman has kindly lent me the types for this purpose. One letter only, that for (dh), which appears in the alphabetic key in its 1846 form, has been printed in the 1873 form in the specimen, on account of want of the old form in stock; as will be seen by the key, however, the difference is very minute. The spelling in the 1846 alphabet precisely follows the phonetic orthography of the second edition of the New Testament which I printed and published in 1849, and exhibits the phonetic compromises which I made at that date. The column dated 1873 follows Mr. I. Pitman's present system of spelling, and has been furnished by himself.

KEY TO PITMAN'S AND ELLIS'S PHONOTYPY, 1846 AND 1873.

Key Words	Palaeo- type	Glossic	Pitman and Ellis, 1846	Pitman, 1873	Key Words	Palaeo- type	Glossic	Pitman and Ellis, 1846	Pitman, 1873
beet	ii	ee	E e	I i	pea	p	p	P p	P p
bait	ee	ai	A a	E e	bee	b.	b	B b	B b
baa	aa	aa	Ā ā	Ā ā	toe	t	t	T t	T t
caul	AA	au	Ō o	Ō o	doe	d	d	D d	D d
coal	oo	oa	Ō ō	Ō ō	chest	tsh	ch	Ĉ ĉ	Ĉ ĉ
cool	uu	oo	Ū u	Ū u	jest	dzh	j	J j	J j
knit	i	i	I i	I i	keep	k	k	C c	K k
net	e	e	E e	E e	gape	g	g	G g	G g
gnat	æ	a	A a	A a	fie	f	f	F f	F f
not	o	o	O o	O o	vie	v	v	V v	V v
nut	ə	u	U u	Ū ū	thin	th	th	T t	Ĥ ĥ
foot	u	uo	Ū ū	U u	then	dh	dh	Ħ ħ	Ħ ħ
height	ei	ei	Ĥ ĥ	Ĥ ĥ	seal	s	s	S s	S s
foil	oi	oi	Ō ō	Oi oi	zeal	z	z	Z z	Z z
foul	ou	ou	Ō ō	Ou ou	rush	sh	sh	Ŷ ŷ	Ŷ ŷ
feud	iu	eu	Ū ū	U u	rouge	zh	zh	Ź ź	Ź ź
					ear	r	r	} R r	} R r
					ring	r	r'		
					earring	rr	rr'		
yea	J	y	Y y	Y y	lay	l	l	L l	L l
way	w	w	W w	W w	may	m	m	M m	M m
wohy	wh	wh	Hw hw	Wh wh	nay	n	n	N n	N n
hay	H	h	H h	H h	sing	q	ng	Ŵ ŵ	Ŵ ŵ

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, LUKE XV. 11-32.

ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

11 And he sed, A serten man
had tû sunz :

12 And ðe yungger ov ðem sed
tu hiz fqðer, Fqðer, giv me ðe
perþun ov gudz ðat folet tu me.
And he divided untu ðem hiz liviŋ.

13 And not meni daz qfter, ðe
yungger sun gaderd ol tugéðer, and
tuc hiz jurni intu a fqr cuntri, and
ðar wasted hiz substans wið rjutus
liviŋ.

14 And hwen he had spent ol,
ðar aróz a mÿti famin in ðát land ;
and he begán tu be in wont.

15 And he went and jønd him-
sélft tu a sitiz'n. ov ðát cuntri ; and
he sent him intu hiz feldz tu fed
swiŋ.

16 And he wúð fan hav fild hiz
beli wið ðe huscs ðat ðe swiŋ did
et : and nò man gav untu him.

17 And hwen he cam tu himsélft,
he sed : Hs meni hjrd servants ov
mÿ fqðerz hav bred enúf and tu
spar, and ð peris wið hunger !

18 ¶ wil ariz and go tu mÿ fq-
ðer, and wil sa untu him, Fqðer,
ð hav sind agénst hev'n and befór
ðé,

19 And am nò mór wurði tu be
cold ði sun : mac me az wun ov ði
hjrd servants.

20 And he aróz, and cam tu hiz
fqðer. But hwen he woz yet a
grat wa of, hiz fqðer so him, and
had compafun, and ran, and fel on
hiz nec, and cist him.

21 And ðe sun sed untu him,
Fqðer, ð hav sind agénst hev'n, and
in ði sÿt, and am nò mór wurði tu
be cold ði sun.

22 But ðe fqðer sed tu hiz ser-
vants, Briŋ fort ðe best rob, and
put it on him ; and put a riŋ on
hiz hand, and fuz on hiz fet :

23 And briŋ hider ðe fated eqf,
and cil it ; and let us et, and be
meri :

24 Fér ðis mÿ sun woz ded, and
iz alÿv agén ; he woz lost, and iz
fönd. And ða begán tu be meri.

25 Ns hiz elder sun woz in ðe
feld : and az he cam and druwiŋ

ISAAC PITMAN, 1873.

11 And hi sed, A serten man
had tû ssnz :

12 And ðe ysnnger ov ðem sed
tu hiz fsder, Fsder, giv mi ðe
perþon ov gudz ðat folet tu mi.
And hi divided sntu ðem hiz liviŋ.

13 And not meni dez after, ðe
ysnnger ssn gaderd ol tugeder, and
tuk hiz jsrni intu a far ksntri, and
ðer wested hiz ssnbstans wið rjotss
liviŋ.

14 And when hi had spent ol,
ðer aröz a mÿti famin in ðát land ;
and hi began tu bi in wont.

15 And hi went and joind him-
self tu a sitizen ov ðát ksntri ; and
hi sent him intu hiz fildz tu fid
swiŋ.

16 And hi wud fen hav fild hiz
beli wið ðe hssks ðat ðe swiŋ did
it : and nò man gev sntu him.

17 And when hi kem tu himself,
hi sed, Hou meni hjrd servants ov
mÿ fsder'z hav bred ensf and tu
sper, and ð peris wið hsnnger !

18 ¶ wil ariz and go tu mÿ fs-
ðer, and wil se sntu him, Fsder,
ð hav sind agenst heven and befór
ði,

19 And am nò mór wsrði tu bi
kold ði ssn : mek mi az wsn ov ði
hjrd servants.

20 And hi aröz, and kem tu hiz
fsder. Bst when hi woz yet a
gret we of, hiz fsder so him, and
had kompasun, and ran, and fel on
hiz nek, and kist him.

21 And ðe ssn sed sntu him,
Fsder, ð hav sind agenst heven, and
in ði sÿt, and am nò mór wsrði tu
bi kold ði ssn.

22 Bst ðe fsder sed tu hiz ser-
vants, Briŋ fört ðe best rob, and
put it on him ; and put a riŋ on
hiz hand, and fuz on hiz fit :

23 And briŋ hider ðe fated kaf,
and kil it ; and let ss it, and bi
meri :

24 For ðis mÿ ssn woz ded, and
iz alÿv agen ; hi woz lost, and iz
found. And ðe began tu bi meri.

25 Nou hiz elder ssn woz in ðe
fild : and az hi kem and druwiŋ

ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

tu ðe hæss, hē herd muzic and dānsiŋ.

26 And hē celd wun ov ðe servants, and qset hwot ðez tīŋz ment.

27 And he sed untu him, ðī bruder iz cum; and ðī fader hat cild ðe fated cqf, becoz he hat resēvd him saf and sēnd.

28 And he woz aggri, and wūd not gō in: ðarfor cam hiz fader st, and intrited him.

29 And hē qnseriŋ sed tu hiz fader, Lō, ðez meni yērz dui ī serv dē, neder transgrést ī at eni tīm ðī komāndment: and yet ðs never gavest mē a cid, ðat ī mīt mac meri wid mī frendz:

30 But az sun az ðis ðī sun woz cum, hwiq hat devōrd ðī liviŋ wid hqrluts, ðs hast cild for him ðe fated cqf.

31 And he sed untu him, Sun, ðs qrt ever wid mē, and ol ðat ī hav iz ðīn.

32 It woz met ðat we fud mac meri, and be glad: for ðis ðī bruder woz ded, and iz alīv agēn; and woz lēst, and iz fēnd.

ISAAC PITMAN, 1873.

tu ðe hous, hī herd muzik and dansiŋ.

26 And hī kōld wsn ov ðe servants, and askt whot ðiz tīŋz ment.

27 And hī sed sntu him, ðī brsder iz ksm, and ðī fader haf kild ðe fated ksf, bekoz hī haf resivd him sef and sound.

28 And hī woz aggri, and wud not gō in: ðerfor ksm hiz fader out, and intrited him.

29 And hī anseriŋ sed tu hiz fader, Lō, ðiz meni yīrz dui ī serv dī, nīder transgrest ī at eni tīm ðī komāndment: and yet ðou never gevest mī a kid, ðat ī mīt mek meri wid mī frendz:

30 But az sun az ðis ðī ssn woz ksm, whiq haf devoured ðī liviŋ wid harlots, ðou hast kild for him ðe fated ksf.

31 And hī sed sntu him, Ssn, ðou art ever wid mī, and ol ðat ī hav iz ðīn.

32 It woz mit ðat wi fud mek meri, and bi glad: for ðis ðī brsder woz ded, and iz alīv agen; and woz lost, and iz found.

Other fancy orthographies, which have not been advocated before the Philological Society, or seriously advanced for use, or phonetic spellings requiring new letters, are not given. A revision of our orthography is probably imminent, but no principles for altering it are yet settled. I have already expressed my convictions (p. 631); but, as shewn by the above specimen of Glossic, I know that the phonetic feeling is at present far too small for us to look forward to anything like a perfect phonetic representation. We are indeed a long way off from being able to give one, as already seen by the contrast of the pronunciations given by Mr. Bell and myself, and as will appear still more clearly presently. But more than this, we are still a long way from having any clear notion of how much should or could be practically attempted, if we had a sufficient phonetic knowledge to start with. And my personal experience goes to shew that very few people of education in this country have as yet the remotest conception of what is meant by a style of spelling which shall consistently indicate pronunciation. I have found many such writers commit the most absurd blunders when they attempt an orthography of their own, and shew a wonderful incapacity in handling such a simple tool as Glossic.

Dr. Donders, writing in a language which has recently reformed its orthography, chiefly in a phonetic direction, whose reformed orthography, as we have seen (1114, c), requires curious rules of

combination thoroughly to understand, justly says: "The knowledge of the mechanism and nature of speech-sounds preserves them for posterity, and is the foundation of a phonetic system of writing, which is less adapted for ordinary use, but is of priceless value for writing down newly heard languages, and indispensable for comparative philology." (De kennis van 't mechanisme en den aard der spraakklanken bewaart ze voor het nageslacht, en is de grondslag eener phonetische schrijfwijz, die voor 't gewone gebruik minder doelmatig, maar bij het opschrijven van nieuw gehoorde talen van onschatbare waarde en voor vergelijkende taalstudie onontbeerlijk is. Concluding words of: *De physiologie der Spraakklanken*, p. 24).

CAREFUL TRANSCRIPTS OF ACTUAL PRONUNCIATION BY HALDEMAN, ELLIS, SWEET, AND SMART.

The above examples are, however, quite insufficient to shew actual differences of usage, as they are confined to two observers, the varieties of spelling used by Mr. Fry and Mr. Jones not being sufficient to mark varieties of pronunciation, and the phonotypy of 1849 and 1873 purposely avoiding the points in question. It seemed, therefore, necessary to obtain careful transcripts of some individualities of pronunciation. General usage is after all only an abstraction from concrete usage, and although in phonetic writing, such as we have dealt with in preceding chapters, only rude approximations were attempted, it is certainly advisable to ascertain to some extent the degrees of difference which such approximations imply. There are, however, very few persons who are at all capable of undertaking such an analysis of their own or other person's habits.

Prof. Haldeman.

Mr. S. S. Haldeman, of Columbia, Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, to whom I have been so much indebted for *Pennsylvania German* (suprà p. 656) and other notes, wrote an essay on phonetics, which obtained a prize offered by Sir Walter Trevelyan,¹ and is one of the most important works we possess upon the subject which it treats. On p. 127 Prof. Haldeman gives a transcript of a passage first published by myself in a phonetic form,² in an extension of the Pitman and Ellis

¹ Analytic Orthography; an Investigation of the Sounds of the Voice, and their Alphabetic Notation; including the Mechanism of Speech and its bearing upon Etymology, (4to. pp. 148. Philadelphia, Lippincott & Co.; London, Trübner & Co., 1860.)

² Essentials of Phonetics, p. 104. It is a translation of a portion of the preface to the first edition of Pott's *Etymologische Forschungen* (p. viii). The following is the original, with the addition of two sentences, which are not given in the examples:—

"Die schriftliche und druckliche Lautbezeichnung einer Sprache mit, nach Art und Zahl unzulänglichen Charakteren, die man daher combiniren oder modificiren muss, um nur mit einiger Genauigkeit und Bequemlichkeit das Phonetische derselben graphisch darzustellen, ist von jeher für Völker sowohl als Individuen, die Sprachforscher nicht ausgeschlossen, eine der nothwendigsten und schwierigsten Aufgaben gewesen, die desshalb auch in den wenigsten Fällen glücklich gelöst ist. Mögen wir daraus lernen,

alphabet just illustrated. But as he has not followed the pronunciation there given, it must be considered an independent and extremely minute account of his own pronunciation. He has himself kindly revised the proof of its present transcription into palaeotype. He says, in several passages of his chap. xvi., here for convenience thrown together: "Orthoepists blind themselves to the genius and tendencies of the language, and represent a jargon which no one uses but the child learning to read from divided syllables, who turns 'li-on' into *lie on*; or the German, who fancies that the first syllable of 'phantom' occurs in 'elephant,' because they resemble in German and French (p. 122). . . Every English word of three or more syllables requires the vowel (ə, y, i),¹ or a syllable without a vowel, when the structure of the word does not interfere with it, as *graduate*, *self-sameness*, *portmanteau*, and the difficulty is to decide upon the proper vowel, as in *candidate*, *agitate*, *elevate*, *expedite*, *avenue*, *maladiction*,—for vernacular practice cannot be controlled by the consideration that the original was an adverb rather than an adjective, unless it can be shown that the adverbial form has been preserved in speech, and we think it is not. With the spelling we have nothing to do (p. 123). . . . We do not recommend our own pronunciation,—forms like *tra-vlr*, *difrn*s, *instnsz*, *genrl*, *temprns*, *dieshnry*,² being too condensed—too Attic, for

dass die Erfindung der Schrift, die grösste und wichtigste, welche je der menschliche Geist gemacht hat, und die, seine Kräfte in der That fast übersteigend, nicht mit Unrecht von ihm häufig den Göttern beigelegt wird, eben so gut als der complicit-einfache Organismus eines Staates, nicht das Werk Einzelner, sondern von Jahrhunderten, vielleicht Jahrtausenden sei. Von der Abbildung als einem Ganzen, welches der Gegenstand fast noch selber ist, von dem blossen Erinnerungszeichen, durch das Wort, die Sylbe bis zum—Buchstaben, was für eine immer mehr in's Feine gehende Analyse! Der Thauth der neueren Zeit, der Tschirokese *Sihqua-ja* oder mit englischem Namen *George Guess* wird uns am besten sagen können, was ein Alphabet erfinden und einer Sprache anpassen heisst."

And, as some readers may be slightly puzzled with the following elaborate phonetic representations, it may be convenient to annex the English translation followed in the examples, together with the two additional sentences:

"The written and printed representation of the sounds of language, by means of characters, which are insufficient, both in kind and number, and which must, therefore, be combined, or

modified, if we would give a graphical symbolisation of the phonetic elements with only some degree of exactness and convenience, has been, from all time, for nations as well as individuals, linguistical students not excepted, one of the most necessary, and one of the most difficult of problems, and has consequently scarcely ever been happily solved. Let this teach us that the invention of writing, the greatest and most important invention which the human mind has ever made, and which, as it indeed almost exceeds its strength, has been often and not unjustly attributed to the gods, like the organism of a state, at once simple and complex, is not the work of individuals, but of centuries, perhaps of thousands of years. From the pictorial representation, as an entirety, which is almost the object itself,—from the mere memorial sign, through the word and the syllable, up to the letter,—what a continually finer analysis! The Thoht of modern times, the Cherokee *See-kwah-yah*, or to give him his English name *George Guess*, can best tell us what it is to invent an alphabet and adapt it to a language."

¹ For many of his (ə, y) I find I rather say (v).

² From a MS. insertion by the author.

ordinary use, besides being more influenced by the spelling than the genius of the language allows. In looking through the Phonetic periodicals, whilst preparing this essay, we find that we have been ignorant of the name of many public characters. To us there was a fictitious Clánricard within two weeks, and whilst we know that our two friends 'Mackay' are respectively (Mækee') and (Mekoi'), we do not know the name of the poet Charles Mackay, though we have heard him named (Mæ'ki). We mispronounced the proper names Tyrwhit, Napier, Hereford, Bowring (a gentleman we have more recently met), Keightley (which we had classed with Weightman), Howick, Moore, Mavor, Latham, Youatt, Lowth, Houghton (Hoton, which we classed with Hough or Huf), 'Aurora Leigh,' leg? lay? lee? lie? Once when in Boston, Massachusetts, with a fellow-traveller, we wished to see a public building of which we had read, named Faneuil Hall, and after discussing what we should ask for, we wisely concluded that the natives would not understand us, or would laugh at our pronunciation—so we neither saw the building nor learnt its name¹ (p. 123, note). . . Some prefer the pronunciation of men of letters, but in the present state of phonetic and prosodic knowledge, as exhibited in the great majority of the grammars, men of letters constitute the ignorant class, with the perversions of French analogies added to their ignorance; and if the vulgar corrupt (develop?) words, they are at least true to the vernacular laws. But in comparing a lettered with an illiterate pronunciation, the two must be of the same locality and dialect, *church* cannot be judged from *kirk*; and the words must be vernacular, as one, two, three; body, head, arm, eye;—land, field, water, fire, house, rain, star, sun, moon (p. 124). . . The three different vowels of *ooze*, *up*, *eel*, were once given to us by three lettered Cherokees as occurring in the second syllable (of four) of their word for *eight*. We considered it likely that the *up* was correct, although a 'syllabic' writer might have considered it as certainly wrong; but when we asked an unlettered native, he used no vowel whatever in this place, and we deemed him correct, and the others perverted by their syllabic alphabet, which forces them to write fictitiously, and then to speak as they write, instead of doing the reverse. The word was ('gəlh'h'gwoo'gi') in three syllables, and having Welch *ll*. Similarly, if one orthoepist would model *seven* on the Gothic *sibun*, another on the English² *syfon*, and a third on the old English *seven*, or Belgian (*see'ven*) with (e) of *end*, we would still prefer saying *sevn*=(*sevn*) with the *English*" (p. 124).

¹ I am told it is called (fən'l HAAL). With regard to the preceding names, as Mackay is certainly pronounced (Mekæ'i; Mekə'i; Makdi'), as well as in the three ways mentioned, I cannot assign the poet's name, but I have also heard it called (Mæ'ki). Clánricard, I generally hear called (Klænn:ri'ked), of course, an Anglicism. (Tirit, Neep'jiir) or (*Nee pijer*), not (*Neepiir*), as it is very

commonly mispronounced, (Herifad, Bə'u'riq, Hə'u'ik, Muu', Mee've, Leeth'əm), so called by Dr. Latham, but his family call themselves (Lee'dhem), (Yə'u'et, Lə'udh, Hə'u'tn, Øroo're Lii), are, so far as I know, the sounds of these names. Lord Houghton's family name *Milnes* is called (Milz).

² Ags. seofan, seofen, siofun, syfon.

The following are the elementary English sounds acknowledged by Prof. Haldeman as numbered and symbolised by him (see his tables, on his p. 125), with the palaeotypic equivalents here adopted. The length of the vowels is not here indicated, and will be described hereafter. The symbols being troublesome to reproduce they will be referred to by the numbers, with the addition of *v*, *c*, *l*, for the classes of Vowels, Consonants, and Laryngals respectively.

VOWELS.

1. a arm	(a)	10. ʌ aisle	(ʌ)
2. e up	(ə) ?	11. ʌ awe	(ʌ)
3. x add	(æ)	11'. (o pond, rod)	
4. e there	(e)	12. o odd	(o)
5. e ebb	(e)	13. o owe	(o)
6. e they	(e)	13'. o whole	
7. ə buffet	(y) ?	14. u pool	(u)
8. i pity	(i)	— (.. crew)	?
9. i field	(i)	15. u pull	(u)

CONSONANTS.

1. ı now		10. l (l)	16. r (r), 17. r (x), 18. ʃ (x)	21. ı (x ₁)	25. j
2. v way (w)				22. ʃ (x ₁ h)	26. j (x)
3. ʋ whey (wh)		11. n (n)			27. ʃ (jh)
4. m (m)					28. r (q)
5. m' hm (mh)		12. d (d)			29. g (g)
6. b (b)		13. a (dh)	19. ə (z)	23. j (zh)	30. c (k)
7. ɛ vein (v)		14. t (t)			
8. p (p)		15. t (th)	20. s (s)	24. r (sh)	
9. f (f)					

LARYNGALS.—31. h hay (nh) ?

It is always extremely difficult to identify phonetic symbols belonging to different systems, on account of individualities of pronunciation. Even when *vivā voce* comparison is possible, the identification is not always complete. Some of the above are queried, and to some no symbols are added. I shall therefore sub-join Prof. Haldeman's descriptions of his symbols:

1*v*. in *arm*. "The most characteristic of the vowels is that in *arm*, *art*, *father*, commonly called Italian A" (art. 370). This must be (a), and not (ah) or (ə).

2*v*. in *up*. "Many languages want this vowel, which is so common in English as to be regarded as the characteristic of the vowels. It has not been assigned to Greek, Italian, Spanish, nor German, but it occurs in dialectic German. . . . It is close (e) in *up*, *würth*, and open (e) in *worm*, *würd*, *urn*. The effect of *worth* is that of a short syllable, each element being short, (the *r* close;) whilst *worm* is long on account of the open and longer *r*. The vowel *up* is nasal in the French *un*; but M. Pantolón (in Comstock's Phon. Mag.) makes this a nasal *eu* in *jeu*,

and Lepsius refers it to German ö. In the writer's French pronunciation, *up* is placed in *mê*, *quê*, *quêrelle*, etc., according to the view of most French grammarians." (Arts. 374-5.) It is impossible to say from this whether the 2*v*. is (ə, æ, e, œ, ø, øh), and it may be one at one time and one at another. The open and close 2*v*. apparently point to (æ, ə), and the dialectic German is (ə) or (v). Hence I have queried my palaeotypic transcription (ə), although Prof. Haldeman, in returning the proof of the table, doubted the necessity of the query.

3*v*. in *add*. "With very little affinity to A, this sound usurps its character in some alphabets. It is more nearly allied to ebb, but not enough to have a letter on the same basis, like that of

Lepsius. The people of Bath, England, are said to pronounce the name of the town long, and it is strictly long and short in Welsh, as in *bâch* a hook, *bâch* little. It seems to be lengthened in the following words, but as the author speaks this dialect—heard in Philadelphia, and used by Walker, who puts his *a*⁴ of *fat* in grass, grasp, branch, grant, pass, fast, the proper sound being probably French â, as in *pâss*, etc.—the observation must be accepted with caution: *pân* pâníc, *bând* bânish, *fân* fâncy, *mân* tân, *cân* n. *cân* v., *brân* rân, *A'n* ân A'nna, *Sâm* sâmples, *dâm* hâm, *drâm* râm, *lâmb* lâmp, *bâd* päd, *glâd* läd, *bâg* tåg bæg, *cäg* wäg kæg, *dräg* drägon, *mäd*der adj. *mäd*der n., *mä'am* mämmon, *bäa* bädger, *gäs* gäs gäsh äs, *läss* läsh, *bräd* bréd, *dëäd* Dëdham, *bëd* spëd. It occurs in provincial German, as in *bä'r*c (with the vowels of *bärr*ier) for *berg* berg, a hill. A native of Gerstungen=Gérstürön, in Saxe Weimer, pronounced the first syllable of this name with *x* in *arrow*. Compare *thatch* deck, *catch* ketch, *have* hev, *scalp* scelp; German and English *fett* *fat*, *krebs* *crab*, *fest* *fast* adj., Gr. *τρέχω* I run, *track*. It has a long and open German provincial (Suabian) form, being used for long open ä (ê), as in *bä'r* for *bär* a bear. This bears the same relation to add that French ê in *même* bears to *e* in *memory*. This vowel is nasalised and short in the French *fin* end, *pain* bread. But some consider this a nasal of *ebb*, either because such a sound is used (the Polish *e*?), or because the French (being without the pure add) refer their nasal *in* to the nearest pure sound known to them." (Arts. 378-382.) This must be (æ). The American lengthenings are interesting. There is an American Hymn-book, put together by two compilers, each having the Christian name *Samuel*. It was familiarly known as "the book of *Sams*." The pun on *psalms* is not felt by an Englishman, the lengthening of *Sām* explains it completely.

4v. in *there*. "The vowel of *ebb*, with a more open aperture, is long and accented in the Italian *mēdicō tempēstā cīēlo*, and short in the verb *ē is*, *āb-biēt-to*. It is the French *ê* in *même*, *tête*, *fenêtre*, *maître*, *haie*, *Aix*, *air*, *vaisseau*. The same sound seems to occur shorter in *trompette*, which is not the vowel of *petty*. . . . It is the

German *ä* long in *mähre* *mare*, *mährchen*, *fehlen*, *kehle*, *währe*, but *wehre* has *E* long. The theoretic short sound falls into 5v., as in *ställe* *stalls*, commonly pronounced like *stelle* *station*." (Arts. 388-9.) There seems no doubt that this is (æ), but it is singular that Prof. Haldeman has (æ, e), and Mr. Bell (e, æ) in *there* *ebb*, and I pronounce (e) in both. It is evident therefore that the distinction is not recognized as part of the language.

5v. in *ebb*. "The secondary vowels *it* *ebb*, were not allowed to Latin, because there is no evidence that they were Latin sounds; and although *ebb* occurs in Spanish, as in *el the*, *estē this one*, it is not so frequent as an Englishman might suppose. Even this is not admitted in Cubi's 'Nuevo Sistema' (of English for Spaniards), published by I. Pitman, Bath, 1851, where the vowels *ill*, *ell*, *am*, *up*, *olive*, are not provided with Spanish key-words; but he assigns the whole of them to Catalanian." (Art. 385.) As I had an opportunity of conversing with Señor Cubi y Soler, who spoke English with a good accent, I know that he did not admit any short vowels in *Castilian*, and hence he excluded all these, and took the Spanish *e*, which is I believe always (e), to be (ee). The Castillians pronounce their vowels, I believe, of medial length, like the Scotch, and neither so short nor so long as the English. The Latin *E* I also believe to have been (e), and not (e). "The vowel 5v.-occurs in Italian *tēpo* *tērra* *Mércūrīō*." (Art. 386.) Valentini makes the *e* *aperto* =(æ) in *tempo* *terra*, and, of course, it is *chiuso* =(e) in the unaccented first syllable of *Mercurio*. "In the German *rechnung* a *reckoning*, *pelz* *pelt* *fur*, *schmelzen* to *smelt*, *rector* *rector*. (*ibid.*) Frenchmen state that 5v. occurs in *elle*, *quel*, *règle*." (Art. 387.) In none of these can (E, e) be safely separated. I believe Prof. Haldeman means 4v. to be (EE), and 5v. to be (e), the former always long, the latter always short. I always used to confuse the open French and Italian (æ) with my (e), and I may have consequently misled many others. But the only acknowledged distinctions in language seem to be close *e*, open *e*, the first (*e*, *e*¹), the second (*e*₁, *e*₂), while (e) really hovers between the two, and hence where only one *e* is acknowledged, (e) is the safer

sound to use, as (*e*, *e*¹) would then be heard as bad (*i*), and (*e*₁, *ε*) as bad (*e*).

6v. in *they*. "The English *ay* in pay, paid, day, weigh, ale, rage, is short in weight, hate, acre, A¹ mos, A¹ bram, ape, plague, spade. The German *wēh wo, rēh roe, jē, planēt, mēer, mēhr* (*more*, but *mähr* tidings has 4v.), *ēdel, ēhre, jēdōch*. The Italian '*e chiuso*' has this quality, as in *mālč ottōbrē* (with '*o chiuso*') [Valentini agrees in this]], but it is nearly always short. Most authors assign this sound to French *é*, called '*é fermé*,' but Dr. Latham assigns this *é* a closer aperture, for he says, 'This is a sound allied to, but different from, the *a* in *fate*, and the *ee* in *feet*. It is intermediate to the two.' Dankovsky says the Hungarian '*é est medius sonus inter e et i*,' but his '*e*' is uncertain. Olivier (*Les Sons de la Parole*, 1844) makes *é* identic with *i* in the position of the mouth." (Art. 391.) This must be (*e*). The recognition of the short sound in English is curious, as also the absence of the recognition of (*ee*^j). The middle Germans use (*ee*) long, and (*e*) or (*ε*) short, regularly. The Italian *e chiuso* sounds to me (*e*), but may be (*e*¹); it is generally the descendant of Latin *i*. The distinction between *fate* and *é* in Dr. Latham is possibly due to his saying (*fee*^jt), not (*feet*), and to the *é* being short. Mr. Kovács pronounced Hungarian *é* as (*ee*), and *e* as (*æ*) in accented syllables. Olivier probably confused *é* with (*i*), the short English sound which has replaced (*e*).

7v. in *buffet*, and in *-ment*, *-ence*. "There is an obscure vowel in English, having more aperture than that of *ill* and less than that of *ail*. It is used to separate consonants by such an amount of vocality as may be secured without setting the organs for a particular vowel. It is most readily determined between surds, and it is often confounded and perhaps interchanged with the vowel of *up*. It occurs in the natural pronunciation of the last syllable of worded, blended, splendid, sordid, livid, ballad, salad, surfeit, buffet, opposes, doses, roses, losses, misses, poorer, horror, Christian, onion, and the suffixes *-ment*, *-ant*, *-ance*, *-ent*, *-ense*. Perhaps this vowel should be indicated by the least mark for the phase of least distinctness—a dot beneath the letter of some recognized vowel of about in the same aperture. It is so evanescent

that it is constantly replaced by a consonant vocality without attracting attention, as in saying *hors*^z, *horsz*, *horszs*, or (using a faint smooth *r*) *hors*^z. . . With Rapp we assign this vowel to German, as in *welches, verlieren, verlassen* (or even *frlāsn*).'' (Arts. 392 to 392c.) This mark therefore represents sounds here distinguished as (*y*, *v*, ^h), and on the whole (*y*), as used by Mr. Bell, seems to answer most nearly to it, see especially (1159, *b*): I have, however, queried the sign, on which Prof. Haldeman observes, that the query "is hardly necessary. The doubts are due to the fact that while two varieties are admitted we might not always agree in locating them."

8v. in *pity*. "It is the German vowel of *kinn chin, hützig, billig, willi, bild*; and the initial of the Belgian diphthong *ieuw* (and perhaps in some cases the Welsh *uw*). . . . This vowel is commonly confounded with *i*, but it has a more open jaw aperture, while each may be lengthened or shortened." (Arts. 396, 398.) This is no doubt (*i*), which is heard in the north of Germany, but not throughout. Mr. Barnes, author of the Dorset Grammar, distinguishes the two vowels in *pity* thus (*pi*ⁱ*ti*), but others prefer (*pi*ⁱ*ty*), hence the identification refers only to the first vowel.

9v. in *field*. "The universal *i* is long in Italian *iō* (Lat. *ego, I*), and short in *felleitäre*, with true *e*. In English it is long in *machine, marine, fiend, fee, tea, bee, grieve, eel*. It is short in *equal, educate, deceit, heat, beet, reef, grief, teeth*. German examples are *vieh, wieder against, wider again, wie viel how much, vñlleicht perhaps*. It is medial in *knie knee*. French examples are *surprise, vive, ile, style, il, vif, physique, imiter, liquide, visite, politique, which must not be pronounced like the English physic, etc., with the vowel of pit*. The following are perhaps medial:—*prodige, cidre, ligue, vite, empire*." (Art. 399.) This is certainly (*i*). The short value in accented syllables is noteworthy. In "*bélieve, régret, dēscēt, which cannot differ from dispose*," (art. 395), Prof. Haldeman hears 8v. not 9v., that is (*i*), and not (*i*).

10v. in *aisle, Cāiro*. "French *a* in *âme, pätte*. The former is commonly received as the vowel of *arm*, the latter of *pat*. Duponceau (Am. Phil. Trans.,

1818, vol. i. p. 258), in 1817, made the distinction. He says that French *a* occurs in the English diphthongs *i* and *ou*, and that the sound is between *ah* and *awe*, being *ah* pronounced as full and broadly as possible, without falling into *awe*. The initial of English *i* (or *e* in *height*) differs in being pronounced *up* and *at*. This is probably the proper vowel for grass, pass, alas (Fr. *hélas*)." (Arts. 400, 401.) The vowel is meant for (*a*) according to Duponceau's description, and that vowel is pronounced in French *pâte*. But the vowel in Fr. *patte* is either (*a*) or (*ah*), and not (*a*), at present at least. The pronunciations (*graas*, *gras*), etc., seem to be much broader than any used by educated Englishmen, but see (1152, *d'*). Prof. Haldeman uses (*a*), and not (*o*) or (*æ*), as he suggests above, for the first element of long *i*, that is (*di*), not (*o'i*, *æ'i*), see (108, *c*).

11v. in *awe*. "This sound lies between A and O, and is common in several German dialects. . . . The Germans represent it commonly by *ä*, adopting the Swedish mode, where however the sound seems to be a kind of *o*." (Art. 402.) The sound is, therefore (*A*). The Swedish is (*A_o*), having the tongue as for (*A*) and the lips as for (*o*), see (1116, *a'*). "This *awe* is not to be determined by its length, but by its quality. It is *long* in *rāw*, *flāw*, *lāw*, *cāw*, *äll*, *cäll*, *thāwed*, *lāud*, *hāwk*; *medial* in *loss*, *cross*, *tossed*, *frost*, *long*, *song*, *strong*, *or*, *for*, *lord*; *order*, *border*, *war*, *warrior*, *corn*, *adorn*, *born*, *warn*, *horn*, *morn*, *storm*, *form*, *warm*, *normal*, *cork*, *wan*, *swan*,

gāud	God	nöd
āwe	or	örange
fāwned	fond	astönish
thāwed	thought	Thoth

1. long *āwe* pāwned wāw
2. short *āwe* āuthor *wāter
3. medial *awe* pond war
4. medial *odd* rod God
5. short *odd* pönder bödy

(Arts. 405-407.) It is evident that the vowel is either (*o*, *o*), or (*o'*). The indications of length do not seem to be strictly observed in England.

13v. in *öwe*, *böne*, *böat*. "This well-known sound is *long* in *mōan*, *lōan*, *öwe*, *gō*, *lōw*, *fōe*, *cōal*, *cōne*, *bōre*, *rōar*, *bōwl*, *sōul*; and *short* in *över*, *öbey*, *öpen*, *öpinion*, *önyx*, *önerous*, *öak*, *öchre*, *rōgue*, *öats*, *öpium*; and *medial*

dawn, fond, bond, pond, exhaust, false, often, soften, gorge, George; and *short* in squāsh, wāsh (cf. rush, push), āuthor (cf. āath, pith), wāch, wāter, slāughter, quārt, quārter, wārt, shōrt, mōrtar, hōrse (cf. curse), remōrse, fōrmer, öften, nōth, möth, fāult, fālter, pältry." (Art. 403.) These quantities cross my own habits materially. Many of *medial* length are reckoned *long* in England, and still more of them *short*. See notation for medial quantity (1116, *ba*).

11'v. in *pond*, *rod*. } "This 12v. differs
12v. in *odd*. } from the preceding 11v. in being formed with less aperture." (Art. 405.) It is observable that according to Mr. Bell (*o*) is the 'wide' of (*A*), that is, the aperture at the back of the greatest compression is greater. But perhaps Prof. Haldeman spoke the vowel with the tongue further forward, as (*o*), or even with the tongue raised, (*o'*). "It is *short* in *nöt*, *nöd*, *höd*, *whät*, *squätter* (cf. the open wāter), *mörrow*, *börrow*, *sörrow*, *hörror*, *chöice*, *pönder*, *thröng*, *pröng*; *medial* in *on*, *yon*, *John*, *God*, *rod*, *gone*, *aught*, *thought*, *bought*, *caught*, *naught*, *fought*, *sauce*, *loiter*, *boy*, and perhaps *long* in *cōy*, *öil*. Some of these medials may belong to *awe*, and some of those to this head. The accuracy of these examples is not expected to be admitted in detail, because practice between the two vowels is not uniform; yet it is probable that no one puts the vowel of *potter*, or the quantity of *fall*, in *water*, which is neither wāter nor wötter. In the following table, the medial examples have been chosen without regard to the vowel they contain:

gnāw'r	nor	Nör'ich
rāwed	rod	Rödneý
āwed	aught	ödd
lāws	loss	lözenge.

squāw	yāwn	hāw
squāsh	wānt	hōrse
swan	wan	horn
thought	gone	John
squāt	hönest	hörror."

in going, showy. It does not occur in Italian. O is *long* in the German *tōn*, *dōm*, *höf*, *höch*, *lōb*, *tōd*, *trög*, *mōhn*, *lōhn*, *mōor*, *mōnd*; *medial* in *oder*, also, *vor*, *von*, *wo*, *ob*, *oheim*; and *short* in *wōhin*, *höfnung*, *öst*, *öfen*, *öber*, *köch*, *läch*, *zō-o-lög*." (Arts. 416, 417.) This must be (*oo*, *o*). There is no mention of (*oo'*). The short accented (*o*) is not in received English use.

13^v. in *whole*. French *o*. "This sound seems to the writer to be more open than *owe*, and closer than *o* aperto, and his impression is that the long and short sound have the same quality. . . . The New England or Yankee *o* in *whole*, *côat*, is a short sound with a wider aperture of jaw than *owe*, but not (perhaps) of lip. It has been casually heard, but not studied, and we refer it to the French *o* in *bonne*." (Arts. 412, 415.) Mr. Bell considers the French *o* in *homme* to be (oh), and the American *o* in *stone* to be (oh), the labialised forms of (ə, ah) respectively. But Prof. Haldeman suggests another solution, namely (ə_o) or (A_o), which is Mr. Sweet's analysis of Danish *aa*, and is, in fact, a passing anticipation of Mr. Sweet's discovery of the effect of different degrees of rounding upon one lingual position (1116 *a'*). The sound is altogether a provincialism, and I have been accustomed to consider the French sound as (o) and the Yankee as (o), which I have also heard in Norfolk (*non*) = none.

14^v. in *pool*. } "These two vowels are
15^v. in *pull*. } distinct in quality, and have the same variations in quantity. They are to each other as *ave* is to *odd*, and they require distinct characters." (Art. 422.) Hence they are marked as (u, v), which are exactly as (A, ə), the second being the wide of the first. "In passing through the series A, O, U, it will be found that U in *pool* is labial in its character, and that this labiality is preserved in shortening *fōol* to *fōōlish*, whilst *full*, *fullish*, have very little aid from the lips." (Art. 423.) That (w) can be imitated with widely open lips is readily perceived, but it can be most easily pronounced with the lips in the (u)-position (1114, *d'*). This lipless (u), or (u'), is very useful to the singer, as it can be touched at a high pitch, whereas true labial (u) cannot be sung distinctly at a high pitch. "If we compare *fool* with a word like *fuel*, *rule* (avoiding the Belgian diphthong *iew*), we detect in it (fyoo'l, rule), a closer sound, which when long is confused with U, as in *fool*, *rule*, meaning by the latter neither *ryule* nor *riwl*, but *rool*, with a narrow aperture. This closer v is often preceded by y and r, as in *due*, *dew*, *stew*, *rūin*, *rūde*, where it is rather medial than long." (Art. 424.) Prob-

ably we should write this (u'), or (u), or even (u'). It seems to be local and individual, not received. This sound, or what I suppose to be this sound, I seem to have heard from Americans, and in Lancashire, and it approached one of the palato-labial vowels, or (y)-series. In fact I felt it as a form of (v). "Leaving quantity out of the question, we pronounce *brew*, etc., with 15^v. [*u* in *pull*], whilst Worcester, probably the most judicious of the English orthoepists, refers them to the key-word move." (Art. 591.) This is, I think, the more usual pronunciation. The *u* orthography, however, suggests palatalisation to the speaker, and hence he makes an approach to (uj, u_j = i, y).

1c. and 25c. in *now*, *aisle*, are "coalescents," a term introduced, I believe, by myself, to classify (j, w), as the form under which the vowels (i, u) coalesced with another vowel. Prof. Haldeman uses 1c. and 25c. to form diphthongs, and distinguishes them from (j, w). In order to shew that they have this meaning, I employ the acute accent on the preceding vowel, thus (*āw*, *āj*), which are really equivalent to my (*du*, *dī*), but have the disadvantage of not so accurately distinguishing the second element, so that for (*āj*) the reader has a choice among (*dī*, *dī*, *de*, *dy*, *dā*), etc. Prof. Haldeman says: "The separation of the coalescents from the vowels, being quite modern, their difference is seldom recognized in alphabets. *This is a grave defect*." (Art. 173.) As to the nature of the difference, he says: "The labial vowel *ooze* readily becomes the consonant *way*, and between them there is a shade of sound allied to both, but a variety of the latter, and a consonant, because it has the power of forming a single syllable with a vowel, which two vowels cannot do. . . . The guttural vowel *pique* may become the guttural liquid *yea*, as in *minion*, and between the two lies the guttural coalescent in *aisle*, *eye*, *boy*. The consonant relation of the coalescents is shown in the combinations *how well*, *my years*, in which it is difficult to tell where the coalescent ends. A comparison of the former (or *how-ell*) with *hāwell*, and the latter (or *my-ears*) with *mā-years*, will show their affinity. A coalescent between vowels is apt to form a fulcrum, by becoming a more complete consonant. Compare (emp) *loyer*

with *lawyer*." (Arts. 163-5.) I think I usually say (hə'u:-we'll, hə'u:-e'll, hə'u,el) for *how well, how ell, Howell*, and (mə'i-sii'z, mə'i-i'z) for *my years, my ears*. Similar difficulties occur in *lying* (lə'i-iq), and French *païen, faïence, loyal* (pâi-iaa fâi-iaas lói-ial), not (luáiál), with a long (i), without force gliding and diphthongising each way, which the hyphen tends to make plainer. The English *loyal* is either (lə'i-ə) or (lə'i-i'ə), not, I think, (lə'i:ə), and certainly not (laa'jəl). Similarly for *employer, lawyer* (emplə'i-ə, laa'jə).

2c. and 26c. in *way, yea*, are certainly (w, j), but whether or not in addition (lɹw, lɹj) cannot be affirmed.

3c. and 27c. are certainly (wh, jh). Unfortunately the sounds are departing. See the citation (1112, b'), where it appears that Professor Haldeman never hears (wh) in English without a following (w); and, as appears by his example, he does not hear (jh) without a following (j). But, translating his symbols, he says, "(wh) occurs in several Yesperian languages, and the whistle which Duponceau attributes to the (lenape), Delaware, language, is this sound (wh'dee) heart, (ndee) my heart, (wh'de-nhiim) strawberries, with flat (d). In the Wyandot (w'ndot), (salakwh'u) it burrows, it occurs before a whispered vowel. Compare Penobscot (nekwhdə's) six, (whta'u,ak) ear, (whta'uagollh) ears." (Art. 457.) "This (whd) shows that the (w) put in (whwen) is not by defect of ear, which might cause it to be inferred beside the vocal (d). The frequency of the whispered vowels is curious."—Prof. H.'s M.S. note to proof.

5c. in *hm* seems to be (mh), *hm* = (nhmh), or perhaps (nhmh). "One form of Eng. (mh) often accompanies a smile with closed lips—an incipient laugh reduced to a nasal puff; to the other (mh-m) a true (m) is added, when it becomes an exclamation—sometimes replaced with (nh-n)." —MS. addition.

16c., 17c., 18c. are varieties of (r), but it is difficult exactly to identify them. "The Greek and Latin R was trilled, as described by the ancients, and this accords with European practice. The letter 'r' therefore means this sound. We have heard trilled *r* in Albanian, Armenian (in part), Arabic, Chaldee, Ellenic, Illyrian, Wallachian, Hungarian, Russian, Catalanian, Turkish

(in part), Islandic, Hindustanee, Bengalee, Tamil, and other languages in the pronunciation of natives." (Art. 500.) Probably (r, ɹ, r, ɹ, r, rj) are here not distinguished, and the forcible form (r) is not separated from that of moderate strength. "The trilled *r* is assigned to English as an initial, although many people with an English vernacular cannot pronounce it. Dr. James Rush would have the trill reduced in English to a single tap of the tongue against the palate. This we indicate by *r̄*, with a dot above." (Art. 501.) This faint trill would be our (ɹr); but the English, I believe, do not strike the palate at all when saying (r). Mr. Bell, as we have seen (1098, b), denies the trill in English altogether, and gives us (r̄). "The Spanish (South American) *r* in *perro dog*, as distinguished from the common trilled *r* of *péro but*, seems to be untrilled, and to have the tongue pressed flatly, somewhat as in English *z*, and doubled, as in *more-rest*. It may have arisen from an attempt to yotacise *r*. We mark it *r̄* (or, if trilled, *r*) with a line below, in case it is distinct from the next." (Art. 501a.) Now the Spanish *rr* in *perro* is what the Spanish Academy (Ortografía de la lengua Castellana, 7th ed. Madrid, 1792, p. 70) calls *R fuerte*. Prince L. L. Bonaparte says that it is found in Basque, and calls it an "alveolar *r*," which seems to be my (r). The common (r) in Basque is generally used as a euphonic insertion to save hiatus, as in English *law(r) of the land*. Mr. Bristed (Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1871, p. 122-3) talks of "the apparent negroism prevalent in Cuba of substituting a vocalized *r* for the strongly trilled final *r*, e.g. *amar* (or something very like it) for *amar*," compare Mr. Thomas's Creole French *r* (1155, a'). On the authority of his son, just returned from Spain, Mr. Bristed adds that in Madrid there is "a slurring of medial *r*," and that "the Andalusian dialect tends to drop final letters, even *r*." Prof. Haldeman may mean (r̄). "Many of my sounds were heard casually, and must be accepted as open to correction from further observation." —MS. addition. He proceeds: "Armenian and Turkish have a smooth (i.e. an untrilled) tactual *r*, much like the Spanish *rr*, if not the same, and, with that, requiring farther investigation and comparison. English smooth *r* in *curry*,

acre (a-cr), begr, grey, curt, is formed by much less contact than the European and Asiatic *r* requires. It is the true liquid of the *s* contact, and allied to the vowel in *up*, a character *v* to be formed provisionally from italic *x*." (Arts. 502-3.) "A consonant subject to both a preceding and a succeeding influence may vary with the speaker, putting the same or a different *gr* in *ogre* and *grey*. I was wrong in putting *grey* among my examples in § 503. It should be excluded. I adopted the single-tap *r* on the authority of Dr. Rush, and because I have heard it; but I use neither this nor any other trill in my English. This is the speech of my locality, when it is not influenced by contact with German and Irish modes of pronunciation, and it seems that Mr. Bell rejects the trill."—MS. addition. This he then identifies with my (ɹ). But my (ɹ) is only (ə¹) at most, followed permissively by (r). Prof. Haldeman retains this (ɹ) in the second syllable of (rɛprɪzɛntetʃən) in the specimen, and says it is "due to the unaccented syllable as compared with (pɹɪntɪd), etc." In other cases he corrected it in the proof to (r), which I have given as (ɹ) for uniformity. Perhaps my difficulties arise from the Professor's *not* trilling his (r) as I really do. "A more open smooth *r* is found in *cur*, *fur*, *far*, *more*. Mr. Ellis regards *fur* as *f* with this open *r*, without a vowel between. . . . We regard *fur* as having the open vowel *u* (with which the consonant is allied) *short*, the quantity being confined to the consonant (*fur* = fə¹ʃ⁻), and the tongue moving from the vowel to the consonant position. The same open consonant occurs in *arm*, *worm*, *turn*, *ore*; and although, for a particular purpose, we have cited *arm* as long, it contains a short vowel (a¹r¹m) and long or medial consonant. If we write 'rñ for *urn* and fr or fr for *fur*, we certainly cannot represent *far*, *four*, in the same manner. Moreover we may dissyllabise *pr-ay* on a trilled or a close *r*, and monosyllabise it *p¹ray* with the most open. At one time the discussion of the English letters led to a curious result. When the difference between the open *r* of *tarry* (from *tar*) and the close one of the verb *tarry* was ascertained, an identity of vowel and of consonant was represented,—a greater error than to spell *more* and *moor*, *fairy* and *ferry* alike,

or *pres-d* for *prest*." (Arts. 505-9.) I feel obliged, from the identifications made by Prof. Haldeman, to transcribe 16c. by (ɹr), 17c. by (ɹ), and 18c. by (ɹ), but I am not at all satisfied with the transcription. I think the sound 17c. is sometimes (ə¹), sometimes (ɹ¹), sometimes (ə¹ɹ¹); and that 18c. may be (ə, æ, əh) or (ɹ¹), or one of the first followed by the second. These are points of extreme difficulty, partly arising from the involuntary interference of orthographical reminiscences with phonetic observations.

Prof. Haldeman made the following observations on the proof, after reading the above remarks: "There is a negro perversion of *more* to (moə). I think you admit too little difference between *awe* and *or*, like Bloomfield—

In earliest hours of dark and hooded morn,
Ere yet one rosy cloud bespeaks the dawn,
Still foremost thou the dashing stream to
cross,
And tempt along the animated horse; . . .

"I do not consider any English *r* open enough to constitute a vowel, but I think I have heard a coalescent ('r') [the acute belongs to the preceding element with which it forms a diphthong], "forming a reversed diphthong, in a dialect of Irish, in *gé, gédh, or geodh* a goose. As I recal it, it is a monosyllab between the English syllabs *gay* and *gray*, the *r* open and untactual and so near to (ə) that the result would be *g(ə)ay* were this not a dissyllab like *claw-y* besides *cloy*." As will be shewn hereafter, *or* is used in American comic books to represent *aw* (aa) just as much as in English, and likewise *r* omitted, and *er* is also used for the faintest sound of ('h).

21c. and 22c. also present difficulties in transcription. "The liquids of the palatal contact are a kind of *J* (*yea*) made at the palatal point, and as Eng. *w, v, and r, z* are permutable, so *y* falls into *j* (zh), and its surd aspirate into *r* (sh). Hence the word *soldier* (= soldy¹r or soldy¹ər) is apt to fall into soldy¹r, and *nature* (= net¹y¹r, net¹y¹r or net¹y¹) into net¹r or net¹r¹." (Arts. 518, 519.) From this I consider *y* to represent a form of (ɹ) which is still nearer to (i), with therefore the tongue slightly lower than for (ɹ), so that (ɹ¹) would be its best sign, and "j will then be (ɹ¹h). According to the same habit which obliges Prof. Haldeman to say

(whw-, jhJ-) we necessarily have (J₁hJ₁). Hence his examples must be transcribed (soldJ₁lR, soldJ₁ylR, netJ₁hL, netJ₁hJ₁L, netJ₁L).

The remaining consonants present no difficulty.

11. in *hay*. "Many deny that *h* is a consonant, because 'it is not made by contact or interruption.' But when the breath is impelled through an aperture which obstructs it, there is interruption, and if we vary the impulse we can make English *oo* and *w* with the same aperture. . . H, h, is the common English and German *h*, in the syllables held, hat, hast, hose. *φ* is for the eighth Hebrew letter hheth . . . and is commonly called an emphatic *h* and is often represented by *hh*. As heard by us, it is an enforced, somewhat close *h*, with a tendency to scrape along the throat, and, consequently, it is not a pulmonic aspirate. . . . The Florentine aspirate *casa*, *miseriordia*, *chi*, we have casually heard, and believe it to be *φ*, and also the Spanish *j*, *x*, before *a*, *o*, *u*, as in *jabon soap* = *φá'bón*, and the geographical name *San Juan* (= *sánφ'van*) in English—*sxnφ'vón*." (Arts.

553, 565, 567.) The identification of *φ* with (*h*), see (1130, *b*), and the statement of its relation to *h*, seem to shew that this *h* is my (*h*h). The examples are then meant for (*habh*o'n, *sanh*whan, *sænh*won), but I think that Spanish *j* differs from (*h*). Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers it to be (*kh*), and identifies the Florentine sound with a 'vocal' aspirate (1136, *c*), my (*h*). Prof. Haldeman observes on the use of (*h*) for *me*, (*h*h) for *Smart*, and (*h*h) for himself and Sweet in the comparative specimen given below:—"You assign three kinds of initial *h* to four speakers, where I think the ear would give the same result, except where *h* is dropt. I pronounce English *here* and German *hier* exactly alike as far as the *r*, and I suppose you do the same, but the smooth English *r* gives a dissyllabic tendency, which is absent from the German form." I believe I call the English word (*hiir*) and the German (*hiir*), but may occasionally say (*hiir*, *hiir* *hiir*), which are all anglicisms. I sometimes fall into (*uh*) in English. For *Smart's* (*h*h), see No. 56 of his scheme below, (1204, *b*).

Henry Sweet.

Mr. Henry Sweet adopts Mr. Bell's Visible Speech Symbols and my palaeotype, and kindly himself wrote out his specimen in palaeotype, so that there are no difficulties of interpretation. It is necessary to observe his higher (*e*) or (*e'*), and his (*o*) with a (*u*) rounding or (*o_u*), his consonantal termination of (*iir*, *uw*), his advanced (*o*, *o*) or (*o*, *o*), his forms of (*eej*, *oo'w*) as (*éy*, *óo_u*), his acceptance of (*x*) as (*əh*) in (*ʼəh*, *EEəh*, *evəh*), etc., his constant use of (*ʼ*, *ʼh*), even rounded, as (*ʼhw*), his analysis of his diphthongs for (*əi*, *ə'u*) as (*ve'y*, *ve'y*) and (*əw'o*), and his lengthened consonants, as (*samm*, *lett*). He uses (*æ*, *ɛ*) where I use (*ə*, *e*), and altogether his pronunciation differs in many minute shades from mine, although in ordinary conversation the difference would probably be passed by unnoticed, so little accustomed are we to dwell on differences which vex the phonologist's spirit. This little passage presents one of the most remarkable analyses of spoken sounds which has yet been published.

In returning me the proof corrected, he wrote: "I am inclined to accept your analysis of *ch* as (*t.sh*) for my own pronunciation also. I think the second element of the (*au*) diphthong may be the simple voice-glide rounded (*ʼhw*) instead of the mid-back (*o*), (*sæə'ondz*) would therefore be written (*sæə'hwondz*). In the same way I feel inclined to substitute the simple voice-glide unrounded (*ʼh*) for the (*əh*) wherever it forms the second element of a diphthong. I leave it to you to make the alterations or not." As Mr.

Sweet, on account of leaving England, was unable to correct a revise of the example, I preferred following the proof as it left his own hands, and content myself with noting these minute points. But it is worth while observing what extremely rough approximations to (i, u), such as ('hj, 'hw), when added to any one of the sounds (æ v, æ a o o, æ a A o, ə ah oh oh, əh ə əh əh) and even (e e œ, ɛ æ æh), serve to recall diphthongs of the (ái, áu) classes to the mind with sufficient clearness to be readily intelligible.

B. H. Smart.

Mr. B. H. Smart's "Walker Remodelled . . . exhibiting the pronunciation of words in unison with more accurate schemes of sounds than any yet furnished, according to principles carefully and laboriously investigated, 1836," contains the most minute account of English sounds that I can find in pronouncing dictionaries, though very far below what is presented in Visible Speech or by Prof. Haldeman. It seemed therefore best to contrast his representation of the same passage, by turning out each word in his dictionary, and transliterating it into palaeotype. For this purpose it is necessary to identify his symbols as explained in his schemes and principles. The numbers of his symbols in the schemes, with the examples, are sufficient to identify them, so that their forms need not be given. The same numbers also refer to the paragraphs in his 'principles,' giving the detailed description, from which I am obliged to cite some passages, although the book is so well known and readily accessible. Mr. Smart is only responsible for what I put between inverted commas.

"SCHEME OF THE VOWELS."

"*The Alphanumeric Vowels, by nature long, though liable to be short or shortened.*"

1. accented as in gate, gait, pay. This sound is recognized as (e'e'), but made (ee'i) by Smart, see (1108, d'), or perhaps (ee'j).

2. unaccented as in aerial, retail, gateway. "This tapering off into No. 4 cannot be heard in the unaccented alphabetical a, owing to its shorter quantity," it is therefore (e) short or (e'e) of medial length, probably the first in aerial, and the second in the other words. But I hear (geetwe'j), which, however, I suppose he takes as (gee'i-twe'e). But see No. 13.

3. accented as in me, meet, meat, is certainly (ii), but whether distinguished always from (i) is uncertain.

4. unaccented as in defy, pedigree, galley. "The quantity is not always equally short: in pedigree, for instance, it is not so short in the third syllable as

in the second. Generally it is as short as No. 15, with which it is identical, except that No. 15 is essentially short, while the unaccented alphabetical No. 4 is by nature capable of quantity. The word *indivisibility* must in strict theory be said to have one and the same vowel-sound in each syllable; but *practical* views rendering the distinction necessary, we consider the vowel in three of the syllables [1st, 3rd, 5th], to be essentially short, and the vowel in the remaining four to be naturally long, although, from situation, quite as short as No. 15." Here then short (i, i) are confused. The 'practical views' are in fact that No. 15, the 'essentially short' (i), is found gliding on to a consonant, and No. 4, the 'essentially long' (ii), is found at the end of a syllable. The distinction is false; in this word (i) occurs throughout, and (i) would give a strangely foreign effect, the sound being (i:ndi:v:i:bi:l'i:t'i), although (e') or (ə) might be used in the 2nd, 4th, 6th and 7th syllables rather

than (i). But in consequence of Smart's distinction, I shall transcribe his No. 4 by (i) as (*indivizibiliti*).

5. accented as in *wide, defied, defy*. "This sound is diphthongal. In the mouth of a well-bred Londoner it begins with the sound heard in No. 39, but without sounding the *r*, and tapers off into No. 4." This gives (ə'i) or (ə'ɪ); I take the former. Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (ə'ɪ) is meant. See below No. 19. "Some allege its composition to be No. 23 and No. 4," that is (ai, ai), "but this is northern; while others make it to be No. 25 and No. 4," that is (A'i, A'ɪ), "which is still more rustic. The affirmation *ay* is, however, a union of the sounds 25 and 4, at least as that word is commonly pronounced; though in the House of Commons, in the phrase, 'the ayes have it,' it seems to be an ancient custom to pronounce the plural word as uniting the sounds Nos. 25, 4, 60 [= (A.A'iz)], or as it might be written *oys*, rhyming with *boys*."

6. unaccented as in *idea, fortifies, fortify*. "This unaccented sound differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only." It is often, however, extremely short. It does not seem to occur to orthoepists generally that diphthongs may be very short indeed, and yet possess all their properties, with the relative lengths of their parts. In *likewise*, the first diphthong, although accented, is generally much shorter than the second; in *idea*, the diphthong is often scarcely touched, but is always quite sensible.

7. accented as in *no, boat, foe, soul, blow*. "In a Londoner's mouth, it is not always quite simple, but is apt to contract towards the end, almost as oo in *too*." Now this seems to imply that the vanish to (u) is *not* received; that (oo) is intended, and (óolu) unintentional. Still as he admits (éeli), I shall take his No. 7 to be (óolu).

8. unaccented as in *obey, follow*. "In remitting the accent, and with accent its length, No. 8 preserves its specific quality, with no liability to the diphthongal character to which the accented sound is liable." Hence I transcribe (o).

9. accented as in *cube, due, suit*. "Though for practical purposes reckoned among the vowels, No. 9 is, in truth, the syllable yōō, composed of the consonant element 56 and the vowel element

27." This view gets over all phonetic difficulties, and is very rough. I transcribe (juu).

10. unaccented as in *usurp, ague*. "Although a diphthong can scarcely lose in length, without losing its diphthongal character, yet a syllable composed of a consonant and a vowel may in general be something shortened." I transcribe (ju). The passage shews the vague phonetic knowledge which generally prevails.

"*The Essentially Short Vowels.*"

11. accented as in *man, chapman*. This "differs in quality as well as in quantity from both No. 1 or No. 2, and No. 23,—it is much nearer the latter than the former,—indeed so near, that in theory they are considered identical; but it is not, practically, so broad as No. 23." That is, his No. 11, which we must identify with (æ), lies between (eei) or (e) and (a), but is theoretically identified with the latter. The way in which in dialectal writing (æ, a) are confused under one sign *a*, has caused me much trouble, and I have found many correspondents apparently unable to discover the difference in sound.

12. unaccented as in *accept, chapman*. This "differs in quality from the preceding by verging towards the sound of No. 19, its distinct utterance being near to No. 11, its obscure or colloquial utterance carrying it entirely into No. 19. In final syllables the more obscure sound prevails; in initial syllables the more distinct." Hence in the former I transcribe (əæ), in the latter (əə). But these indicate helplessness on the part of the phonologist. Prince L. L. Bonaparte makes the former (ə) and the latter (ə), see No. 19.

13. accented as in *lent*. This "in theory is reckoned the same sound as No. 2. That it does not differ from it in quality may be perceived by the effect of a cursory pronunciation of *climate, ultimare, etc.*, which reduce to *climet, ultimet, etc.*" That is, Smart confuses (e, e), just as he confused (ɪ, i), see No. 4. But while the confusion of (e, e) is tolerably possible, that of (e, e) is barely so. Hence I transcribe No. 13 as (e), and not as (ɛ).

14. unaccented as in *silent*. This "is liable to be sounded as No. 15." I transcribe (e), though perhaps (e') or even (y), to allow of confusion with (i),

might be more correct. But Smart may not have intended to recognize any intermediary between (e) and (i).

15. accented as in *pit*. This "in theory is reckoned the same as No. 4, and that it does not much differ in quality may be perceived by the word *counterfeit*, in which No. 4 in the last syllable shortens itself into No. 15." This is (i) certainly.

16. unaccented as in *sawpit*. This "differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only," and will hence be also written (i).

17. accented as in *not*, common. This "in theory is reckoned the same as No. 25, and that it does not differ in quality may be perceived by observing that *salt*, *fault*, etc., though pronounced with No. 25 in slow utterance, are liable to be shortened into No. 17." That is, Smart confuses (A, o) just as he confused (e, e) and (i, i). Yet he speaks of (AA) as a *broad*, not a *lengthened*, utterance of o in *cost*, *broth*, etc., and recommends a "medium between the extremes." Hence I transcribe 17 as (A), 25 as (AA), and this "medium" as (A^Δ).

18. unaccented as in *pollute*, *command*, common. This "differs in quality from the preceding by verging towards the sound No. 19, more or less, according as the pronunciation is solemn or colloquial. In final syllables the sound No. 19 under the character o is, in general, so decided, that even in the most solemn speaking any other sound would be pedantic." These cases he marks especially, as in common, and I transcribe (ə) simply. "In initial and other syllables, the sound preserves its character with some distinctness, as in *pollute*, *pomposity*, *demonstration*;" here then I transcribe (ə^o), "yet even in these we find a great tendency to the sound No. 19, and in the prefix *com-* the tendency is still stronger." Wherever he marks this stronger tendency to indistinctness, I transcribe (ə) rather than (ə^o). Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (v) is meant by the o in *pollute*, and (ə) by the o in common, see No. 19.

19. accented as in *nut*, *custard*. "No. 19, No. 39 (without sounding the r), and No. 24, are all, in theory, the same, the last however more or less approaching the sound No. 23, according as the speaker is more or less distinct. They are all modifications of

what may be called the natural vowel, —that is to say, the vowel which is uttered in the easiest opening of the mouth." But whether these 'modifications' are (ə, ɛ, ɐ, əh), etc., there is nothing to shew. Hence I transcribe No. 19 by (ə), which, to me, approaches most to the natural vowel, and No. 24 by (ə^a). Prince L. L. Bonaparte, who has made a careful study of Smart, writes to me: "Although in your transcription of Smart (ə) is the only one of the four signs (ɛ, ə, ɐ, ə) which occurs, it seems to me that Smart represents (ɛ) by No. 24 a in *manna*, (ə) by the first No. 12 or a in *accept*, (ɐ) by the first No. 18 or o in *pollute*, and (ə) by No. 19 u in *nut*, or by the second No. 12 a in *chapman*, and second No. 18 o in *common*. The three signs, No. 19, the second No. 12, and the first No. 18, see also No. 20, are synonymous. They represent Smart's 'natural vowel,' which is, as he says in No. 19, merely *ur* without sounding the final r. In No. 36 he says that *er*, *ir*, *or*, *ur*, *yr*, are necessarily pronounced *ur*. Hence the words *sir*, *bird*, *first*, see No. 35, contain Smart's natural vowel, your (ə), and not your (ə). In fact, Smart says that the first No. 12 is to No. 24 as No. 11 is to No. 23, see Nos. 12 and 24, and that No. 24 is a mean between Nos. 19 and 23, just as the first No. 12 is between Nos. 11 and 19. He also says in No. 18, that the first sound of No. 18 lies between No. 17 and No. 19. Hence the first sound of No. 18 is (v), in the same way as No. 24 is (ɛ), and the first No. 12 is (ə), and the second No. 12, second No. 18 and No. 19, are (ə), which is his natural vowel." This is extremely ingenious, and logically worked out, but it depends on the hypothesis that Smart pronounced No. 19 with the same vowel that Bell used in pronouncing *err* (ə), which is different from the vowel Bell used in pronouncing *urn up* (ɛ). And Smart's No. 35 leads me to suppose that he did not understand the nature of Bell's distinction (ə, ɛ), although he felt that there was some distinction. I doubt much indeed whether Smart had any clear conception of the four different sounds (ə, ɛ, ɐ, ə), which seem to have been first discriminated by Mr. M. Bell, as the result of his theory of lingual distinctions. And hence I feel that to write Smart's key-words, No.

12 *accept* chapman, No. 18 *pollute* common, No. 19 *nut*, No. 24 *papa*, *manna*, *Messiah*, as (əksept tshæp-mæn; pɛljʊʊt kəmæn, nʊt, pəpaa' mænə Məsə'i'ə), although possibly correct, is very probably incorrect. I do *not* think he said (nʊt), though this is a cockneyism. I do *not* think he said (pəpaa' mænə), for unaccented (ə) is very rare and very ugly. I do *not* think he said (əksept), though he may have said (pɛljʊʊt). In this state of doubt, I have chosen symbols which seem to mark his own uncertainty, on the principle of (1107, d), namely, (æʔksept tshæp-mæ'n; pɛljʊʊt kəmæ'n, nʊt, pə'paa' mænə Məsə'i'ə), where the double sign in fact represents that the sound was felt to be intermediate in each case, but to have *more* of that represented by the large letter, though Smart would allow either sound to be used purely; but if so, he thought that of the large letter preferable. Except as regards *nut*, which *may* have been Mr. Bell's (ɔ) rather than my (ə), and may really have been in Mr. Smart's mouth (ə),—though I can hardly think the last probable,—I have no reasonable doubt as to the propriety of my symbols. I thought it right, however, to give the Prince's very ingenious hypothesis. He was at the pains to transcribe the whole example according to his theory; but the reader can so readily supply the necessary changes that I have not given it.

20. unaccented as in *walnut*, *circus*. This "differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and is hence transcribed (ə).

21. accented as in *good*, *hood*, "an incidental vowel." This, "essentially short, is, in other respects, identical with No. 27, the most contracted sound in the language." That is, Smart confuses (u, ʊ) as he had previously confused (e, e; i, i; A, ɔ). It is necessary to transcribe (u), though I much doubt his having ever used it for No. 21 in actual speech.

22. unaccented as in *childhood*, "an incidental vowel." This "differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and is hence transcribed (u).

"*The Remaining Incidental Vowels, by nature long, though liable to be shortened.*"

23. accented as in *papa*, the interj.

ah. "In almost all languages but the English, this is the alphabetic sound of letter *a*." It is transcribed (aa).

24. unaccented as in *papa*, *manna*, *Messiah*. This "differs from the preceding [No. 23] not only in quantity but in quality, by verging to the natural vowel [No. 19], and in colloquial utterance quite identifying with it. It fluctuates between No. 23 and this natural vowel No. 19, just as *ä* [*a* in *chapman*, the second No. 12] fluctuates between No. 11 and No. 19." It is transcribed (əə), see No. 19. Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (ə) is meant, see No. 19. Smart uses No. 24 for French *e muet* in such words as *coup de grace*, *aide de camp*, which seems due to orthographical prejudice, as *dü* might have led the ordinary reader to say (dʊ).

25. accented as in *law*, the noun sub. *awe*, etc. This is (AA) without doubt.

26. unaccented as in *jackdaw*. This "differs from the preceding by remission of accent, and such shortening of its quantity as it will bear," by which I understand that it is generally medial (A^Δ).

27. accented as in *pool*. "The sound of the letter *u* in Italian and many other languages," that is (uu).

28. unaccented as in *whirlpool*, *cuckoo*. This "differs from the preceding by the remission of the accent, and such reduction of quantity as it will bear so as not to identify with No. 22, for *whirlpool* must not be pronounced as if it were *whirlpull*. Where, however, it is not followed in the same syllable by a consonant, as in *cuckoo*, *luxury*, it may be as short as utterance can make it." Here the nemesis of confusing (u, ʊ) appears. It will be necessary to transcribe (u^Δ) in the first case, as of medial length, and (u) in the second. He writes (lək'shɪjʊə'r), which is extremely artificial.

29. accented as in *toil*, *boy*. This "is a diphthongal sound whose component parts are Nos. 25 and 4." That is, it is (AA'i).

30. unaccented as in *turmoil*, *foot-boy*. This "differs from the preceding by the remission of accent, but its diphthongal nature prevents any perceptible difference in quantity," so that the transcription (AA'i) will be retained.

31. accented as in *noun*, *now*, *brown*. This is "a diphthongal sound of whose component parts are Nos. 23 and 27; at least, is the former of the two component sounds nearer to No. 23 than No. 25, though Walker makes the combination to be Nos. 25 and 27." That is, Smart analyses it as (āau), and not as (AA'u). He certainly could not have said (āau) with the first element long, but he had no means of writing (āu). Walker says: "The first or proper sound of this diphthong is composed of the *a* in *ball*, and the *oo* in *woo*, rather than the *u* in *bull*," that is (AA'uu). It will be seen that Mr. I. Pitman (p. 1183, key) uses ou = (o'u) as his analysis of the diphthong down to this day. I have never heard it in received pronunciation.

32. unaccented, as in *pronoun*, *nut-brown*. This "differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and hence (āau) is retained as the transcription.

"*The Vowels which terminate in Guttural Vibration, by nature long, though liable to be shortened.*"

33. accented, equivalent to No. 23 and *r*, as in *ardent*, that is, "No. 23, terminating in guttural vibration, . . . there is no trill, but the tongue being curled back during the progress of the vowel preceding it, the sound becomes guttural, while a slight vibration of the back part of the tongue is perceptible in the sound." I don't pretend to understand any part of this observation. He also says: "the letter *r* is sometimes a consonant, . . . and sometimes a guttural vowel-sound," and "that the trill of the tongue may be used wherever the following dictionary indicates the guttural vibration, is not denied; but it cannot be used at such places without carrying to correct ears an impression of peculiar habits in the speaker,—either that he is foreign or provincial, Irish or Scotch, a copier of bad declaimers on the stage, or a speaker who in correcting one extreme has unwarily incurred another. The extreme among the vulgar in London doubtlessly is, to omit the *r* altogether—to convert far into (faa), hard into (hhaad), cord into (kaad), lord into (laad), etc.;—an extreme which must be avoided as carefully as the strong trill of *r* in an improper place." Under these circumstances I transcribe (') for

the "guttural vibration," or "guttural vowel-sound," whatever that may be, and own myself, and almost every one I hear speak, to belong to the extreme of the vulgar in saying (aa) for (aa'), although I often hear and say (aa'r). Hence No. 33 will be (aa').

34. unaccented as in *arcade*, *dollar*. This "differs from the preceding, both in quantity (though this cannot be much) and in quality, by verging towards unaccented No. 39. Indeed when the letters *ar* occur in a final unaccented syllable, as in *dollar*, it would be a puerile nicety to attempt distinctness." I transcribe (aa'), when he writes "*ar* equivalent to" No. 23 followed by the guttural vibration, that is, the sound (aa) merely verging to (a'); and (a') otherwise.

35. accented as in *ermine*, *virtue*. This "lies between Nos. 41 and 39, and in mere theory would not be distinguished from the former." I shall transcribe it (e'), though I am sure that it is usually a perfectly simple vowel-sound, and Smart gives no means of exactly determining it. Of course he may have distinguished it as (ao'). See No. 19.

36. unaccented as in *commerce*, *letter*, *nadir*. This "is scarcely ever heard without some corruption of its quality in a final syllable, where the letters *er*, *ir*, *or*, *ur*, *yr*, will almost necessarily be pronounced *ur*," No. 39. "This necessity is less in some words than in others, in *commerce*, for instance, than in *letter*." Hence I transcribe (e'), a') in the two cases.

37. accented as in *order*. This, "which is equivalent to No. 25 and *r*," that is to (AA'), "occurs frequently in the language, often requiring to be distinguished from No. 47. For instance *form* (faa'm), meaning figure, must be distinguished in pronunciation from *form* (foa'ə'm), meaning a bench." I transcribe (AA'), though I generally hear (AA) or (AA'r).

38. unaccented as in *stupor* or in *sailor*. This "is seldom distinct." I transcribe (AA'a') and (a') according to his marks, on the principle of No. 34.

39. accented as in *urgent*. This "is the natural vowel terminating in the guttural vibration," and is transcribed (a'), though how this differs from (a) or (h), or any one of the sounds discussed in No. 19, it is difficult to say.

40. unaccented as in *sulphur*. This

"differs from the preceding only by the remission of accent," and is, therefore, still transcribed (ə').

41. accented as in *mare*, "equivalent to Nos. 1 and 39," that is (éɛi'ə'), but surely the (i) must be omitted and at least (eə'ə') said, and this is strange. I transcribe (eə'ə').

42. unaccented as in *welfare*, "equivalent to Nos. 2 and 39," that is (eə').

43. accented as in *mere*, "equivalent to Nos. 3 and 39," that is (iia').

44. unaccented as in *atmosphere*, "equivalent to Nos. 4 and 39," that is (iə').

45. accented as in *mire*, "equivalent to Nos. 5 and 39," that is (əi'ə').

46. unaccented as in *empire*, "equivalent to Nos. 6 and 39," that is (əiə').

47. accented as in *more*, "equivalent to Nos. 7 and 39," that is (ooi'uə'), meaning, perhaps, (oo'ə'), as the (i) could not have been used, see No. 41.

48. unaccented as in *therefore*, equivalent to Nos. 8 and 39," that is, (oə').

49. accented as in *mare*, "equivalent to Nos. 9 and 39," or (juu'ə').

50. unaccented as in *figure*, "equivalent to Nos. 10 and 39," or (juə').

51. accented as in *poor*, "equivalent to Nos. 27 and 39," or (uu'ə').

52. unaccented as in *black-a-moor*, "equivalent to Nos. 28 and 39," or (uə').

53. accented as in *power*, "equivalent to Nos. 31 and 39," or (əau'ə').

54. unaccented, as in *caul-flower*, "equivalent to Nos. 32 and 39," or (əauə').

In reference to Nos. 41 to 54—which it is said, "it is only by being followed by guttural vibration that these sounds differ respectively from Nos. 1 to 10, 27, 28, 31, and 32"—it should be remembered that Mr. Smart does not distinguish properly between (i i, e e, o o, u u), and hence the changes which Mr. Bell, myself, and others notice (1099, a') in the action of the diphthongising ('h) upon preceding (i, e, o, u), were necessarily passed over by Mr. Smart. He says indeed: "It has been said that there is a palpable difference between the vowel-sound in *payer*, *player*, *slayer*, and that in *care*, *fair*, *hair*, *share*. What difference may be made in New York I know not; but I know that none is made in London, nor can be made without that peculiar effect which shows an effort to distinguish what in general is necessarily undistinguishable," but that he did feel a

difference is, I think, certain from the following remarks: "Identical, however, as they are, except as regards the peculiarity noticed, the practical necessity for considering them distinct elements will be perceived in the comparison of the first syllables of *va-rious*, *se-rious*, *fi-ring*, *to-ry*, *fu-ry*, with the first syllables of *va-cant*, *se-cant*, *fi-nal*, *to-tal*, *fu-gitive*; an identity of these syllables in pronunciation is decidedly provincial; the true utterance of the former is *vare-ious*, *sere-ious*," etc., with Nos. 41 and 43, etc. "The difference in view will be rendered intelligible to those familiar with French pronunciation, by comparing the sound of *dear* pronounced correctly as an English word, with that of *dire* pronounced correctly as a French word. In both the vowel commences after the *d* precisely in the same way, but in the French word it remains pure, unmixed with the *r*, which begins a new syllable formed with what is called the mute *e*, the word being pronounced (diirə')," [vowels Nos. 3 and 24,] "or nearly so; while in the English word, the sound of the *r* (not the trilled *r* as in French) blends itself with the *e* during its progress." [I hear French (diir), English (di'), or (di'r) before a vowel.] "So also in *dear-ly*, *care-ful*, etc., the addition of a syllable beginning with a consonant distinct from the *r* making no difference to the previous syllable, the *r* in that previous syllable blends itself with the vowel exactly as in *dear*, *care*, etc.; and the only difference between *dear-ly*, *care-ful*, etc., and *va-rious*, *se-rious*, *fi-ry*, *to-ry*, *fu-ry*, etc., is, that in the latter the *r*, besides blending itself with the previous vowel, is also heard in the articulation of the vowel which begins the following syllable." [Hence I feel bound to transcribe (vee'ə'rias, sii'ə'rias), etc., where I seem to say and hear (vee'rias, sii'rias), etc.] "Of this blending of the *r* with the previous vowel, it is further to be observed that the union is so smooth in polite utterance as to make it imperceptible where one ends and the other begins;" [meaning, I suppose, that the diphthong is perfect, no interruption occurring in the glide, not even a slur, thus (eə') not (eə—ə'), although his careful interposition of the accent mark (eə'ə'), instead of putting it at the close (eə'), gives a different impression, and always leads me to read

with a slur (ee~ə');] "while in vulgar pronunciation the former vowel breaks abruptly into the guttural sound, or into the vowel No. 24 used for the guttural," [meaning, I suppose, (ee'jə', ee'ə'), or (ee'jəʰ, ee'əʰ).] "Among mere cocknies this substitution of No. 24 for No. 34, or No. 40, is a prevailing characteristic, and should be corrected by all who wish to adapt their habits to those of well-bred life." [Here he again becomes mysterious, separating his guttural vibration from his guttural vowel, with which he identified it in No. 33. As far as I can observe, and I have been constantly observing the use of *r* by Englishmen for many years, this distinction is founded in error. I can understand, and hear, (ə, ər, ər, v, ər, ər, 'h, 'r, 'r), but the difference (əʰ, ə') escapes me.] "It is, moreover, remarkable of these elements that each will pass on the ear either as one or two syllables, and this is signified in the schemes by the equivalent indication ā'ur, ī'ur," [=No. 1, accent, No. 39; and No. 5, accent, No. 39; or (ee'ə', ə'ī'ə')], "where the mark of accent placed over the former part gives it the appearance of the first of two syllables, while the omission of the hyphen shows that the whole is pronounced as one." He refers here to No. 134, where he says, that: "*pay-er* and *may-or*; *li-ar*, *buy-er*, and *high-er*; *slow-er* and *grow-er*; *su-er* and *new-er*; *tru-er*, *brew-er*, and *do-er*; *bow-er* and *flow-er*; are perfect rhymes to *mare*, *hire*, *lore*, *cure*, *poor*, and *hour*." To me (pee'v, lē'i'v, bē'i'v, hē'i'v, sloo'v, groo'v, siū'v, niū'v, truū'v, bruū'v, duū'v, bē'u'v, flē'u'v), where ~ might be used for), are always dissyllabic; but *mayor* = *mare* precisely, = (mee'), and (loo', kiū', puū') are distinctly monosyllabic, though diphthongal, while *hire*, *hour*, involving triphthongs, are looser respecting the final, so that (hē'i', ə'u') or (hē'i'~h, ə'u'~h) may be heard, but not (hē'i'v, ə'u'v) in two syllables, according to present usage. For past usage see examples from Shakspere, p. 951. I acknowledge having heard Mr. Smart's semi-dissyllabism in some elderly people, and was much struck by it in the late Sir John Bowring's evidently much studied pronunciation, but I cannot recognize it in my own generation, and I was born in 1814.

55. "a slight semi-consonant sound

between No. 4 and No. 58, heard in the transition from certain consonant to certain vowel sounds: as in *l'ute*, *j'ew*, *nat'ure*, *g'arment*, *k'ind*." This "is a sound so short and slight as to be lost altogether in the mouth of an unpolished speaker, who says (luut, dzhuu, néej'itshə'), or more commonly (néej'itshə'), garment, kind, etc., for *l'ute*, *j'ew*, etc. On the other hand, there are persons who, to distinguish themselves from the vulgar, pronounce No. 58 distinctly on the occasions which call for this slighter sound of No. 58 or No. 4. This *affected* pronunciation," [which he writes l-yoot, j-yoo, na'-ch-yoor, g-yar'ment, k-yind,] "be it observed, is to be avoided with as much care as the slight sound, which in the mouth of an elegant speaker *naturally* slides in between the consonant and the vowel, is to be imitated." I believe the sounds he means are (l'i'ut, dzhi'úu, néej'itsh'ii', gjaa'ment, kja'ind), but, in consequence of No. 58, I transcribe this "semi-consonant" by (j). As respects its use after (sh), Prof. Haldeman says: "If, by the conversion of *i* into English *y* or *zh*, o-be-di-ent becomes o-be-dyent (the writer's mode of speaking) or o-bedzhent, no speaker of real English can preserve *both* *dzh* and *i*; yet Walker has coined a jargon with such forms as o-be-je-ent, and cris-tshe-án-e-te. Similarly if 'omniscient' has an *s*, it has four syllables; if *sh*, it has but three. Compare the dissyllables *Russia*, *Asia*, *conscience*, and the trissyllables *militia*, *malicious*" (Anal. Orth. art. 311). Smart, using the transcriptions suggested, writes (o-bii'-dient = o-biid'-jent, kríst-jæ'n), colloquially (kríst-sh-jæ'n), where the separation of (t-sh) is inorganic, (krís-ti-æn-i-ti, Am-nish'-i-ent, Am-nis'-si-ens, Ee'lish-jæ'n Ee:-shi-æt-ik, Rosh-jæ'n, kan-sh-jens, mi-lish-jæ, mæ'-lish-jas). I seem to say (obiid'-ent, kríst-shen, krístiæ'niti kríst-shi-jæ'niti, omnish'-ent, omnish'-ens, Eeshē Eeshiæ'tik, Rā-shen, kōnshens, mīl'shu, mel'shəs). It seems that many of these changes of (s) into (sh) through (i) are in a state of transition, and that the stages are (-si-ē, -s-jē, -shi-ē, -shi-ē, -shē), and that those speakers who have learned to speak in any prior state have a sort of repulsion against a following one, and will never submit to it,—when they think of it,

that is, in 'careful speaking,'—leaving the change to be accomplished by the rising or some following generation. The admission of all pronunciations as now coexisting, instead of the stigmatisation of some as vulgar or as wrong, marks the peculiarity of my standpoint, whence I try to see what *is*, rather than decide what *should be*.

"SCHEME OF THE CONSONANTS."

56. "h, as in *hand*, perhaps, vehement, is a propulsion of breath, which becomes vocal in the sound which follows it, this following sound being hence called aspirated." As 'propulsion' may be an 'elegant' translation of 'jerk,' I transcribe (hʃh). "And the sound which follows is in our language always a vowel, except *w* and *y*; for *w* is aspirated in *wheat*, *whig*, etc., which are pronounced hʃwēat, hʃwīg, etc., and *y* is aspirated in *hew*, *huge*, etc., which are pronounced hʃyōō, hʃyōōge, etc." Hence I transcribe (hʃhwiit, hʃhjuudzh). "It is to be further noted that the aspirate is never heard in English except at the beginning of syllables;" [that (*izs*) is really (*izh*), and might therefore be well called a final aspirate, naturally never occurred to him,] "and that in the following and all their derivatives *h* is silent: *heir*, *honest*, *honour*, *hostler*, *hour*, *humble*, and *humour*." The two last words are now most frequently aspirated, just as Smart aspirates *herb*, *hospital*, which may still be heard unaspirated from well-educated people. I heard a physician, speaking at a hospital public meeting lately, constantly say (ɔ'spītel).

57. "w, beginning a syllable without or with aspiration, as in *we*, beware, froward, *wheat* equivalent to hʃwēat, is a consonant having for its basis the most contracted of the vowel-sounds, namely No. 27, which sound, being partially obstructed by an inward action of the lips, and then given off by an outward action, is changed from a vowel to a consonant. A comparison of the French word *oui*, as a Frenchman pronounces it (viz. No. 28, No. 3, accent), with the English word *we* as an Englishman pronounces it, will show the difference between the vowel and the consonant." This is (w).

58. "y, beginning a syllable as in *you*, and this sound is always to be understood as present in Nos. 9, 10, 50, which are equivalent to y, with Nos.

27, 28, and 52, is a consonant, having for its basis the slenderest of the vowel-sounds, namely, No. 3," [what is the precise difference between "the slenderest" and "the most contracted" of the vowel-sounds? Who would imagine them to be respectively (i, u) and *not* (u, i) ?] "which sound being partially obstructed by an inward action of the jaw carrying the back of the tongue against the soft palate, and then given off by an outward action, is changed by these actions from a vowel into a consonant. When very slightly uttered, with little of the organic action, and therefore resuming much of the character of a vowel, it is No. 55." Hence, I transcribe No. 58 by (j), and No. 55 by (ɹj).

59. "s and ss; also c or sc before e or i, as in *sell*, *sit*, *mass*; *cell*, *face*, *cit*, *scene*, *science*," is (s).

60. "z, zz, ze, as in *zeal*, *buzz*, *maze*," is (z).

61. "sh as in *mish'-un*, so spelled to signify the pronunciation of mission," is (sh).

62. "zh as in *vīzh'-un*, so spelled to signify the pronunciation of vision," is (zh).

63. "ch, tch, as in *chair*, *each*, *match*," is (tsh), see No. 64.

64. "j; and also g before e or i, as in *jog*; *gem*, *age*, *gin*," is (dzh). Nos. 63 and 64 "are not simple consonants, the former being t and sh, and the latter d and zh." Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers that Smart's observations in No. 147 tend to shew that, notwithstanding this statement, Smart really analysed (tshj, dzhj). But to me Smart's observations only relate to the use of (tshj, dzhj), as he says in Nos. 61, 62, 63, and 64, that these consonants are "unable to take the consonant y [No. 58] into fluent union, and therefore either absorb the y entirely, or reduce it to the slighter element" No. 55, here transcribed (ɹj). Of the possible reduction of (shj) into (shj), he seems to have had no clear conception. Thus, he takes no notice of (lj nj). His *coup d'œil*, *bagnio* are (kuudə'il, bænjə). But his habit of speech may have been different from his analysis. This is often the case. Thus Mr. Murray and myself analyse my own pronunciation of "long ā" differently (1109, ā).

65. "f, ff, fe, as in *jog*, *cuff*, *life*," is (f).

66. "v, ve, as in *vain*, *love*," is (v).
 67. "th, as in *thin*, *pith*," is (th).
 68. "th, the, as in *them*, *with*, *breathe*," is (dh).

69. "l, ll, le, as in *let*, *mill*, *sale*," is (l). The last syllable of *able*, *idle*, he says, is "a syllable indeed without a vowel, except to the eye," adding in a note, "*A-ble*, *e-vil*, *ma-son*, *broken*, etc., although heard with only one vowel, are as manifestly two syllables to the ear (all our poetry proves it) as any dissyllable in the language."

70. "m, mm, me, as in *may*, *hammer*, *blame*," is (m).

71. "n, nn, ne, as in *no*, *banner*, *tune*," is (n).

72. "ng, as in *ring*," is (ŋ).

73. "r, rr, as audibly beginning a syllable or being one of a combination of consonants that begin a syllable, as in *ray*, *erect*, *florid* (=florrid), *torrid*, *pray*, *spread*. Under other circumstances, the letter is a sign of mere guttural vibration." This "is an utterance of voice acted upon by a trill or trolling of the tongue against the upper gum." Again, in No. 33, he speaks of *r* in *ray*, etc., as "formed by a strong trill of the tongue against the upper gum." [This would be (r), but I shall transcribe (r), as I have transcribed (n), see No. 78. But that the trill is *strong* is 'strongly' opposed to Mr. M. Bell's untrilled (r_u).] "The trill in which the utterance of this consonant mainly consists, is often faultily produced by the back of the tongue against the soft palate" [meaning the uvula, which is the real vibrator, against the back of the tongue], "so formed, it makes the noise called the burr in the throat, a characteristic of Northumbrian pronunciation, and not unfrequent in particular places and many families elsewhere." The burr is (r), the dental trill is (r).

74. "p, pp, pe, as in *pop*, *supper*, *hope*," is (p).

75. "b, bb, be, as in *bob*, *rubber*, *robe*," is (b).

76. "k, ck, ke; also c final, and c

before a, o, or u, or a consonant, as in *king*, *hack*, *bake*; *antic*, *cat*, *cot*, *cut*, *claim*," is (k).

77. "g, before a, o, or u, or a consonant, as in *gap*, *got*, *gun*, *guess*, *plague*, *grim*," is (g).

78. "t, tt, te, as in *ten*, *matter*, *mate*, is an utterance of breath confined behind the tongue by a close junction of the tip of the tongue and the upper gum, the breath therefore being quite inaudible, till the organs separate to explode, either the breath simply as in *at*, or the breath vocalised as in *too*." If the contact with the gum is to be taken literally, I must transcribe (t), and must then have (x, d, n). I am inclined to believe, however, that in all cases Smart was contenting himself with old definitions, instead of making independent observations; and hence I shall use (r, t, d, n).

79. "d, dd, de, as in *den*, *madder*, *made*," in consequence of what is said in No. 78, I transcribe (d). See No. 78.

As Smart makes no difference in meaning when a consonant is doubled, I shall not double consonants in transcribing, and in consequence I shall not divide syllabically, as this would be impossible on his plan without such reduplications. Smart distinguishes two accents, primary and secondary, which I transcribe as (ˈ) and (ː), and place after the vowel or after the consonant as he has done. With regard to monosyllables, he says (art. 176) that they are all "exhibited as having *accented* vowel-sounds." But as he makes unemphatic a = No. 24 or (ə^a), me = Nos. 70 and 4, or (mi), your = (jə'), am, was had, shall, and, = (ə^{em}m, wəz, ɪθə^{ed}, shə^{ed}, ə^{end}), for = (fə'), of = (əv), from = (frəm); my, by = (mi, bi), and thy "among people who familiarly use it" = (dhi), and the = (dhi) before a vowel and (dha^a) before a consonant, and you "in the accusative case and not emphatic" = (ji) or (jə), I shall so transcribe them in the connected passage, but I omit the hyphens.

Some of the words in the example are not in Smart's Dictionary, such as *graphical*, *phonetic*, *linguistical*, and inflexions and derivatives, such as *its*, *printed*, etc. His pronunciation of these has been inferred from *graphic graphically*, *phonology mimetic*, *linguist sophistical*, and the simple words. Altogether I believe that the transcription fairly represents the original.

COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN OF INDIVIDUAL SYNTHETIC

A. J. ELLIS.

See pp. 1091-1173.

Dhə-rɪ't'n ɛn-prɪntɪd
 re:prɪzentee'shən ɛ-dhə-sə'u:nz
 ɛv-læ'qwyd zh sh, bi-mii'nz ɛv-
 kærɪkteɪz, whɪ't.sh-ɛr
 ɪ:nsɛfɪ'shənt, both-in-kə'i'nd
 ɛn-nə'mbɛ-r, ɛn-whɪ't.sh
 mɛs-dhee'fɑ bi: kɛmbə'i'nd ʌ-
 mɔ'dɪfə'id, ɪf-wɪ-wɛd-gɪ'v ɛ-
 græ'fɪkəl sɪ:mblɪzɛe'shən ɛ-
 dhə-fonɛ'tɪk ɛ-lɛmɛnts wɪdθ-
 oʊnli sɛm-dɪgri: ɛv-
 ɛgzækns 'n-kɛnvii'nɪjɛns,
 hɛz-bii'n, frɛm-AA'l tə'ɪm, fɛ-
 nee'shɛnz ɛz-wɛ'l-ɛz
 ɪ:ndɪvɪ'dʒiʊ'ɛlz,
 lɪgɪwɪ'stɪkəl stɪu'dɛnts
 nɔt ɛksɛ'ptɪd, wɛn-
 ɛ-dhə mɔs-nɛ'sɛsɛrɪ
 ɛn-wɛ'n-ɛ-dhə mɔs-
 dɪ'fɪk'lt ɛv-prɔ'bɛlɛmz, ɛn-
 ɛz-kɔ'nsɪkwɛntli skɛe'sli
 ɛ'vɛ bɪn-hæ'pɪli sɔlvd. Let-
 dhɪ's tɪt.sh-ɛs dhɛt-dhɪ-
 jɪnvɛ'nshən ɛv-rə'i'tɪq, dhə-
 grɛe'tɪst ɛn-moo'st
 ɪmpAA'tɛnt ɪnvɛ'nshən
 whɪ't.sh dhə-ʒhuu'mɛn mə'ɪnd
 ɛz-ɛ'vɛ mɛd, ɛn-whɪ't.sh,
 æz-ɪt-ɪndii'd ʌʌlmost
 ɛksii'dz ɪts-strɛ'qθ,
 hɛz-bɪn-ɔ'f'n ɛn-
 nɔt ɛndzhə'sli ɛtrɪ'briʊ'tɪd
 tɔ-dhə-gɔ'dz; lə'i'k-dhɪ
 ʌʌ'gɛnɪz'm ɛv-ɛ-stɛt, ɛt-wɛ'ns
 sɪ'mpl'-n kɔ'mplɛks, ɪz-nɔt-
 dhə wɔ:k-ɛv ɪ:ndɪvɪ'dʒiʊ'ɛlz,
 bɛt-ɛv-sɛn'tɪʊrɪz, pɛnhæ'ps-
 ɛv thə'u'zɛnz-ɛv ʒi'z.

Prof. S. S. HALDEMAN.

See pp. 1186-1196.

Dhə ɹɪtn ɪnd pɹɪntɪd
 ɹɛprɪzentee'shɪn ɪv dhə sɑwndz
 ɪv læqgwɪdʒ bɑz mɪnz ɪv
 kæ'ɹɪktɪz, whwɪtʃ ɔ
 ɪnsɛfɪ'shɪnt, both ɪn kɑnd
 ɪn nəmbɜ, ɪnd whwɪtʃ mɛst
 dhɛfɔ bi kɛmbɑɪnd ʌʌ
 mɔdɪfɑɪd ɪf wɪ wud ɡɪv ə
 ɡɹæ'fɪkl sɪmblɪzɛshɪn ɪv
 dhə fonɛtɪk ɛlɪmɪnts wɪdθ
 ɔnli sɛm dɪɡɹɪi ɪv
 ɛgzæktɪnɛs ɪnd kɛnvii'nɪjɪns,
 hɛz bɪn, frɛm ʌl tɑɪm fʌʌ
 nɛ'shɪnz ɔz wɛl ɪz
 ɪndɪvɪdʒɪʊlɪz [ɪndɪvɪdʒɪlɪz]
 lɪɡɡwɪstɪkl stɹu'dɛnts
 nɔt ɛksɛ'ptɪd wɛn [wɛn]
 ɪv dhə mɔst nɛ'sɪsɪ'ɹɪ
 ɪnd wɛn ɪv dhɪ mɔst
 dɪfɪkɪlt ɪv pɹɔ'bɪlɪmz, ɪnd
 hɛz kɔnsɪkwɪntli skɛ'ɹslɪ
 ɛv bɪn hɛpɪli sʌʌlvd. Let
 dhɪs tɪtʃ ɔs dhɛt dhə
 ɪnvɛnshɪn ɪv ɹɑtɪq, dhə
 ɡɹɛtɪst n mɔst
 ɪmpʌʌ'tɪnt ɪnvɛ'nshɪn
 whwɪtʃ dhə ʒhuu'mɪn məɹnd
 hɛz ɛ'v mɛd, ɪnd whwɪtʃ,
 æz ɪt ɪndii'd ʌʌlmost
 ɛksii'dz ɪts strɛ'qθ [strɛnθ?]
 hɛz bɪn ʌʌfn [ɔfn] ɪnd
 nɔt ɛndzhə'stli ɛtɹɪ'bɹɪtɪd
 tɔ dhə ɡɑ'dz; lɑɪk dhə
 ɔɪɡɪnɪzɪm ɪv ə stɛt, ɛt wɛns
 sɪ'mpl ɪn kɔ'mplɛks, ɪz nɔt
 dhə wɔ:k ɪv ɪndɪvɪ'dʒɪʊlɪz
 bɛt ɪv sɛn'tɹɪ'ʒɪz pɹɪhæps
 ɪv θɑwɪndz ɪv ʒiɪz.

PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

H. SWEET.

See p. 1196.

Dh'-ri'tn-'n-pri'nte'd-
 re:pr'z'ntéy'sh'n-'v-dh' sæw'o'ndz
 -'v-læ'qqgwe'dzh 'bæ'y-mi'nz-'v
 -kæ're'ktøhz w:tsh-'r-
 i:ns'f'i'sh'nt b,óo_u:th-e'n-kæ'y'nd-
 'n-næ'mmbøh 'nd-wi'tsh-m'st-
 dhe'e'ðh:f'hw-be¹-k'mbæ'y'nd-'hw-
 m,ðe'fæ'y'd i:f-we¹-w,ud-gi:v-'h-
 græ'fe'k'l-si:mb'lé'yzéy'sh'n-'v-
 dh'-f,one'te'k-e'l'm'nts w'dh-
 ,oo'ó_u:nle¹-sæ'mm-de'grii:z-'v-
 e'gzæ'ktne's-'n-k'nvi'z'n'ns
 nh'z-bi'z:n-fr'm-AA'l-tæy:m f'-
 néy'sh'nz 'z-we:ll-'z-
 i:nnde¹vi'dzh,u'lz,
 liqqgw'i'ste'k'l -struuw'd'nts-
 n,ð:tt-e'kse'pte'd wæ:nn-
 'v-dh'-m,óo_u:st-ne's'sre¹
 'nd-wæ:nn-'v-dh'-m,óo_u:st-
 di'fe'k'lt-'v-pr,øbble'mz, 'nd-
 'z-k,ø'nse'kw'ntle¹ ske'e'ðh'sle¹
 E'vøh-bi'z-n-hæ'p'le¹-s,ø'llvd. Lett
 -dh'i:s-ti'v'tsh-'s dh't-dh'-
 e'nve'nsh'n-'v-re'y'tiq dh'-
 gréy'te¹st-'n-m,óo_u:st-
 e'mpA'øh'tnt-e'nve'nsh'n
 wi:tsh-dh'-hhuuw'm'n-mæy'nd-
 'z-E'vøh-méey'd 'nd-wi:tsh
 'z-e't-i'z nndi'z:d AA'l,m,óo^ust-
 e'ksi'z-dz-e'ts-stre'qth,
 nh'z-bi'z-n-A'fn, 'n-
 n,ð:tt-ndzhe¹stle¹, 'tri'bjuwte'd-
 t'-dh'-g,ðddz, lé'y:k-dhe¹-
 A'øh'g'n:i:zm-'v-h-stéy't, 't-wæ'ns
 -si'mpl-'n-k,ø'mple:ks, e¹z-n,ð:tt-
 dh' wø'h'k-'v-i:nnde¹vi'dzh,u'lz
 b't-'v-se'ntsh're's, præ'ps-
 'v-thæw'o'zndz-'v-ji'øhz.

B. H. SMART.

See pp. 1197-1205.

Dhæ^a rīt'n ænd print'ed
 rep:rizentéē[i'shən əv dhæ^a sāaundz
 əv læq'gwe^ddh, bi miinz əv
 kær'æktø'z ɥhhwitsh aa'
 i:n:səf'ish:ɹent, bóoluth i:n kə'ind
 ænd nəm'bø' ænd ɥhhwitsh mæst
 dhe'fəø' bi kæmbø'ind. A'
 mad'ifə'id i:f wi wud giv ə^a
 græf'ikæ^l sim:bəlizéē[i'shən əv
 dhæ^a fonet'ik el'iments wiðh
 óolun'li səm digrii' əv
 egzækt'nes ænd kanvii'niens,
 ɥhho^z bɪn frəm AAl tə'im fə'
 néē[i'shənz æ^z wel æ^z
 i:n'divɪd'juæ^lz,
 liqqwist'ikæ^l struu'dents
 nat eksept'ed, wən
 əv dhæ^a móolust nes'eso^æri
 ænd wən əv dhæ^a móolust
 dəf'ikəlt əv prab'lemz ænd
 ɥhho^z kan'sikwent:li skee'ə'sli
 ev'ə' bɪn ɥhæp'ili salvd. Let
 dhis tiitsh əs dhæ^æt dhæ^a
 i:nven'shən əv rə'i'tiq, dhæ^a
 grée[i't'est ænd móolust
 i'mpAA'ə'tə^{nt} i:nven'shən
 ɥhhwitsh dhi ɥhhuu'mæⁿ mə'ind
 ɥhho^z ev'ə' méē[i'd, ænd ɥhhwitsh,
 æ^z it i:ndiid. AAl mæst
 eksiid'z its streqth
 ɥhho^z bɪn Af'n ænd
 nat əndzhəst'li æ'tri'b'uted
 tu dhæ^a gadz, lə'ik dhi
 AA'gə'nizm əv ə^a stéē[i't ə^æt wəns
 si'mpl ænd kam'pleks, i:z nat
 dhæ^a wø'k əv i:n'divɪd'juæ^lz,
 bət əv sen'tjuriz, pə'ɥhæps
 əv thāau'zændz əv jii'ə'z.

OBSERVATIONS ON UNSTUDIED PRONUNCIATIONS.

All the above specimens of pronunciation labour under the obvious disadvantage of being the result of deliberate thought. Mr. Bell's and Mr. Smart's, like those of all pronouncing dictionary writers and elocutionists, give rather what they think ought to be than what they have observed as most common. They take to heart a maxim which Dr. Gill borrowed from Quintilian and stated thus: "*Quemadmodum in moribus bonorum consensus, sic in sermone consuetudo doctorum primaria lex est. Scriptura igitur,*" by writing, he, as a phonetic writer, implied pronunciation, "*omnis accommodanda erit, non ad illum sonum quem bubulci, quem mulerculae et portiores [*sic*, portitores?]; sed quem docti, aut cultè eruditi viri expriment inter loquendum et legendum.*" But my object in this book is to know what men *did* and *do* habitually say, or think they say, and not merely what they think they *ought* to say. I have therefore endeavoured to catch some words which were not given as specimens of pronunciation, but, being uttered on public occasions, were, I thought, fairly appropriable. Of course this attempted exhibition of some pronunciations labours under another immense disadvantage. When Prof. Haldeman, Mr. Sweet, and myself wrote down each his own pronunciation, we were each able to repeat the sound, feel the motion of the organs, revise and re-revise our conceptions as to what it really was, and thus give the result of careful deliberation. But when I attempt to write down a passing word,—and the very merit of my observation consists in the absolute ignorance of the speaker that his sounds and not his sense are being noted,—there is no possibility to recall the word, and unless it happens to recur soon, I am unable to correct my first impressions. I have indeed often found that after hearing the word several times, I have been unable to analyse it satisfactorily. Still, knowing no better method of observing, I give a few results to shew what it leads to. I name the speakers when they are well-known public men, whose speech-sounds may probably be taken as a norm, as much as their thoughts. They will understand, that they are named, not for the purpose of "shewing up" peculiarities, but of enforcing the fact that men of undoubted education and intelligence, differ in pronunciation from one another, from pronouncing dictionaries, and from my own habits, so that the term "educated pronunciation" must be taken to have a very "broad" signification. It must be understood that all these pronunciations were noted on the spot, as soon as possible after each word was uttered, and that I have in no case allowed subsequent impressions to affect my original note, which I have regarded as a conscientious, though of course possibly erroneous, observation. When (e, ə) are written, I can never feel sure that (ɛ, æ) were not actually used. When, however, (ɛ, æ) are written, they were certainly observed. No attention having been paid at the time of noting to the difference between (ɪ, ɪh), the use of ɪ cannot be guaranteed, and (ɪh) is often more probable. In each case I have thought it best to add my own pronunciation, as well as I can figure it, for the

purpose of comparison. This is always placed last, and is preceded by a dash. Thus, in the first word cited, "*accomplished* ækəmplɪʃt —ækəmplɪʃt," the italics indicate ordinary spelling, the first palaeotype the pronunciation observed, the second palaeotype, following the (—), the pronunciation which I believe I am in the habit of using in connected speech. If nothing follows the dash, my pronunciation agrees with that observed, but both disagree from several (and possibly, but not necessarily, all) pronouncing dictionaries. When no dash is added, my pronunciation differed too slightly to be noted. In no case, however, must these notes of my own pronunciation be taken as a confirmation or correction of the former. They are added merely to mark differences of habit. Such men as I have cited by name have certainly a full right to say that their pronunciation is a *received English* pronunciation—at least as much so, I think more than as much so, as any professed elocutionist. It may be observed that my list is not extensive enough, and that especially I have not given examples from the pronunciation of professed men of letters, from the bar, the stage, or the pulpit. This is true. All these classes labour under the disadvantage of making speech a profession. I have an idea that professed men of letters are the worst sources for noting peculiarities of pronunciation; they think so much about speech, that they nurse all manner of fancies, and their speech is apt to reflect individual theories. However, Prof. Bain may be taken as one of the best examples. The bar has rather hereditary pronunciations, where they are not individual and local. The stage for the higher class of dramas is archaic and artificial; for the middle and lower it is merely imitative, and hence exposes an observer to all the chances of error in taking information second hand. The pulpit is full of local pronunciations, but Professor Jowett, distinguished and admired as a preacher as well as a scholar, may be considered a sufficient representative of this class. Men of science I have especially represented. They are forming a large and influential class at the present day. The general Londoners in public meeting assembled seemed to me a good source for general varieties. Parliament is far too local; and so are country gentlemen, from whom its ranks are mainly recruited. Of course it must be understood that the peculiarities which I have chosen to note do not characterise the *general* run of the pronunciation of the speakers observed. It must not be assumed that every word is peculiar, or that the greater number of words present divergent characters. Thus the words from Prof. Bain and Prof. Jowett are *all* that it occurred to me to note in two courses of lectures—a very small number when thus considered. The general speech of educated London differs only in certain minute points, and in a few classes of words, so far as I have hitherto observed, from that which I have given as my own. Even in the cases cited, where I have put my own for contrast, the differences are seldom such as would strike an observer not specially on the look-out for individualities of pronunciation.

PROF. ALEXANDER BAIN.

Words observed in listening to a course of lectures on "Common Errors on the Mind," delivered by Prof. Bain at the Royal Institution in May, 1868. Prof. Bain had evidently considered well both his pronunciation and delivery, so that all his deviations from custom must be regarded as the result of deliberate choice, although possibly modified by local habits, as in (boodh) for (booth). And as Prof. Bain has bestowed considerable attention on phonetic writing, no allowance need be made for possible Scotticisms. I do not feel at all certain that (ə'i, ə'u) are correctly analysed.

accomplished ækəm'plisht—ekəm'plisht
advantages ædvaan'tydzhyz—ædvaan'tedzhyz

against you æge'nstjuu—æge'nst' ju

aghost ægaa'st—ægaa'st

alternation ælterneeshen—æ:lteneeshen

a solid ah sə'lid—ə sə'lid

a strong v stroq—

away ewee—ewee

beau idéal boo idejæ'l—boo ə'idii'el

both boodh—booth

branch brahtnsh—brantsh braantsh

cessation siiseeshen—sesee'shen

circumstances sɪ'kəmstænsiz—sə:kəm'stensyz

circumlocution sɪkəmləkʊʊ'shen—səə:kəmləkʊʊ'shen

class klaas—

classes klæs'iz—klaas'yz

compounds kəm'pəundz—kəmpə'undz

consummated kən'səmeted—kə'nsem'eetyd

contrast kə'ntraast—

crafty kraah'fti—kraa'fti

dance dæns—daans

economised iikə'nəmeizd—ɪkə'nəme'izd

educability edju:kəbɪ'lɪti—

effect ife'kt—efe'kt

engine e'ndzhəin—ə'ndzhɪn

epoch ii'pək—e'pək

example egzæm'pl—

explanation eksplæ'nee'shen—e:ksplən'eeshen

extolled ekstoo'ld—ekstə'ld

eye ai—ə'i

faculties fækəltez—fækəltəyz

fatigue fəhtii'g—fəti'g

force foers fūrs—foo's

forth foorth—foo'th

fraternity fretə'nɪti—frætə'nɪti

fraternize fræt'ənoiz—frætə'nə'i:z

functionary fɪ'qkshənəri—

genus dzhen'əs—dzhi'nəs

good guud—gud

handicraft hæ'ndɪkræft—hæ'ndɪ'kra:ft
 hæ'ndɪkraa:ft

hardly haa'rɪli—haa'dli

heroine hi'rəjəin—he'rəjɪn

heterogeneous het'ərədʒhi'nɪəs—he:tə'rədzhe'nɪjəs

hold hoold?—hoold

human jhuu'men—

ignorance ɪgnərəns—

implanted implæ'ntyd—impla'ntyd im-plaa'ntyd

important impoor'tant—impaa'tent

inexorable ine'gzərəbl—ine'ksərəbl

initiative ini'shətɪv—ini'shi'etɪv

intrinsically intrɪ'nzɪkəli—intrɪ'nzɪkəli

irrespective irəspe'ktɪv—ɪ:respe'ktɪv

isolation əɪsələ'shen—

knowledge nə'lydʒh—

language læ'qwydʒh—

last laast—

learners lernɪz—ləə'nezs

lesson les'en—le'sen

maturity mætjuu'rɪti—metiū'u'rɪti

mass maas—

master maa'stɪ—maa'ste

miracle me'rəkl—mɪ'rəkl

modern thought mə'dren thaat—mə'den

thaat

musician miu:zi'shən—miū:zi'shən

mutual miu'tʃuəl—miū:tiū:ʃuəl miū:tiū'l miū:tsheɪ

narrow naa'ro—nə'ro

natural næ'tʃuərəl—næ'tiūərəl næ'tshərəl

obedience obii'djəns—obii'djɪjns

path paath—

peculiar pikiu'li:j—pikiū:li:j

person pə'sn—pəə'sn

plastic plæ'stɪk—

plasticity plæsti'siti—plæsti'siti

practice præk'tɪz—præk'tis

prejudice pre'dʒhudeɪs—pre'dʒhudeɪs

pressure pres'iur—pre'she

processes prəs'esɪz—prəʊ'sysyz

purport pə'pə'rt—pəə'pet

relativity releti'vɪti—re:leti'vɪti

says seez—sez

sensibilities se'nseɪbɪlɪtiz—se:nsɪbɪlɪtiz

sentient senshent—se'nshɪjənt

soar saaɪ—soo'

speciality speshiælɪti—

spirits spi'rets—spi'rits

spurring spə'riq—spəə'riq

stoical stə'ɪkəl—stoo'ɪkəl

student stshuudənt—stiū:dynt

suited sau'ted—siū:tyd

system si'stəm—si'stɪm

task taask—task taask

testimony te'stiməni—te'stiməni

thorough thə'ro—thə'ro thə're

thoroughly thər'əli thər'əli—thə'rolī
thə'reli
transition træn'zish'ən, trəns'izh'ən—
trəns'izhən
tutors tju:t'əz—tiú'təz
understood ənd'stuú'd—ə:ndə'stu'd
variety vərəi'ti—
volcanoes vɒl'kee'nooz—vɒl'kaa'nooz
want wənt—wɒnt
was wəz—wɒz wəz
whole hool—hoo'wɒl

PROF. JOWETT,

the Master of Baliol College, Oxford,
in February, 1871, gave three lectures
on Socrates at the Royal Institution.
The following are a few of his pronun-
ciations there noted.

aspirant æ'spərənt—æspə't'rent
attaching himself to him ætə'tshɪn-
ɪmsɛlf-tu:ɪm
bone boo'wn—boon?
but that the famous b'ət-dh'ət-dh'ɪ-
fee'məs—bət-dhet-dh'e fee'məs
certain sə'rtɪn—səə'tɪn
character kah'rektə—kæ'rektə
Chatham tshæ'təm—
Cicero si'suro—
describing him diskraɪ'biq-ɪm—dis-
kə'ɪ'biq-hɪm
difficulty dɪ'fɛkɪlti—dɪ'fɪkɛlti
discontented dɪ'skɛntɛ:ntɪd—
discovery dɪ'skə'verɪ—
discrepancy dɪ'skrɪpɛnsi—diskre'pɛnsi
due dju:—diú
earliest ə'li:st—ə'li:yst
ears jii'jɛz—ii'z
education e'dʒiú'kee:shən—e:diú'kee-
shən
evil ii'vɪl—ii'vɪl
example egzæ'mpl—
exhausted egzæ'styd—
foreign fɔ'ren—fɔ'ryn
gather up gæ'dhər-əp—gæ'dhər-əp
haughtily haa'tɛli—haa'tɛli
he has had hii'-ez-əd—hii'-ez-həd
height hɪ'háitth—hə'it
highest hɪ'háɪ'est—hə'ɪ:yst
human ʃh'úu'men—
humourist ʃh'úu'merɪst—
image i'mɪdʒh—i'medʒh
Isthmian i'smi:jən—isthmɪ:jən
knowledge noo'ledʒh—no'lydʒh
lastly laa'sli—laa'stli
lecture le'ktshə—le'ktiú'
manhood mæ'nud—mæ'nhu:d
mask maask—
memorabilia me:mə'rebɪ'lɪjə—me:mə're-
bɪ'lɪjə
minutiae máiniú'shɪjii—míniú'shɪjii
moulds moolz—moo'wɪdʒ

must have mə'st-əv—
natural næ'tshərəl—næ'tshərəl næ'tiú'-
rəl
nature nəe'tshə—nəe'tshə nəe'tiú'
opinion ɒpɪ'njən—ɒpɪ'njən
oracle ɔ'rekl—
ordinarily ʌə'dinərəli—ʌə'dinərəli
origin ɔ'redʒhɪn—ɔ'ridʒhɪn
ornaments ʌə'nemɪnts—
parallel pæ'reləl—pæ'reləl
passed paast—
persons pɜ'sɪnz—pæ'sɪnz
politician pɒ'lɪtɪ'shən—pɒ'lɪtɪ'shən
politics pɒ'lɪtɪks—
Potidaea pɒ'tɛdiú'—pɒ'tɛdiú'jə
process proo'ses—
society sɒ'saɪ'ti—sɒ'sə'ɪ:ti
Socrates sɔ'krɛti:z—
soon sun—suun
time táim—tə'ɪm
unable ə'ne:bl—əne'e:bl
ventured vɛntʃəd—vɛntiú'd vɛntʃəd
virtue vɜ:tʃu—vɜ:tɪú vɜ:tʃu
whole hool—hoo'wɒl
Xenophon zə'nɛfən—
years jii'jɛz—ji'z

SIR G. B. AIRY,

Astronomer Royal and President of the
Royal Society, made use of the follow-
ing pronunciations while speaking at
the Royal Society, 30 Nov. 1872.

components kəm'poo:nents—kəm'poo-
nynts
geodesists gi:ɒdi:sɪsts—dʒhi'ɔ'disɪsts
geodesy gi:ɒdi'si—dʒhi'ɔ'disi
Greenwich gri'niwtʃh—gri'nɪdʒh
meridional mɪrɪ'di'joo'nəl—mɪrɪ'di'enəl
New Zealand niú ze'lənd—niú
zii'lənd
Nova Zembla noo'vee ze'mblee—noo've
ze'mblə
palaeontology pee:li'ɔ:ntɔ'lɔ:dʒhi—
pæ'liɔn'tɔ'lɔ:dʒhi
stereoscopic sti'ri'ɔ:skɔ:pɪk—stə'ri'ɔ-
skɔ:pɪk [some say (sti'ri'ɔskoo'pɪk)]

DR. HOOKER,

when delivering his opening address as
President of the British Association at
the Norwich Meeting on the 19 Aug.
1868. I believe Dr. Hooker is East
Anglian by birth.

accumulated ək'y'mlee:tɛd—əki'úu'miú-
lee:tɪd. [N.B. The first, accented,
(y) was rather indistinct and very
short.]

alone əlɔ'n—əloo'wɒn

are eə—aa

bones bonz—boo'wnz

cantonment kantuːnment — kænˈten-
mynt

either eeˈdhæ [not (ee)] — iiˈdhæ əˈidhæ
few fɛy [perhaps (fey)], the word was
difficult to catch, and I noticed it
only once] — fɛu.

finite fiˈnit [in the phrase (dhi iˈnfinit
en dhæ fiˈnit), this pronunciation was
altogether new to me, though I have
often heard (iˈnfəˈinəˈit) as opposed
to] — (fəˈiːnəˈit)

Laurence lɑːˈryns [not (lɑ) or (lə)] —
(Lɔːryns)

only ɔːnli [not at all uncommon] —
ooˈwɒli

neither neeˈdhæ — niiˈdhæ nəˈidhæ

plants plahnts — plaunts

progress prɔːˈgres — prooˈgres [there is
great diversity in the words *pro-
duct* *progress*, many give (prɔ) and
others (proo) to both; I say (prɔˈdɛkt
prooˈgres), but Col. Strange at the
same meeting said (prooˈdɛkt, prɔː-
gres).]

quote kɔt [quite short (o)] — kwoot

series siiˈriːjiːz — siˈriːjiːz

stone stɒn — stooˈwɒn

undertaken ʌˈndeteeˈkən [distinct (kən)]
— ʌˈndeteeˈkʌn

wholly hoːli — hooˈlli

MEN OF SCIENCE.

Only a very few cases are here given,
chiefly remarked at meetings of the
British Association. Men of Science
have usually many very curious local
pronunciations, and others arising from
using words for themselves from books
long before they have heard others use
them. There seems to be no tradition
or norm for scientific terms, and if the
pronunciation is such as to bring the
printed form of the word to mind, men
of science care very little for the pro-
nunciation of scientific terms. Many
of the following are certainly dialectal,
but all the speakers were educated,
often very highly educated men.

absorbed ʌbsɑːˈpt — ʌbsɑːˈbd

albumen ʌlˈbrumen — ʌlˈbiuːmen

anesthetics ʌnesthiˈtiks — ʌnestheˈtiks

antidotal ʌntidoːtəl — ʌntiˈdɔtəl

appearance ʌpiˈryns — ʌpiˈrens

aqueous ʌˈkwɪəs — eeˈkwɪəs

asteroids ʌstiˈrɔɪdz [Prof. Stokes] —
ʌˈstɜːrɔɪdz

before biˈfoːr — biˈfoː

class klæs — klaas

commander kɔməˈnde — kɛməˈnde

comparable kɔmpɛˈrəbl — kɔˈmpərəbl

compare kɔmpɛˈr — kɛmpɛˈ

constitution kɔnstiˈtʃʊʃən — kɔːnsti-
tiˈuːʃən

contrive kɔntraiˈv — kɛntrəˈiːv

doubt daʊt — dɔˈʊt

dry draɪ — drɔˈi

electrolysis ileˈktrɒləˈiːsɪs — iiˈlektro-
lɪsɪs

endowment endooˈmynt [Prof. Huxley]
— endəˈuːmynt

equidistant eˈkwɪdiːstənt — iiˈkwɪdiːs-
tənt

estuaries iːˈstjuːrɪz — eˈstiːjɪrɪz

experiments ekspəˈrɪments — ekspeˈri-
mynts

explicable eksplɪˈkəbl — eˈksplɪˈkəbl

find fæˈind — fəˈind

gaseous gaaˈziəs [Prof. Stokes], *geeˈsiəs*
[the late Mr. Babbage] — geeˈziəs

haste hæst — heest

introducing intrɔdjuːˈsɪq — iˈntrɔdiˈuː-
sɪq

larger læˈrdzher — laaˈdzher

Lausanne losaaˈn — losan [equal stress]

loose lāus — loos

lungs lɔgz — ləgz

moon muːn [Sir W. Thomson], muˈn
[the late Prof. Rankine] — muːn

paragraphs paaˈrəgræfs [the late Prof.
Rankine] — pæˈregraafs

Paris paaˈris — pæˈris

past pæst — paast

phi = φ, fəˈi — fəˈi

pulsates pulˈsets — pəlˈseets

pulsive pulˈsetɪv — pəlˈsɪtɪv

pulse puls — pɔls

put v. pɒt — put

round rāhund — rəˈund

size sāiz — sɔˈiz

staff stæf — staaʃ

strata stræˈta — streeˈte

substantial sɒbstaaˈnʃəl — sɒbstæˈnʃəl

systematising siːsteɪˈmɑːiˈziq — siˈste-
məˈiːziq

transactions trænseˈksɪnz — traansəˈk-
ʃənz

wind n. wəˈind — wɪnd

GENERAL PUBLIC.

The following were noted at public
meetings. The speakers are separated,
but the names not being generally well
known, are withheld :

A Peer.

rise rāhɪz — rɔˈiz

adoption ʌdɔˈpʃən —

observing ɒbzəˈvɪq —

last laast —

large laaˈrdzh(?) — laadz

framers freeˈmɜːz [not free] — freeˈmɜːz

paragraph pæˈregraaf —

brighter brāhiˈte — brɔˈiːte

darkness daa'rknis(?)—daa'knys
record re'kAA'd [in law courts (rekAA'd)]
—re'kad

trained t'reend(?)—treend
conversant kə'vɜ:sənt [(kənvə'sənt) is
common]—

director de'irəkte—d'irəkte [and (de'i-)
occasionally, when used emphatically]
agree ægrii [with distinct (æ)]—ægrii
only oo'nli [not (oo'w-), and (o'nli) is
common]—oo'w'nli

bazaar bezaa'—bezaa'
forth foo'th [the ('h) was uncertain]—
two or three years tu-A-thri-jii'z

A Noble M.P.

samples sæmplz [generally, once at
least (saa'mplz)]—saa'mplz
decide disai'd [long i always (ái) or
(ai)]—disai'd [long i never (ái),
which I reserve for *aye*, and thus
distinguish *eye*, *aye* as (ə'i, ái)]

parcels pə'slz—paa'selz
I dare say ái dəe see [not (see'j)]—ə'i
dəe see'j

time tɪ'háim [brought out very em-
phatically, not the ordinary pronun-
ciation]—tə'im

idea áidi'və [distinct final trill]—
ə'idii'və

A General Officer.

resolution rezolu'shen—re:zel'íu-
shen

century sen'tʃʊəri—sentiúri

further fæ'dhə—fəə dhə

I have had it ə'i:v hæ'dit—

serious sii'ri:əs—sii'ri:əs

always AA'lwez [short (e)]—AA'lweez

cholera kə'lərə—

pass paas [distinctly long]

my lord mɪ'lAA'd [(r) distinctly absent]

Clergyman (Irish?).

chairman tshe'men—tshee'men

pray pree [distinctly (ee)]—pree'j

say see—see'j

name neem—neem

gracious gree'shəs—gree'shəs

staff stæf [very thin(æ), almost (ɛ)]—
staaf

class klæs—klas klaas

thanks thæqks—

command kɒm—maa'nd—kəmaa'nd

ask aask [compare *class* and *command*]
—aask

kind kjáhind—kə'ind

guidance gjáhi'dens—gə'i'dens

our ɔʊr [I think trilled (r)]—ə'u'
course kóʊs [the (s) inclined to (sh)]—
koo's

intercourse i'ntekAA's [possibly (-koos)]
—i'ntekoo's

Physicians, various.

rotation rotee'shen [not (tee'j)]—

anxiety æqsə'siti [not (æqks-), nor
(æqz-)]—æqzə'siti

future fiúu'tʃʊ—fiúu'tiú'

vote voot [not voo'ut]—

hospital ɔ'spítal [this one speaker in-
variably omitted the aspirate in this
word only, even to the extent of
saying (ə nɔ'spítəl) for *an hospital*;
an archaism]—hɔ'spítal

kindness khá'ndnɪs [probably due to
emphasis]—kə'i'ndnɪs

write rhráit [or nearly so]—rə'it

across akrɔ:s—ekrɔ:s ekrɔ:s

behalf bə'hæ:f—bi'hæ:f

appreciate ɛprii'shi:et—ɛprii'shi:et

really rií'li [rhyming to *clearly*

(klii'li), some say (rii'elɪ), and
(rii'li) is heard, but conveys the
notion of *reely*, i.e. inclined to reel]—

strengthened stre'qth'nd [not (stre'nth-
'nd), as Prof. Tyndall and very many
speakers say]—

known nóʊn [the (u) distinct]—noo'wn

Professional and Commercial Men.

support supporting sepAA't sepoo'tiq
—sepoo't sepoo'tiq

empowered emphɪ'háud [strong (ɪhɪ)
due to emphasis, the same speaker

said (pɪ'hɔ'u)]—empə'u'd

literature lí'terə'tʃʊ—lí'terətíú'

clearance k'hlii'rens—klii'rens

engage engee'dzh [not (gee'j)]—

closely klo'sli [short (o)]—kloo'sli

surprised sepɜrə'izd—sepɜrə'izd

policy pɪ'hɔ'lesi—pɔ'lisi

correlation kɒo:rilee'shen—kə'rijee-
shen—

congratulation kɒngrætʃɪ'úlee'shen

—kengrætíúlee'shen

only o'nli [short (o)]—oo'w'nli

burden bæ'dn—

progress prɒ'gres—proo'grɪs

halfpenny hee'pni [not (ee')]—hee'pni

importance impɔ:təns—impAA'təns

management mə'nɪdʒmɛnt—mə'n-
edʒhmɛnt

absolutely ə'bsɒliútlɪ—

four foo'—

fivepence fə'ivpens—fi'pens

year jii'—

pounds pə'unds—

office ɔh'fis (?)—ə'fis [(AA'fis) is not
uncommon]

hundred hɛndɪd—hə'ndrɪd

naturally nætʃʊrəli—nætíúrelɪ

homœopath hoo'miɔpæt [(pæt) dis-
tinct]—

financially fə'ɪnæːnʃhəlɪ — fɪnæːnʃhəlɪ
 [the (fə'ɪ-) arose perhaps from emphasis, but I have heard (fə'ɪnæːns)]
adherents əd'hɪɪˈrɪnts —
premature preˈmætiʊ — priiˈmætiʊˈ
expenditure ekspeˈndɪtʃə — ekspeˈn-
 dɪtiʊˈ
additional ədɪˈʃənəl —
sought for sAAˈtʃə —
regarding rɪgaaˈdɪq [not (gɪaa) which
 is common] —
fund fænd — fənd
humanity hɪʊmæˈnɪti — ʃhʊmæˈnɪti
cards kaadz [tendency to (kɪ)] —
board bood [no tendency to (boʊ)] —
advantage ədvæˈntɪdʒ — ədvaaˈntɪdʒ
 [(əd-) ?]
make meek [no tendency to (eɛ'j)] —
abstain æbsteeˈn [no (eɛ'j)] —
homes hoomz [no (ooˈw)] —
puncture pəˈqktɪʊ [clear (t)] — peˈqktɪʊˈ
appreciation əpriiːsiˈjeːʃhɪ — ɛpriiː-
 siˈjeːʃshən
strongly sˌtɹɔːqlɪ [some speakers seem
 to have a great difficulty with (str-)
 initial, and hence are led to dentalise
 the combination; it is remarkable
 that (t, r) frequently occurs in dialects,
 although (t) and (r) are no longer
 recognized English sounds] — strɔːqlɪ
returns rɪtæˈrɪnz [merely the effect of
 emphasis, the speaker has no dialectal
 peculiarities] — rɪtæˈnz
there should be dəːʃhədbɪː
remarks rɪmɑːks [I could detect no
 vowel after (r)] — rɪmɑːks
parcels pɑːrsɪlz [trilled (r)] — paaˈsɪlz
industry ɪˈndəːstri — ɪˈndɛstri
plants plɑːnts — plaants
world wɔːrld [certainly provincial] —
 wœld

immediately ɪmɪiˈdzɪtli [very common]
 — ɪmɪiˈdɪtli
samples sɑːmplz — sɛˈmplz
circumstances sɔːkəmˌstɑːnsɪz — sɔː-
 kəmˌstɛnsɪz
importance ɪmpˈɑːtɪns — ɪmpˈɑːtɪns

Young Educated London.

The following were furnished me by Mr. Sweet as "the transcript of rather a broad London pronunciation of a girl of about twenty, which has some interesting features." He particularly calls "attention to the substitutes for (ee, oo), which were evidently transitional stages to (ahi, ahɪ), with which indeed they may be easily confounded on a superficial examination." Mr. Sweet's own pronunciation is added after (...) when it differs, and mine after (—) as before. Except in my own case the (h) represents (ɦ) most probably. See Mr. Sweet's own pronunciation, p. 1207.

one wœən ... wæn — wən
ask aask ... —
err əəh ... —əə
eye aaˈi ... ɛɪˈy — əˈi
me miː ... —mi
hid hɪɪd, hɪdd ... —hɪd
may meeˈi ... meeˈy — meeˈj
egg ɛɛg ɛɛg ... ɛg — eg
air ɛɛəh ... —eeˈ ɛɛr
add ɛəd ədd — əd
how hæəˈo ... hæəˈo — hæˈu
two tuw ... —tun
pull pul pul ... pull — pul
owe ɔːo ... ɔːo — ooˈw
awe aa ... —
or aaˈəh ... —aa ɪ ər
odd ɔd ɔd ... —ɔd
joy dzhoˈi ... dzhoˈy — dzhoˈi

WHENCE DO DIFFERENCES OF PRONUNCIATION ARISE?

These examples are amply sufficient to shew that considerable diversities of pronunciation exist among educated speakers of all classes, even when speaking with the greater care usually taken in public delivery. That great differences of opinion exist among orthoepists is well shewn in Worcester's and especially Soule and Wheeler's pronouncing dictionaries,¹ which, although not descending into the

¹ "A Manual of English Pronunciation and Spelling; containing a full alphabetical vocabulary of the language, with a preliminary exposition of English orthoëpy and orthography; and designed as a work of reference for general use, and as a text-book in schools, by Richard Soule, jr., A.M., and William A. Wheeler, A.M." Boston,

U.S., 1861; London, Sampson Low, pp. xlii. 467. An extremely condensed and useful little book, not lumbered with meanings, and giving the opinions of Walker, Smart, Webster, Worcester, Goodwin, when they differ. Hence this vocabulary may be used as a compendium of these five writers' opinions.

minutiae attempted in the preceding lists, save me from loading my pages with a complete vocabulary of XIXth century varieties of pronunciation.

Now whence do these differences arise?

The most obvious source of difference is that in fact there is no such thing as educated English pronunciation. There are pronunciations of English people more or less educated in a multitude of other things, but not in pronunciation. Children are never trained in the proper exercise of their vocal organs, or have their ears sharpened to appreciate differences. It would not be at all difficult to train the young organs, if only the teachers knew anything about it. We devote years of upper school life to the study of classical languages, and enter deeply into their etymology, but we do not give the least practical instruction in the substantial form of language—speech-sounds, or their relations to one another, on which depend the principal changes which claim our attention.¹ The consequence is that pronunciations grow up now much in the same way as they did six hundred years ago. There is only one important difference—facility of communication. It required the War of the Roses to make an English of England, and the War of the Commonwealth to temper that down into the mother of modern speech. But now people are being thrown together with the greatest ease and rapidity from all parts of the country. Still, it is the opening of life which principally determines pronunciation. Children hear few speakers, chiefly those of their own age and standing. They regard not the voices of adults beyond those of a few familiar friends. Their vocabulary is limited, extremely limited, and when they grow up they learn more words by eye than by ear; hence they acquire habits of families, schools, coteries, professions, businesses, localities. Their organs become fixed; they notice from others only what they themselves say. It is not polite to correct even a friend's pronunciation; a stranger resents the impertinence. But still "young men from the country," or with narrow habits of speech, often get laughed out of their peculiarities. More, still, of a lower class of life ape those of the upper when they get mixed up among them, and strive hard to change a pronunciation which might betray their origin. But all this has a small influence. In the main the most educated pronunciation in English is local, with its corners more

¹ One of my kind assistants, who is collecting materials for a local glossary, said that I had opened his eyes; he had hitherto thought of *words*, and not of their *sounds*. To think of a word independently of its sound is the outcome of our school instruction. In schools a word is a sign on paper, to which different persons may give different sounds, and which some people a long way off and a long time ago, in Greece or Italy, pronounced we don't know, and we don't care, how. But in writing a glossary we are writing words

never written. The collections of letters must suggest the sounds or nothing at all. A glossary of collections of letters to which the right sound cannot be even approximatively given, is really no glossary at all. We might just as well—perhaps better—give a meaning to a current number, for that *could* be pronounced (in his own manner) by every one. Yet this, I am sorry to think, is the state of *most* of our provincial glossaries at the present day—and I am afraid for *most* I ought to have said *all*.

rubbed off than it was fifty or a hundred years ago, but still essentially local, using that word as applicable to all limited environment. The language, however, contains thousands of words which are not used in ordinary conversation, and concerning which extraordinary variety prevails, as we have seen. The pronouncing prophets themselves, the Buchanans, Sheridans, Walkers, and their followers, have no principle to go on. They have had wider observation, but most of them make up their minds *à priori*, upon limited inductions, and men of literature disown their authority. Is it possible to arrive at any principles amid this chaos?

Our language consists essentially of two elements, which, for brevity, we may call German (Anglo-Saxon with Scandinavian), and French, (Norman with French, Latin and Greek). Now the German element really presents little or no difficulty. Our German words are familiar, and their dialectal forms are generally widely different from the received pronunciation of educated people in London, at court, in the pulpit, at the bar, on the stage, at the universities—and, in a minor degree, in parliament, and in the lecture-room, on the hustings, and in public meetings. The difficulty for most people lies with the French element, which is preponderating in the vocabulary, but is comparatively rare in speech, and which our wonderful orthography is totally incapable of investing with a vocal garb. Those who know Latin and Greek are therefore apt to imagine that they should shew the Latin and Greek origins by pronouncing the words much as they would if they were written with Latin and Greek letters. Hence such curiosities as (*doktré'í-nel*, *ínimé'í-kel*),—I have not heard (*sé'í-vó'íl*), although surely *civilis* has as much a right to its (*é'íz*) as *doctrina* and *inimicus*. It was in the same spirit that Prof. Stokes spoke of (*æsti'í-rojídž*) from *δοτήρ*, (although this becomes *δοτεροειδής*, which should have led him to (*aste-rojé'idž*), and I recollect that the late Prof. Traill of Edinburgh always insisted on the termination (—*o*)*é'id*) in similar words,) and Sir G. B. Airy used (*gi:odii'si*) from *γῆ*, (although the Greek is *γεωδαισία*), and (*miri'di:oo-næl*) from *meridiōnālis*. But this is, I conceive, a mere mistake. Our language was formed at a time when the pronunciation of Greek and Latin even in England was totally different from that now in use. Almost all our old words which can be traced to Latin and Greek came to us in a French form, and received their pronunciation and accent from our mode of dealing with French words. It would seem therefore most reasonable to suppose any Greek word to be first Latinised, then taken as French, and finally put into English. This will not exactly answer for those more recent words which have been taken from Latin and Greek by persons who did not know French, and which have hence preserved the Latin forms more closely, but even then it gives a principle. Thus, remembering *orator*, *senator*, the Scotch are more consistent than the English in saying *cūrator*; and remembering *geometry*, *geography*, it is more consistent to say *geodesy*; and similarly *demonstrate* is more in accordance with our plan of accenting French words than

demonstrate. This principle will make us independent of Latin and Greek *quantity*, which had ceased to be felt in Italy and Greece long before words were introduced into English. We must say (æmɪkəbl), not (ʊmə'i:kəbl), or (ʊmə'i:kɛ:bl), which would be real foreignisms; we must say (vɪ'ktəri), not (vɪktoo'ri), Latin *victoria*, although we say (vɪktoo'ri)əs), for which (vɪktə'ri)əs) would be more analogical, and we do not make the last syllable (-oos), notwithstanding Latin -ōsus; just as we make -al=(-əl), notwithstanding Latin -ālis. For a similar reason a final unaccented -ice, -ite, -ine, -ise, should have had (i), not the (ə'i) now so general in recent words.

A difficulty arises with respect to French words recently introduced which retain their French form. As long as the persons using a word are conscious of its nationality, they make more or less successful or feeble attempts to imitate the French pronunciation, so that we get *ennui* (ənwiɪ), *aide-de-camp* (eɪ'di:kɑ), *coup d'œil* (kuɒp'dœw'i:l), *envelope* (ɒ'nvəloʊp), *environs* (ɒ'nviɒn), *chef d'œuvre* (ʃeɪdʊw'vɛ) *coup d'état* (kuɒdi'tɑ), and similar hybrid monstrosities. When the words remain French, they must take their chance, but, when possible, they should be anglicised on the old French models. A list of the oldest French words used in English is given in the Appendix III. to Dr. Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence* (2nd ed. 1872). But without this knowledge, we see that (ɛ'nveləp, envə'i'rɛnz) are good English. Perhaps (tʃiɪf, mɛnuu'vɛ) would hardly preserve (tʃiɪf'duu:vɛ) from being ridiculous, and hence the English 'masterpiece' is preferable. *Bayonet* is given as (bæ'ɒnet, bee'ɒnet) by different orthoepists. I have never heard any one say so. (Bee'net) is usual in civil life, but (bæ'net) is heard among officers and (bæ'gɒnet) among privates. All similar French technical words should have their English technical pronunciation assigned. As for the modern Indian words, they ought to receive the pronunciation current among English residents in India. The old Arabic words have already a character of their own, and cannot be touched. But it is really a pity that we *dare* not simply anglicise them, as the French unreservedly gallicise all imports.

The above remarks are meant simply to draw attention to the subject. I have so often and so explicitly renounced all claim to dictate on English pronunciation that my "ought, should," etc., cannot be taken to mean more than emphasised suggestions, consequent on the adoption of a proposed theory.

AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION.

Before closing this section, I feel that some notion of American pronunciation should be given. This stands in a totally different relation to received English from the provincial. It is rather traditional English, as was seen by Noah Webster's remarks (pp. 1063-70). Americans generally claim to speak English without provincialisms, and in the sense in which English provincialisms exist, namely as distinct dialectal forms, with historical pedigrees,

at least as respectable as the received form of speech, the claim is correct. But in the sense that local pronunciations do not clearly exist, I have good American authority for saying that the claim is unfounded. Owing perhaps to this absence of dialects, Americans consider that, on the whole, they speak "better" than the English. I do not pretend to decide as to "better" or "worse," but certainly they speak "differently" from the English; that is, despite of the many admissible varieties of received English, the American varieties are inadmissible—from an Englishman. A few, a very few, Americans seem to have acquired English habits, but even then a chance word, such as (*tree*'jt) for (*tree*'j)=*trait*, reveals the speaker's home. The intonation is rarely English, even when all nasality is absent; but this is a point I purposely omit to notice, though it is often the most striking peculiarity the speakers exhibit.

AN AMERICAN PREACHER,

a personal friend of my own. He lived in Virginia for the first 21 years of his life, which, he tells me, in "pronunciation differs from the North as Naples from Florence, Baden from Berlin, or (almost) Yorkshire from London." After that he came to the North, and acquired new habits of speech, which again, in the last few years, have been crossed by London associations. Hence some of the points noted may belong to different localities in the United States. I have not noted Londonisms of course. The pronunciations are noted from his public speaking. In private conversation the differences were not so marked. Of course there is more than usual doubt as to the exact sounds in this and the following case, owing to the greater difference between the speaker's pronunciation and my own, which is added after a (—) as usual.

acorn ee'ken—ee'KAAN
already A^h·lre:di—Alre'di
apparent epee'ri:ent—epee'rynt
Aryan æri'æn—æ'ri:en
atonement etoo'nmynt—etoo'nmynt
Boston BA^h·stn—B'sten
career keere'—kerii'
chastisement tshæ'stai:zmjnt—tshæ:s-tizmynt
classes lla'h'siz—klaa'syz
comeliness kō'mlines—kō'mlins
commune komiuu'n—kō'miūn
construed konstru:d—kō'nstruud
data daa'te—dee'ta
discretion diskri'sh'n—diskre'shen
divine divaa'i'n—divə'i'n
doth dooth—dōth
dreary drii'ri—drii'ri
elements e'lements—e'lmynts
fossil fō'sl—fō'sil

gelid ge'lid—dzhe'lid
grapple grah'pl—græ'pl
great greet—gree'jt
guidance gáhi'djəns—gə'i'dens
harassed hæraa'st—hæ'rəst
home hoo'm—hoo'w'm
importance impaa'tjəns—impaa'tens
leniently len'i:entli—lii'nj:entli
mendicant mēndi'kijənt—mēndikənt
mercantile mæ'kentil—mæ'kentə'il
moment moo'mjənt—moo'mynt
momentary moo'mentəri—moo'mentəri
most moost—moost
motion moo'shen—moo'shen
mouth mōhuth—mā'uth
museum miūziəm—miūzi'em
notion noo'shn—noo'shen
own 'oo'nh—oo'w'n
Palestine Pæ'lystin—Pæ'lestə'in
perfect v. pæfe'kt—pæ'fekt
puerile py'rīl—piū'rīl
robes roo'bz—roobz
room rum—ruum
Satan see'tnh—see'ten
secular sii'kiūle—se'kiūle
sophistry soo'fistri—sō'fistri
stone stoon stoo'un ston—stoo'w'n
stratum sɒbstɾa:təm—sɒbstree'jtem
sure sy'—shuu'
swamps swaamps—swɒmps
testimony te'stimooni—te'stimeni
throne throon—throo'w'n
used [=accustomed] jyst—jiūst

AN AMERICAN LADY LECTURER,

highly educated, graduate of an American university, with quiet manner, good delivery, and evidently carefully studied pronunciation.

afford æfoo'd—efoo'd
always A^h·lwez—AA^h·lweez
apportionment apoo'shnmynt—epoo'·shenmynt

before bifoo'jə—bifoo'
both booth—booth
career kə'jrii—kərii' [the final (-iir) was very marked, not even (-iir)]
character kah'ræktə—kæ'rekte
Chicago shikAA'goo
chivalric shivæ'lrík—tshí'vəl'ík [this is one of the new importations; *chivalry* as an old word should be (tshí'vəl'ri), see *supra* p. 682, v. 45].]
class tlaas—klaas, [but tl-, dl-] are very usual initials in place of (kl-, gl-) in England]
closer klo'sə—kloo'w'sə
combative kəmbæ'tiv—kə'mbetiv
compared kəmphe'e'd—kəmpee'e'd [probably the (ph) was accidental]
culture kə'ltshə—kə'ltiu' [but (-tshə) is quite common in England]
demand dimaah'nd—dīmaa'nd
difficulties dif'ekəltiz—dif'ikəltiz
dog dæg—dog
economical e:kəno'mikl—ii:kəno'mikəl
educator e'dzhukeetAA'—e'diúkee'tə [the (edzhə) is not uncommon in England]
egotism ii'gotiz'm—e'gotiz'm
embarrassment embah'rəsmynt—embæ'rəsmynt
err æ'—əə
expenditure ekspe'nditshiu'—eksp'nditshiu' [or (eksp'nditshə), the latter is very common in England]
first fæbst fæ'st—fæst
forth foo'th—foo'th
funds fəndz—fəndz
girls gæwəlz—gælz [this is one of the most difficult words to note in English; it is perhaps the only word in which I persistently palatise (g), as (gælz) is very harsh to my ears; of course (gælz) is very common, and I have heard (gæ'lz) as a studied pronunciation. See (1156, e').]

One of the most striking features of these pronunciations in connection with older English pronunciation is the continual cropping up of (oo) where we have now (oo, oo'w) and again the use of (oo', oo'ə), for (oo') which has still more recently tended to (AA', AA') for -ore. The diphthongal forms for *ew*, *u*, are transitional, from (éu, yy), and are difficult to catch, but seem to confirm these two as the generating forms. Some of the pronunciations are, however, probably of American development, for our language has been cultivated with great care in the United States, not only in literature, but in orthoepy, and the pronouncing dictionaries there published are much esteemed in England.

Although perhaps not quite in place, I here insert some American words and observations on diversities of American pronunciations furnished me by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Connec-

home hho'o'umm—Hoo'wm
importance impAA'tns—impAA'təns
introduce i'ntroduus—introdūus
leisure lii'zhə—le'zhə [(lii'zhə) is not uncommon in England, but it is archaic]
located lo'keted—lokee'tyd
long lAAq—ləq
marsh mah'sh—maash
Michigan Mi'shigen
mischief mis'tshii'f—mi'sytshí'f
mutual miúu'tshiu'el—miúu'tiú'el [but (miúu'tshel) is very common in England]
naturally næt'tshiu'reli—næ'tiú'reli [but (tsh) is quite common in England]
new níy nə'y (?)—níúu [the diphthong was very difficult to catch]
no noo[u]—noo'w
none noon—nən
only o'nli—oo'w'nli [but (o'nli) is not uncommon in England]
open oo'pən—oo'pn
parent pee'rynt—pee'rynt
prudent prə'ydynt—pruu'dynt [see *new*]
radius re'diəs—ree'diəs
St. Louis Sent Luu'is
say seee'i—see'j [this was an accidental emphasis apparently]
society səsáhi'ti—sasə'i'ti
store stoo'—stoo'
sure shiyy' (?)—shuu'
surely shu'elə'i—shuu'li
surveillance sevi'ljəns—səvee'ljəns [this is one of our unsettled importations]
test tE'Est—test
towns thA'unz—tə'unz [the (th) was no doubt accidental]
traits tree'ts—tree'jz
holy hho'li—Hoo'lli
wrath raath—rAATH
wrong rəwq—rəq
year jii'—

ticut, U.S., and Mr. Charles Astor Bristed, of Yale Coll., Connecticut, U.S., and Trinity College, Cambridge, England, in 1871. Dr. Trumbull gave the pronunciation in Glossic, which I have transliterated. Mr. Bristed has not written pronunciations systematically; I have inserted palaeotypic interpretations to the best of my judgment.

DR. TRUMBULL'S NOTES ON
AMERICANISMS.

Cade, bred by hand; cosset, (*keed*).

This old English word is still in use by farmers, etc., near Newport, R.I., who talk of 'cade lambs,' 'cade colts.' I have not heard of it elsewhere in the U.S.

Char, v. and n. (*tshoor*) always, I believe, in the U.S., except the occasional (*tshæa*) and pl. (*tshæaz*) of laborers and farm servants.

Bogie, *Boguy*, a bugbear, (*bu'gə*). Common, among boys and the uneducated, in Connecticut. (*Dh' bu'gez-'l ket'sh-ji*).

Drool or *dreul* (*druul*, *driul*), for 'drivel,' used everywhere by mothers and nurses. The latter is the less polished form.

Ewe. Commonly (*jidū*), but twenty ago I very often heard (*joo*) from farmers, butchers, and others in eastern Connecticut and R. Island.

Eft (=Newt), (*ev'it*, *ev'et*). Common in Conn. 'Newt' is rarely used; 'eft' (monosyll.) never, I think. (A.S. *efete*.)

Fice, *Fise*, (*fois*). A worthless dog, a cur. Virginia and the southern States. Common, though I have not met with it in print, except in a Choctaw-English Vocabulary from a southern mission-press, 1852. Compare, *foisty*,—"foisting cur" (Nares),—"fice," in Grose,—"*fiest*, *fice*, *fist*," Wright's Prov. Gloss.

Fillip, n. and v. (*flīp*), always. I never heard it as a dissyllable in N. England.

Gambrel, roof, (*gæmbl* *gæmbel*). N. England, common; thirty years ago, nearly universal.

"to *Gange*." In a list of "words common at Polperro in Cornwall," in Notes and Queries, 1 S., x. 301, I find this word with the meaning: "to arm with wire the line attached to the fishing hook." ["To *gange* a hook is to arm it and the snood with a fine brass or copper wire twisted round to prevent their being bitten off by the fish." Glossary to the *History of Polperro*, by Jonathan Couch,

F.L.S., Truro, 1871.] Almost all N.E. fishermen know how to (*gænz*) —or, as many pronounce it, to (*gænz*h, *gændz*h) a hook—though the word is not in our dictionaries. Here, the *ganzing* by which the hook is secured to the line, and the line protected, is done by winding them with waxed linen thread or silk twist (Fr. *ganse*), whence I suppose the name, and not from Fr. 'ganche,' Sp. 'ganacho,' a hook.

Gumption, (*gæmshən*); more common, colloquially, in N.E. forty years ago, than it now is. I never heard the *p* sounded. (*Hii-z noo gæmshən*) or (*Hii heent got noo gæmshən*).

Lean-to (addition to a building), (*lā'ntē*). Conn. and Mass., the common pronunciation, among farmers, etc. I never heard (*lii'ntuu*, *lii'ntū*).

Mich, v. (*miitsh*), part. (*mii'tshin*). Connecticut, farmers, laborers, etc., —as in speaking of a dog or cat (*goo'in mii'tshin rəund*), or of a (*puu mii'tshin fē'le*).

Refuse, adj. and *n., (*refiudzh*), and sometimes (*rə'fædz*h). N.E., lumbermen, joiners, provision dealers, etc. —for the lowest merchantable quality of any description of goods. In a Boston paper of Dec. 3, 1716, I find advertised, "Refuse alias Refuge Fish" for sale. Common twenty years ago,—but much less common now.

Whoppet, (*whō'pīt*). A harmless cur, or mongrel dog. Connecticut. and elsewhere in New England. Common, in the rural districts, though omitted by Bartlett and Webster. Wright, Prov. Gloss., has "Whappet; the prick-eared cur." Here, the name has a larger denotation.

MR. BRISTED'S NOTES ON AMERICAN
PRONUNCIATION.

South Carolina.

The inhabitants of Charleston, and all the Southern and South-Eastern part of this State, pronounce initial *w* (whether at the beginning of a word or syllable) like *v*. Like *v* to me; perhaps you would call it (*bh*) or German

w (which I own myself unable to distinguish from *v*). This peculiarity is common to all classes, except those of the upper class who have lived in Europe or at the North. They are not aware of it. I cannot find any European origin for it. It is supposed to come from the negroes. Teachers from the middle of the State have told me that the boys from the central and northern districts pronounce *w* in the usual and correct way. [Prof. March, in his letter to me of 22 March, 1872, from which I have already so largely quoted (1092, c. 1143, c), says: "A large part of the people of this region (Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S.), which was settled by Germans, do not use their teeth for English *v*, or make with *w* the usual English sonancy, and they are said, therefore, to exchange *w* and *v*. I dare say the facts are the same at Charleston, South Carolina, of which Mr. Bristed speaks. I have heard it said that the South Carolina change was started by German market gardeners about Charleston, but one would think that there must have been some general tendency to this *lautverschiebung*, or it could have hardly gained currency, as it has, among that proudest and precise of colonial literary aristocracies. It looks like it too, that they sound *r* like *w*, or drop it. *Mister* is *Mistooow* (mî'stuuw?) they say,—one of my slight diphthongal *w*s, I suppose, if really any." In another part of his letter he had said: "As to the naturalness of *w*, I notice that my children, just catching sounds, not only make *w* in its own place, but also for other letters, regularly for *r*," [in which case perhaps it is a substituted lip trill with tense lips, or (w), see (9, c*d*),] "and for *wh* they make *f*. This last is an unknown change here in mature speech." As to the American interchange of *v*, *w*, see Webster's remark (1067, d) relating to Boston and Philadelphia, where he observes *w* used for *v*, which in the case of Philadelphia Prof. March, no doubt correctly, has just ascribed to the influence of German *w* (bh). There is a well-known cockneyism by which (*v*, *w*) are said to interchange in England. We all know that old Weller in *Pickwick* spelled his name with "a *we*." Dr. Beke considers, from personal experience, that the sound is really (bh), which is heard as (w) for (v) and as (v) for (w); and he believes that in Naples and Rome there is the same tendency

among the uneducated to substitute (bh) for (v). This opinion was contained in a private letter, in answer to another gentleman, who informed me that he had heard Romans, especially Roman beggars, use (w) for (v). I had never noticed this habit myself when in Rome, and my son, who was in Rome at the time when I received this information, did not succeed in hearing more than an occasional German (bh), with which sound he was well acquainted. But more recently a Scotch lady informed me that she had certainly heard (w) and not (bh) for (v) in Rome. It is a point requiring investigation, and as it has considerable philological interest, I think it right to draw attention to it here. I have never been fortunate enough to hear (w, v) confused in London, naturally, off the stage and out of story-books. But I recollect when a boy hearing people at Canterbury regularly saying what sounded to me as (wæn) for *van*, and one respectable pianoforte tuner, after vainly trying to say *view*, bringing out something like (wu). But this was in days when I had no notion of German (bh). The confusion of *w* and *v* is also reported from East Kent, and East Anglia generally. The Charleston confusion, however, is a remarkable phenomenon.]

[In a later communication Mr. Bristed adds:] We (that is, all Americans except the Carolinians aforesaid, and possibly the Southern negroes generally; I am not sure on this last point) say *hwen*, putting the aspirate before the digamma, so that, were the monosyllable prolonged to a dissyllable, it would be (huen) or (hü'en). [See (pp. 1142-3).] The Carolinians who say *v* (or what I call *v*) for *w*, do not, I think, mix any aspirate with it; they say *ven*, not *hven*. But I am not absolutely certain of this. [In his original notes respecting South Carolina, Mr. Bristed added:] Also common to all classes, and also unconscious, is the old re-actionary *Anti-Irish* pronunciation of (ii) for (ee), *cheer* for *chair*. But it seems confined to some words, e.g. they don't say *fear* (fiir) for *fair* (feer). [Writing subsequently, he says on this point:] I have discovered that the last century pronunciation (tshiiir) [the trilled (r) in this and the following examples is possibly an oversight] for *chair* is not so common in

South Carolina as I had supposed. On the other hand, I have found in some of the best educated Charlestonians the still more archaic pronunciation (eer) for *ear*, e.g. (feer) for *fear*, (reer) for *rear*, (beerd) for *beard*, etc., etc. Not having a nice musical ear, I will not be certain that the sound is *quite* as long as (ee), but for practical purposes it is the same; *proof*, I first observed it from supposing that a friend had said *fare* when he meant to say *fear*. (Beerd) for *beard* is heard in other parts of America (and of England I suppose), but the general substitution of (eer) for *ear* seems to be Carolinian. The pronunciation is involuntary, and acknowledged by the natives to be heretical; it is not like their (kjard) and (gjard), of which they are proud as of shibboleths. It is never found without the *r*; no Charlestonian would say (peez) for *peas* as an Irishman does. [Considering that some of the earliest cases of *ea* sounding as (ii) occur before (r), these archaisms are very interesting.]

Gulf States generally.

All classes, from Virginia to Georgia inclusive, have a sort of shibboleth of which they are proud. It is the old Sheridan and Walker insertion of *y* before *a* after initial *c* and *g*; *gyarden* for *garden*, *kyard* for *card*. I believe Sheridan and Walker only inserted the *y* when *a* is followed by *r*; but our Southerners say *kyamp* for *camp*. [This means possibly only (gaar'dn, kaad, kæmp).] I do not know how far this pronunciation extends westward; for instance, if it is found in Alabama, I am pretty sure it is not in Mississippi, and *a fortiori* in Louisiana and Texas.

New England.

All but the best educated New Englanders make an insertion before *ow* final in monosyllables. Probably most persons would explain this insertion as *ā* nasalized. I don't think so, e.g. I don't think the New England *cow* is like the first syllable of the Spanish *causa*. Some make the insertion *ē*. I consider it *y*. *Kyow* for *cow*, *nyow* for *now*. [Probably (kæ'u, njæ'u), see the extract from Webster (1066, *b'*). If there is nasality, it will be (kæ'u, njæ'u).] Whatever nasalization there is, seems to me to lie in the *diphthong itself*, not in the preceding insertion. I think this is clear from polysyllables,

e.g. *around*, where there is no insertion that I can detect, but there is a nasalization or *twang*. [Possibly (ærae'und) see (136, *d*).] The New Englanders sometimes lengthen *ō* into *au*. *Nauthing* (or more commonly *nauthin*) for *nothing*. [Possibly (na^uthin) or merely (no^uthin), which would be more historical.] On the other hand, they frequently substitute *ū* (ə) for *ō* (oo), *stun*, *hull*, for *stone*, *whole*. *The substituted vowel is the pure and simple English ū*. The New England pronunciations of *stone*, *whole*, are precisely the English words *stun*, *hull*. [They sound to me more like (ston, hol) than (stən, həl).] There is, however, *one word*, in which the people of Massachusetts (*not* the other New Englanders, so far as I have observed) substitute *ō* for *ō*. That word is *coat*, for which they say *cot* (kōt). It is just possible the sound may be a little longer than *cot* (kōt), but it certainly is not so long as *caught*, or as Italian *o aperto*. [The Italian *o aperto* is by no means always or generally long, so that I attributed a medial length to this vowel; but in a subsequent letter Mr. Bristed says:] Since I wrote to you, I have observed that the Massachusetts pronunciation *caught* for *coat*, about which I was doubtful, does exist; within a fortnight I have heard it, as broad as possible, from a lady. Some Massachusetts men maintain that the *short* sound usually given in Massachusetts (especially Eastern Mass.) to the *ō* of *coat* is not *ō*, but the *short sound of ō*, a sound which, if it exists, has a constant tendency to run into *ō* or *ū*. [Short (*o*) certainly seems to exist in English dialects and in America, but it is frequently misheard as (ə), and it is singular that in Mr. I. Pitman's phonography (oo, ə) are represented by marks which should systematically represent them to be the long and short of the same sound. All this again is attributable to the relation of (æ, o) and (ə, oh), where the vowels in each pair are due to the same position of the tongue, and differ only by the "rounding" or "lip-shading." This again leads to the common affected drawl (ə'oh) for (oo). In the same letter Mr. Bristed notes having heard *root* made (rut), rhyming to *foot*; and *deaf* called (diif), see (1069, *c*), by educated speakers. He adds:] Nearly all the New Englanders say *testimōny* and *territōry*.

The pronunciation *fort'n, nār',* [possibly (fā'tn, nē'te)] for *fortune, nature* (the very shortest possible indistinct vowel substituted for *ū*), was traditional in New England, and only went out in the present generation. [It is XVIIth-century English.] When I was a boy at Yale College (Connecticut) in 1839, some of the older professors said *fort'n, nār',* etc.

The Bostonians and the people of Eastern Massachusetts generally are popularly accused of superfluous final *g*: *capt'ing, Bost'ing, for captain, Boston.* Or to be more accurate, they are charged with substituting *ng* (q) for various short terminations. I have not observed this particularly in them. It seems to me a vulgarism general in both England and America. Dickens's Mrs. Gamps and Hay's Western Colonels say *pard'ng* for pardon. But I have observed that the Bostonians lay unusual stress on these short final syllables. This winter [1870-1] a Boston young lady observed to me, "You New Yorkers say, 'the chick'n goes up the mount'n.'" I retorted, "What do you say? The chicking goes up the mounting?" She replied, "No, the chickenn goes up the mountenn." (That is the nearest I can come to literating her.) [Possibly (tsh'kkenn, māu'ntenn), exaggerating for the purpose of illustration. Smart marks (tsh'k'en, māu'ntēn). I think (tsh'k'in, māu'nten) or (-t'in) are common. But (tsh'kn, māu'ntn) or (tsh'ken, māu'nten) are disagreeable to my ears. Some persons likewise say (Læ'tn, Sæ'tn, pu'dn), but these sounds are going out of use.]

New York.

I am a native New Yorker, though not now resident in the State. This fact disqualifies me in a measure from noticing our peculiarities. Indeed, I know of but one, which has come up in the better classes within the last twenty years, and is (I think) more common with young women than young men. It consists in dropping medial *r*, and thinning the indistinct vowel before it into a very short *e*, e.g. *fest* (fēst) for *first*. [I have myself noticed in many Americans a tendency of this kind in the pronunciation of the word *America*, from which the *r* seems to be lost, or not trilled at all, and the *e* curiously obscured, something like (əmə'jɪkə),

with a tendency to (əmə'jɪkə əmə'rika), but the vowel used for *e*, for which I have helplessly written (ə), does not glide on to the following (r, r) in the slightest degree. But the same speakers pronounce a trilled (r) before vowels habitually in other cases.]

Western States.

I have never been in them, and only know from common report that among the less educated classes, the pronunciation (a, aa) for (ee) is universal. *Bar* for *bear*, *far* for *fair*, *straunger* for *stranger*. [Possibly remnants of (bæær, fæær, strææ'ndzher), misheard. Mr. Bristed finds a difficulty in understanding (æ, ææ) in palaeotype, which seems to him "to embrace all sorts of sounds, from the shortest continental sound of *a* to ordinary English *ā*. This," says he, "causes confusion. I am not sure how you pronounce *plaid*; it seems to me that you call it *plād*." I call it (plæd), and it is curious that the American Worcester gives no other pronunciation; I have heard (pleed) called a Scotticism, which Mr. Bristed thinks the only right sound, as he says of mine, it "is surely a mistake, according to Scott's rhymes *plaid, laid, maid*, etc. Perhaps your (ææ) is that 'fifth sound of *a, ai* in *fair*,' given in the old dictionaries, Walker, etc., which to me has always seemed a myth. I mean I can't make out any difference between *fair* and *fare*." Walker made none, but I have adduced these facts to shew what difficulties variety of pronunciation throws in the way of indicating sounds by keywords. As to *fair*, etc., however, the sound may really be (aa), and not (ææ). Such sounds occur dialectally in England.]

General Americanisms.

We all (except perhaps some of the negroes?) sound distinctly the *h* of initial *wh*, just as Irishmen, Scotchmen, and North-Countrymen do. This I believe to be the only universal Americanism. There is a great difference between the speech of (most) Englishmen and (most) Americans, but it is a musical difference rather than a letter-power difference. We pitch our conversation in a monotone; Englishwomen appear to a green American to be just going to sing when they talk. [The English return the compliment with interest, which reminds me that

a Pole, whose language to an English ear is all hiss, told me, after hearing Hamlet, that the English words sounded to him as mere hisses!] Some Englishmen think that we lengthen the *i* more than they. I doubt it. I don't think, for instance, that we say (táim) for (ts'ím). [Many Americans do say (táim), and even (tá,ím).] All Americans pronounce *vase* to rhyme with *case*. I see you would rhyme *vase* with *draws*. So does Sotheby in his Homer, and I am told this is the British Museum pronunciation. Most Englishmen of my acquaintance sound it with German *a* (to rhyme with *grass*?). Your pronunciation would be unintelligible to most Americans. [*Vase* has four pronunciations in English: (vAAZ), which I most commonly say, is going out of use, (vaaz) I hear most frequently, (veez) very rarely, and (vees) I only know from Cull's marking. On the analogy of *case* (kees), however, it should be the regular sound. I have known the three first pronunciations habitual among a party of four speakers, to

whom the fourth sound was unknown. Goodrich gives all four sounds; but just as Cull only acknowledged (*vees*), Smart only admits (*veez*). As to the British Museum pronunciation, I find on inquiry that the Antiquities Department call it (vaaz), "to rhyme with *papa's*." but one of the assistants in that department says he would say (vAAZ) of a modern vessel to contain flowers (for instance), "in fact," says my authority, "he seemed inclined to distinguish different kinds of vases by the pronunciation." The vulgar pronunciation of *i* for *oi* is very general among the less educated New-Englanders, but is chiefly confined to words in *oil*, *boil*, *spoil*, etc. No native says *by* or (*bai*) for *boy*; that is purely Irish. [These are all xviith century.] I think I have found a New York peculiarity, *buddy*, *nobuddy*, for *body*, *nobody*, but am not quite certain if the vowel is the indistinct *ü*. [(*Noo-bëdî*) is the most common English, but perhaps Mr. Bristed meant (*noo bërdî*); was it (*noo bõrdî*)?]

AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION ACCORDING TO AMERICAN HUMOURISTS.

The pronunciation indicated by humourists in any language is of course *not* the pronunciation of the educated part of the people. But it must be the pronunciation of a section of the people, and also a widely known pronunciation, or the whole humour of its adoption would be lost. It therefore occurred to me that Dr. Trumbull's and Mr. Bristed's remarks on existent and Noah Webster's on older Americanisms would be best supplemented by a selection of phonetic orthographies from the works of known humourists.

Major Downing's "Letters" appeared in the New York *Daily Advertiser* in 1833-4, and had a popularity never before equalled in the United States. This book was a political skit on General Jackson's government, and is described in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 106, as "by far the most amusing, as it must be allowed to be the most authentic, specimen that has as yet [1835] reached Europe of the actual colloquial dialect of the Northern States." They are by this reviewer attributed to "Mr. Davis, of the respectable mercantile house of Brookes and Davis, New York." To these then I give the first place. The whole book is not spelled phonetically, but about as much American orthography is introduced as Scott uses of Scotch spelling in his works, and this I have extracted. With the humorous mode of expression, the grammar, and so forth, I have of course had nothing to do. I quote from the second English edition, published by Murray in 1835, "from the latest New-York edition."

Judge Haliburton's "Clockmaker; or, the Sayings and Doings

of Sam. Slick of Slickville"—of which the introductory letter, attributed to Mr. Slick himself, is dated 25 Dec., 1836—is fully as authentic, but the sprinkling of spellings is rather sparser, and I have not attempted to go through more than about one-sixth of the book.

Charles F. Browne's "Artemus Ward his Book" is made up of contributions to the New York *Vanity Fair* about 1860. It is almost entirely in picturesque spelling, which is frequently merely grotesque, but generally exhibits specimens of Yankee pronunciation, or what must pass current as such among Americans. His efforts in that way met with general appreciation. From this book I have culled a large number of words without attempting to exhaust the list.

Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinees and other Poems mostly humorous" have furnished me with several pronunciations supposed to be current in the Gold Mining Regions of California.

In quoting these words the letters D, S, W, H, refer to Downing, Slick, Ward, and Harte respectively. The addition "occ." shews that the spelling is only *occasionally* used by the writer to whose letter it is appended.

One of the most striking points to an Englishman on reading them is that there are practically no American Americanisms among them. They are all old friends, known in English humourists, and known in older or dialectal or vulgar English pronunciation. The twang, the intonation, the application, all tend to give them a different effect, but these are absent in the bare phonetic representation. The orthography of the writers is left intact, and I have not ventured to suggest their meaning. There may be some recondite differences with which I am unacquainted; but when the words are read as their spelling would suggest to one used to received pronunciation, the effect is quite familiar.

1. Miscellaneous.

The following is an alphabetical arrangement of some words and phrases which could not be easily classified.

A. *Account* 'count D, *acute* cute D S H, *afraid* afeard D, *against* agin D, *am* not ain't H, *are* not ain't H, *Americans* 'Merricans H, *apoplexy* appleplexy D, *apothecaries* pottecaries D, *attention* tenshon D.

B. *Believe* bleeve W, *bellows* bellesses D, *be* not beant S, *beyond* beyend D, *boisterous* boysterious W, *by* and *by* bime-by D W.

C. *Calculate* kalklate D, *chimney* chimby D, *Chinese* n. Chinees H, *classically* ? cussically W, possibly a mere grotesque; *contrariness* contrairiness H, *cordial* cordyal W, put apparently as an uncommon pronunciation, indicating "corjal" as the common? (1069, *eb'*); *cupboards* cubbords D, *curiouslest* curiesest D.

D. *Damned* damned S, this is given as an uncommon spelling, "darn'd" being most usual, but in consequence of Webster's remark (1067, *cd*) this will be given among the *er-* words; *diamonds* diminds W, *does* not don't D, *drowned* drownded D, *durst* not dursent H.

E. *even*, almost eny most D, een amost, een almost S, *evenly* ? e'enay D, *ever* a one ary one D.

F. *Funeral* fun'l H.

G. *Gave* gin D, evidently the participle used for the preterite, see *given*; *genuine* giniwine, *genwine* D, *give* gin W, here we have the participle used for the present; *given* gin D, *grew* grow'd S.

H. *Handkerchiefs* handkerchers D, *have* not hain't D, hant S, *have* given a gin S, *heard* hearn D W, the form *heerd* also occurs, as will be seen afterwards; *hers* hern S, *his* (pred.) hisn D, *history* histry W, *holiday* hollow-

day D, probably a mere grotesque; *howsoever* homsumever howsever D.

I. *Idea* ide idee D, idee H, idear W, *ideas* idees W, *is* be's H, *is not* ain't D W H, an't S, isn't H, *it is not* taint D, tante S, 'tain't H, *it was not* twarnt D, *I was* Ise W.

K. *Knew* know'd D, *knoll* nole D, this must be merely grotesque spelling, as the sound is received.

L. *Laudanum* lodnum D.

M. *Mamma* mam H, *military* militargary W, *Mississippi* Massissippi D, *Missouri* Mizsoori H, *monster* monkster W, *more than* moren mourn W.

N. *Necessity* needcessity S, also in Irish and in Scotch, so that it is not a mere grotesque; *negromancy* nickremancy D, *never* a nary a W H, here there is a mistaken tautology, as *nary* should mean *never* a, see *ever* a above.

O. *Of it on't* D, *only* ony D, *ordeals* ordeels W, evidently given as a mispronunciation in place of *orjeels*, see *cordial* above; but historically *or-deal* = ags. or-dâl, would be pronounced as W writes; OR-DE-AL is a mere piece of confusion; *ordinary* ornery W H, *ordinarier* ornrear W, *ours* ourn D S.

P. *Particular* pertickler H, *particularly* particly W, *perhaps* p'raps H, *popular* poplar W, *previously* previsly W, *probably* probly W.

R. *Regular* regler W, *rheumatism* rumatiz D.

S. *Saw* p.t. see D, seed S W, *secure* skewer W, *seen* p.p. sawn W, *series* serious W, *shall not* sha'nt D, *shallow* shaller S, *singular* singleris H, *soldiers* sogers D, *sovereignty* suvrinty W, *sphere* spear W.

T. *That there* that air W, *theirs* their'n D, *them* 'em D S, *the other* t'other D, *there* are, *tickled* tikled D, *told* tell'd D, *tour* tower D, *towards* tords W, *tremendous* tremenjús W.

V. *Violent* vilent W.

W. *Was not* warn't D, *warnt* worn't S, *were not* wa'n't D, *will not* won't D.

Y. *Yours* yourn D W.

2. Vowels.

In the following some little attempt at classification will be made, but the instances are not numerous enough to arrive at any satisfactory result.

A. The oldest (aa) sound remains in *stare* star H, *square* squar H, *hair-pin* har-pin H, and is broadened into (oo), where in England it has sunk to (ee),

in *chares* chores D. On the other hand, it falls into (ee, e) or even (i) in *are* air W, *came* kem H, *again* agen H, *agin* S, *may* be mebbly W, and completely to (ii) in *cars* keers W.

Long a, ai = (ee, ee) has become (ii) in *chair* cheer W H, *cares* keers W, *careless* keerless H, *scared* skeery W, *James* Jeemes H, to which must be reckoned *apparel* appeerel W; but *gave* giv W, is probably only the use of the present as past.

The same tendency is shewn in the short vowel a (æ) in *any* eny D, *enny* W, *can* kin H, *catch* kitch ketch D, *had* hed H, *have* hev W, *that* conj. thet H.

Broadening appears in *canal* kanawl W, *sat* v. sot D, *far* fur D, *stamped* stomped D, but uncertainly in *what* whot wat W occ., *wat* wot H, where the absence of h is noticeable, as it is generally present, and *was* war H. Even *au* shews both tendencies in *because* caze D, *audacity* owdassity W, but *caught* ketched D is merely a weak form of *ketch*, already cited.

E short is thinned to (ii), which may be (i) in *end* eend D S, *nests* neests D, and, as is very common in England, to (i) in *chest* chist S, *general* gineral D, *ginral* W, *generally* gineraly W, *get* git D W, *getting* gitting gittin' H, *kettles* kittles D W, *passengers* passinjers W, *pretty* adj. pretty pritty D. But shews the Scotch broadening tendency in *keg* kag W, *set* p.p. sot S, p.t. sot W, where there may be a confusion with *sat*, *well* adv. wall W, *wrestled* rastled H.

The long ee is shortened in *been* ben bin D, but as *ea* seems to remain (ii), even in *New Orleans* New Orleans S, *heard* heerd S W, with which we may class *anywhere* anywheer H, but the old (ee) crops up in *real* rale D, *really* raly D, *ra'ly* H, *beard* baird H, and some other cases, for which see *er*.

The following are very common in England: *neither* nother nuther D, *chewing* chawin W, *ewe* yo S, *news-paper* noospaper W.

I. In *if* ef W H, *sit* set D, we have a tendency opposite to that of *get* git. *Little* leetle D W is common here, but *squire* square W is very strange.

There seems to be a tendency to sink all unaccented vowels into (i), or perhaps Mr. Bell's (y), see (1159, b), and it is worth while noticing this, because a similar tendency shews itself in Irish,

and (i) is constantly used in Buchanan, see the vocabulary, pp. 1072-1083. See the Irish examples below. *Extra* extry W, *panorama* paneramy W, *opera* opery opry W, *actually* actilly S, *animal* animil W, *counterpane* counterpin D, *manage* manige W, *poem* poim W, *garments* garmint W, *trousers* trowsis W, *nephew* nevey H, *region* regine W, *passion* pashin D, *waistcoat* weskit W, *argument* argyment W.

O seems to assume all varieties of different local English forms, so that any classification is difficult. It becomes (aa) in *roar* rar' H, (uu) in *boast* boost D, *more* moore W, falls to (ə) in *home* hum D W, *whole* hull D W, *stone* stun D W, *nobody* nobuddy W, and even to (i) in *rose* v. riz D W H, *cover* kiver D W, with which we may compare *touching* techin W, while it varies in the same writer in *bosom* boozum buzzum W. Then we find *solder* sawder S, *boulders* bowlders H, *thought* tho't D, *bought* bo't D.

The (oo) sound varies, as (āu) in *route* rowt W, (iū) in *chooses* chuses D, *boots* butes W, *do dew* W occ., *through* thru' D, *threw* D W, *zoological* zewological W, the last being derived from the "zoo"; and (ə) in *took* tuk W, *roof* ruff D, and *you* yu W, *your* yer H, the two latter used enclitically.

The diphthong OI is treated as long ī in all those cases in which it was so sounded in the xviith and xviiith centuries. Thus: *appointed* appinted D, *boil* bile D, *boiling* bilin W, *bilin'* H, *broiling* brilin D, *hoisted* histed W, *join* jine D W H, *loins* lions W, which of course is merely grotesque for *lines*, *oil* ile D W, *point* pint W, *pointing* pintin W, *points* p'int H, *poison* pyson S, *pizen* W H, *soil* sile W, *soiled* siled D, *spoils* spiles D.

U. The prefix *un-* is generally on-, as in *uneasy* oneasy S W, *unparalleled* onparaled W, *unpleasant* onpleasant S W, *unsatisfactory* on-satis-factory H. In a few words short u is e, i, as *just* D, *jist* D S, common in London, *judge* n. jedge H, compare Scotch (dzhadzh), *such* sich D W, *shut* shet H, very old. The form *shut* p.p. shot W, seems to be founded on some confusion.

The long ū when accented constantly becomes (uu), a well-known English vulgarism, but dating apparently from after the xvith century, and the preceding s, t, do not then become (sh,

tsh); but this is by no means always the case, as will be seen from the examples of consonants given below. Thus: *actuate* actooate W, *adieu* adoo W, *amusing* amoozin W, *circuitous* sircooitius W, *confused* konfoozed W, *constitution* constitooshun W, *dispute* dispoot W, *excuse* excoos W, *gratuitous* gratooitus W, *impudence* impoodents W, *including* incloodin W, *individual* individoal W, *influence* infloounce W, *lunatic* loonytick W, *nuisance* noo-sanse W, *obtain* obtoos W, *peculiar* pocooler W, *punctually* puncktooally W, *pursue* pursoo W, *resumed* resoomed W, *spiritual* sperretooul W, *subdued* subdood W, *sued* sood W, *suit* soot W, *untutored* untootered W, *virtuous* virtuous W. It will be observed, however, that all these examples are from W. After l and r this change is received, but W furnishes both *bloo* and *blew* for *blue*.

Unaccented u in open syllables, which, though always very short (iū), is called long by our orthoepists, seems mostly to become (i, ē). Thus: *education* idecation edication S, *minute* n. minet S, *minit* H, *minutes* minits W, *valuation* valeation S, *value* valy S, *regulating* regelatin D, *ridiculous* ridikilous H.

Final and unaccented -ure is usually treated exactly as *er*, and generally does not influence the preceding consonants, as *creature* critter cretur D, *creature* critter W, *creatures* critters S, *features* featur S, *figures* figers D, *figgers* W, *future* futer W, *injure* inger D, *legislature* legislatur D, *nature* natur D S, *nater* W, *natural* nateral S, *natr* W, *pasture* pastur S, *pictures* picters W, *rapture* rapter W, *venture* venter W, *pressure* presher W. The last word is exceptional. It will be found that these foreign words are very irregularly treated in the English dialects, probably depending on the time of their having been first used.

3. The Consonant R.

ER, EAR, UR. The treatment of vowels before R is very curious in America, dependent partly on the R having become thoroughly vocal, and partly on the retention of the old *ar* forms, with which *ur* forms have been confused. A few *er*-words retain their form as *er*, *ear*, or *air*, thus: *dern* dern H, *earth* airth S, *yearth* W, *early* airly S, *pert* peart H. But the rule is

for all such words to become *ar*, as: *learn* larn D S, *learned* larned D, larn'd S, *search* sarch S, *astern* astarn D S, *bear* bar W, *certain* certin sartin D, *sertain* S, *certainly* sartinly W, *certify* sartify D, *concern* concern S, *concerned* concern'd W, *converse* converse W, *dern* v. darn D W, *derned* darned S, *dernation* darnation D, *tarn* ation S, *deserved* deserv'd D, *determined* detarmin'd D, *early* arly W, *earth* arth W, *errand* arrand S, *eternal* tarnal D, *eternal* S, *eternallest* tarnulest W, *eternity* eternity D S, *infernal* infarnal D W, *Jersey* Jarsey (?), *merchant* marchant D, *Lord have mercy* Lord a massy S, *nervous* narvous H, *observed* obsarved W, *observes* obsarves W, *preserved* presarved D W, *sermons* sarmons S, *serve* sarve D S, *uncertain* onsartin S W, *universe* univars S, *verses* varses D, to which may be added *there* thar W H, *where* whar W, *blurt* blart S, *disturb* distarb W.

R. The late Prof. Hadley, in reviewing the first part of this work, after quoting my remarks *suprà* p. 197, says: "It is fortunate for this much-abused letter that so large a part of the English-speaking world is found in America, where the first settlers brought this *r* in a less attenuated state, and where their descendants have been largely reinforced by users of a yet stronger *r* from Ireland and Scotland and the Continent of Europe. Instead of losing the final *r*, like our brethren in Southern England, we are more likely to restore it to its ancient equivalency with the initial letter." (Essays, 1873, p. 252.) See also Prof. Haldeman's remarks (1195, b'). My own experience of polished American speech does not bear out this remark. No approach to an Irish or Scotch *r* final seems to be made. If a trill was ever used by the speakers I observed, it must have been very faint, for I am constantly awake to trills, and should have certainly remarked it. An untrilled *r*, perhaps as much of a consonant as (r), I seem to have heard; I think I have heard at least one American preacher say (hæ:rt) where I say (hært),—a matter of choice, (hart) presenting no difficulty to me. But that Dickens' *smol' tork* for *small talk* would have been as easily written by an American as by an English humourist will be quite apparent from the following instances, which shew that

ar or *are* recognized ways of writing (aa AA) without implying the least trill or vowel (a) in place of a trill. It follows therefore that such a pronunciation must be familiar to American ears from American mouths. No American humourist could otherwise have ventured to use it.

After *arter* D S W, *ah!* ar W, *à la* ar-lar W, *amassed* amarsed W, *basking* barskin W, *calm* carm W, *danced* darned W, *daughter* darter D S H, *earned* ernt, *rhyming* to want D, *half* harf W, *Iago* Iargo W, *last* larst W, *lather* larther W, *laugh* laff D, larf W, *laughable* larfable W, *laughed* laft D, *larfed* larved S, *laughing* laffin D, *larfin* S, *Madam* marm S W, *pa par* W, *pass* pars W, *passed* parst W, *pasture* parster W, *sauce* sass D W, *sarse* sarce S, *saucer* sasser D, and similarly *awful* orful W, *off* orf W, *offsprings* orf-springs W, *officer* orficer W, *thought* thort W, *the last* being an identification of *or* *aw* by W.

In the following we have not only the *r* omitted, but the vowel which was before it shortened, shewing its utter disappearance even from the thought of the speaker. *Horse* hoss W, *horses* hosses W, *burst* bust D W, *busted* H, *bursting* bustin W, *curse* cuss W H, *cursing* cussin D, *coloured* culled W, *first* fust W, *l lanterns* lantuns W, *nursing* nussing W, *persons* pussons W, *purse* puss W, *worse* wuss W, *worser* wusser W. And I would explain *girl* gal H, *girls* gals D, *galls* S, in the same way, *gerls* becoming first *garls* and then *gals* (gæ:z gæ:z gæ:z), and similarly *pretty* having the *r* "transposed" becomes *perty*, and then, *putty* D W, of which *poety* D H is regarded only as another form. In *scarcely* scacely W we have a simple omission of *r*, with probably a corresponding omission of its modification of (ee) into (ee), which is also found dialectally in England.

ER, UR, as an indistinct vowel where no trace of trill can be reasonably supposed, shews this vocalty more completely. Thus it stands for A unaccented in *afloat* erfloate W, *drama* dramer W, *orphan* orfurn W, *spectacles* specterkuls W, *valise* verlise W, *umbrella* umbreller W, *vista* vister W, to which may be added the common *always* allers W H, generally written *allus* in England:—for E unaccented in *elements* ellermunts W, *elephants*

ellerfunts W, *intellectual* interlectooal W, *tragedy* traggerdy W:—for I unaccented in *dignify* dignerfy W, *exhibited* exhiberted W, *pussillanimous* pussylanermus W, *signify* siggerfy W, *specimen* spesserman W, *veracity* ver-rasserty W:—for O, OW, unaccented very frequently, as *bellowed* bellered W, *billows* billers W, *calico* caliker W, *fellow* feller D S W H, *followed* follered W, *gallows* gallers W, *hollowed* hollered W, *innocent* innercent W, *negroes* niggers D, *patronised* patrernized W, *politest* perlistest D, *political* perlitercal purlittercal W, *potatoes* pertaters W, *shadow* shadder W, *sorrows* sorrers W, *swallow* swaller W, *tallow* taller W H, *vociferously* versifrussly W, *window* winder S W, *widow* widder H, *yellow* yaller S H, *yeller* W; in *following* follerin W there is a suspicion of a trill, but it is not certain, and even if it existed, it would only be similar to the usual euphonic London *r*; in *colonel* kurnel S, identified in the passage cited with *kernel* kurnel S, we have a received pronunciation; considering of as *o*’, the following come under this category: *kind* of kinder D S W H, *sort* of sorter, *ought* to oughter H, *onto* onter W; but in *provisions* pervishuns W it is doubtful whether there is not a confusion of *pro-* and *per-* as prefixes:—for U unaccented in *ague* ager H, *continues* continners W, *continuing* continnering W, with possible trill, *deputised* deppertised W, *invaluable* invalerble W, *sublime* surblime W. In *glorious* gerlorious W, *slave* ser-lave W, *prairie* per-rairie per-ar-ie H, it takes the part of an exaggerated (*h*), and the same is the case for the ludicrously prefixed *ker-*, sometimes used in W, as *slap* kerslap W.

These examples shew that in America, as it will be seen in § 2, No 10, is the case also in England, *r* has become a mere means, first of writing (*aa*, *AA*), and secondly of indicating a *long* or a *brief* (*h*, *a*, *v*), that is, one which has either only that short glide which follows a long vowel, or else no glide on to the succeeding consonant. In both cases *r* may consequently be considered as the sign of *lengthening*. Its use in this respect is similar to that of *s* in older French (831, *ab*’), and of *l* in Scotch (Murray, p. 123), having like them no historical foundation, and, so far as the usual value of these letters *r*, *s*, *l*, is concerned, no phonetic signifi-

cance. They merely arose from the fact that in many words the phonetic values of *r*, *s*, *l*, had been lost, where they once existed, and the preceding vowel lengthened. With regard to the short *-er*, representing (*-a*, *-v*), writers have felt the same difficulty as Mr. Murray in his historical orthography (*ib.* pp. 133, 134), and have generally adopted his contrivance of writing *-a* when final (though many fall into *-er*, which leads, however, to a suspicion of a trilled *r*, which is tainted with vulgarity), and *-er-* when before a consonant (when trilling would be out of the question). Of course in Scotland, where the sight of an *r* in any position is the signal for trilling, this use of *er* was impossible. Its use in the United States, even in humouristic writing, is consequently proof of the very general existence of non-trilled *r* among the English speakers of America.

4. Other Consonants.

D is changed to *t* in *hold* n. holt W, which is not uncommon in England. It is added after *n* in *drowned* drown-did W, *drowned* H, *gowns* gownds W, as with us, but there is a more general tendency to omit it in this case, as *friend* fren W, *vagabond* vagabone W, especially when *s* follows, as *friends* frens W, *husbands* husbans W, *understands* understans W, *reminds* remines W, *handsome* hansom S (although *handsome* handsum S is also found, where the *d* is probably erroneous), and even before other letters, as *handbills* hanbills W. There is a great tendency to change *d* to *j* under the influence of a full *i* unaccented but followed by a vowel, as *Indian* Ingen D, *Injun* D H, *Injun* W, and *audience* awjince W, *grandeur* granjur W, *immediate* immejit W, *induce* injuce injooce W, *medium* mejium W, *produce* projuce W, *soldiers* sojers W, *tremendous* tremenjious tremenjis W.

H. This much-abused letter in England seems to escape in America. Of course *ostensibly* hosstensibly W is a mere grotesque to recall *hoss*, the word not being popular. The enclitic *here*, in *this here*, *been here*, etc., suffers various changes, as: *h’yur* ’yar ’yer yere H, which however are attributed to the strong action of the (*æ*) or (*ia*’) pronunciation of the *-ere* portion. Even Sir John Herschel (*Sound*, art. 361, in *Encyc. Metr.*) makes “*young*; *yearn*;

hear, here" consist of the vowel in "peep, leave, believe, sieben (Germ.), coquille (Fr.)," "succeeded more or less rapidly" by the vowel in "spurt, assert, dirt, virtue, dove, double, blood," entirely omitting the *h*. This will be found frequent dialectally, and *earth* *yearth* *H* is quite similar.

L for *r* in *frustrated* *frustratid* *W* is grotesque, but the omission of *l* in *only* on'y *H* is quite common.

M is omitted in *rheumatism* *rheumatiz* *H*, which is quite familiar in England.

N becomes exceptionally (*g*) in some words, as *captains* *captings* *W*, *cushions* *cushings* *H*, *garden* *garding* *W*, *weapons* *weppings* *H*, but more commonly *-ng* becomes *-n*; in fact this is the rule for the participial and gerundial *-ing* and the word *thing* in composition, as *amazing* *amasin* *S*, *capering* *caperen* *D*, *everlasting* *everlastin'* *S*, *everything* *evrythin* *D*, *meeting* *meetin* *S*, *nothing* *nothin* *D* *S* *W*, *pudding* *pudden* *D*, *seizing* *ceasin* *W*, *something* *suthin* *W* *H*, *toiling* *toilin* *W*, etc., etc.

PH. The change to *p* in *nymph* *nimp* *W* is probably purely grotesque.

QU becomes *c*, *k*, frequently in *equalled* *ekalled* *W*, and occasionally in *quotation* *cotashun* *W*.

SK is transposed, or rather the original *cs* is preserved in *ask* *ax* *S*.

T is omitted when final after *c*, in *acts* *ax* *W*, *conflicts* *conflicks* *W*, *contact* *contact* *W*, *districts* *districks* *W*, *facts* *fax* *W*, *intellect* *intelleck* *W*, *just so* *jes so* *W*, *just jess* *H*, *object* *objeck* *W*, *perfect* *perfek* *W*, *sect* *seck* *W*, and after *p* in *attempt* *attemp* *W*, *crept* *crep'* *H*, also in *don't* preceding *n*, as *don't know* *dunno* *W*, and probably also before other consonants. On the other hand, it is added in *once* *onct* *W*,

sudden *n*, *suddent* *H*, and assimilated in *let go* *leggo* *W*, to which category probably belongs *partner* *pardner* *H*. In *surtout* *surtout* *W* the added *t* is orthographical; educated Americans also pronouncing the final *t* in *trait*.

TH remains *d* in *further* *furder* *W*, and is omitted in *clothes* *close* *W*, but that there that ar' *H* is the English that ere, and it is doubtful whether this should be reckoned as an omitted *th*.

V is written *w* in the first syllable of *conviviality* *conviviality* *W*, shewing that some such change would be appreciated, (1067, *d*, 1220, *d'*), but this is the only instance I have noted.

W is, as often, omitted in *inwards* *inards* *W*.

X becomes *z* by the omission of preceding syllable in *exactly* *zactly* *W*, where the *t* also ought to be omitted.

The above examples, though very incomplete, will serve to give some notion of the prevailing illiterate or Yankee pronunciations in America. Those arising from negro influence have been kept out of view. But they form a remarkable instance of linguistic break down, and deserve careful study. For examples see *Da Njoe Testament vo wi Masra en Helpiman Jesus Kristus*, or New Testament in the Negro English of Surinam, to be had of the British and Foreign Bible Society, price 2s. 6d.; also *Proeve eener Handleiding om het Neger-Engelsch, zoo als hetzelfde over het algemeen binnen de Kolonie Suriname gesproken wordt*, door A. Helmig van der Vegt, Amsterdam, 1844, p. 56, and *Slave Songs of the United States*, New York, 1871, introduction by W. F. Allen, pp. xxiv-xxxvi. To which Addison Van Name (1155, *c'*) adds Wullschlägel's *Neger-englisches, Wörterbuch*, Löbau, 1850.

IRISH PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH.

Although vast numbers of the Irish who speak English are uneducated, yet the English language is not of native growth in Ireland. There are still several parts of Ireland where English is not spoken. Hence an account of the Irish pronunciation of English can be better classed as educated than as natural. But there is a still stronger reason for placing it next to the American. They are both examples of an emigrated language of nearly the same date. If we disregard the English settlers in Forth and Bargo in the xiith century, to be considered hereafter, the English language in Ireland may be considered to date in the north from the settlement of Ulster by James I. in 1611, and generally from the events

which followed Cromwell's incursion in 1649. The first English settlements on the Bay of Massachusetts date from 1628. The language in both cases therefore belongs to the xviith century. An inspection of the preceding and following lists compared with the accounts of the pronunciation of that period already given, will shew the correctness of the estimate already formed for these cases (p. 20) as examples of persistent mother-tongue in emigrants.

The general xviith century character is most strongly marked in Ireland by the retention of the pronunciation of long *e*, in the state which had been reached in the xviith century,—those words that had then changed long *e* into (ii), mostly marked by the orthography *ee*, remaining as long (ii), and those that had not yet changed their (ee), mostly marked by the spelling *ea*, remaining as (ee) or (*ee*). This character is so marked and prevalent among all but the higher educated classes in Ireland, among whom the present English usage is not a century old, (1050, *a'*), that most persons seem to regard it as one of the marks of Irish "brogue," whereas it is pure xviith century English fossilized by emigration, and, as we shall see, is more or less persistent among our own dialects. But there are two distinct styles of English spoken in Ireland, that in the Northern part due to the mainly Scotch settlement of Ulster, and that elsewhere spoken.

After Mr. Murray had published his book on the Dialects of the South of Scotland, so frequently referred to (1085, *c*), Mr. W. H. Patterson, of Strandtown, Belfast, sent him a copy of a pamphlet called: "The Provincialisms of Belfast and the Surrounding Districts pointed out and corrected, by David Patterson, industrial teacher of the blind at the Ulster Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind, and a resident of Belfast for the last forty years, Belfast, 1860." Mr. Murray having shewn me this pamphlet, and pointed out the numerous Scotticisms which it contained, I requested him to mark all the words which bore a Scotch character. At the same time, to check the North by the South, I requested Mr. T. M. Healy, who had lived the first 18 out of the 20 years of his life in Cork, where he was born, to mark such words as were pronounced in the same way in Cork as at Belfast, and where there were differences to point them out. Both gentlemen having obligingly complied with my request, I have been enabled to compile the following lists, which, although leaving very much to be desired, give a fuller account of Irish peculiarities than any I can refer to elsewhere.

To obtain further information, I addressed a series of questions to Mr. W. H. Patterson, who sent the pamphlet, and to its author, Mr. D. Patterson, who is himself blind, and is personally unknown to the other, and also to the Rev. Jas. Graves, of Inisnag Rectory, near Stoneyford, Kilkenny, honorary secretary of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, all of whom, as well as Mr. Murray and Mr. Healy, most kindly and readily assisted me, and from them I have gathered the following information.

The pronunciation of Belfast decidedly differs from that of the

greater part of Ireland, but extends pretty uniformly over the Northern and Eastern parts (about two-thirds) of Ulster. Though Scotch, it is not so much so as the Eastern parts of Down and Antrim. For instance (says Mr. W. H. P.), a farmer living in east of County Down will have many Scotch words in his speech and a very Scotch accent, but will be at once distinguishable from the Scottish land-stewards and gardeners who come over. He will say: "Hae ye got ony guid shearin hewks?" and his children will play at: "Ngeery, ngaary, ngick, ngack, which han will ye tak, the right or the wrang, I'll beguile ye if I can." A child was heard to cry: "Quit cloddin stanes at them kye!" Here *Quit* is *quit*, give over (*kwat*). A farmer's wife called some people to "see Billy biggin," i.e. building a corn stack; a wild bee's nest is a bee's *bike* (Co. Down); *missly* is lonely, solitary (Belfast; Mr. Murray says Jamieson gives it for Roxburghshire, but he never heard it, it is ags. misalíce), *brulliment* disturbance (Glenarn, Co. Antrim), *glam* grasp or sudden clutch (Belfast), *hoke* to make a hole (Sc. howk), hence *the hoques* a game played with *peeries* pegtops, which are to *hoque* one another.

All my authorities state that the English from different parts of Ireland is decidedly different, but they are not prepared to say how it is different. It is evident that there is a considerable field for investigation here. The R is strongly trilled. There is an Irish *r* which seems to occupy the whole tongue in its trill, and may hence be written (*ˌr*), but I have not investigated it. The H is always pronounced, except in French words, and the WH is, says Mr. Murray, as in Scotland, varying between (*wh*, *kwh*). The peculiar dental T, D, before R, are considered under D, in the Alphabetical arrangement of the Consonants, No. 3, below.

My inquiries as to the "brogue" have not resulted in any very satisfactory information. It seems to me that we must study the Irish habits of Celtic pronunciation, and the de-formation of English by persons naturally speaking Celtic, before we can form a proper judgment on the brogue. Thus Mr. Murray, from his own Irish experience, defines the brogue as speaking English with Celtic habits of utterance—1) in the pronunciation of consonants, as the rolling *r* (*ˌr*), the post-aspiration (*ph*, *bh*), the dental or bi-dental (*t*, *d*) before this (*ˌr*), and excessive palatalisation of (*l*, *n*, *k*, *g*); 2) in the vowels (*i*) for (*ī*), (*o*) for (*ə*, *æ*), (*ee*) for (*ii*), all three of which appear doubtful to me, as the last seems certainly xviii th century English; and 3) most of all in the intonation, which appears full of violent ups and downs, or rather precipices and chasms of force and pitch, almost disguising the sound to English ears. In this work I have generally omitted to dwell on intonation, because, at all times extremely difficult to catch and describe in living speech, it was hopeless to recover it in the past. But in local speech intonation is very characteristic, and for Scotch and Irish it is generally unmistakable, although so difficult to describe. Mr. Graves says Cork and Killarney are marked by a peculiar accent on the ultimate syllable, a high key, and a brogue that is never lost. Even the gentry partake of this peculiarity. This brogue, when

once heard, can never be forgotten. Kilkenny, says Mr. Graves, has a peculiar drawling brogue, which he endeavours to write thus: *Calf* caalf, *Margaret* Maargaret, *clean* claane, *height* hoith, *potatoes* pyaatees, *wheat* whate, *father* faather, *door* dure, where *aa* is French *a*, except when answering to *ea*. Mr. Graves also remarks that "in the ballads of the peasantry the consonants at the ends of lines are ignored, it is enough if the vowels jingle together," and adds that this is also the rule of Irish poetry. That is to say, the Irish are still content with assonances, which had disappeared from English poetry before the immigration. In some modern street ballads of Belfast, sent me by Mr. W. H. Patterson, I find: name vain, shame train;—found known, surprise sight, found down, hands land;—eve grief, time line;—tin limb, mixed bricks, line pantomime;—kneel field;—alone home, eyes high, strong on;—chalk walked, malt walked, shock walked, hot clock, stop walked, talk walked, knocked walked (here every stanza ended with 'walked,' and the rhymester was evidently hard up);—remember surrender, perished cherish;—march smash, toast force;—cared bed;—sobbed Lord, joy smiles while;—found town. But by far the greater number of rhymes are perfect, although sometimes the authors seem to have had no rhymes at all "*convanient*," as when they condescend to: comrade poor Pat, morning darling, explain line, spring strung, kneeled side. It is very seldom that an Irish pronunciation comes in as: door sure, scream same.

Mr. Graves gives the following as "a fair specimen of the Kilkenny English of the last generation, *i.e.* as spoken by the old people," and adds that national school education is fast destroying these peculiarities; he says also that this dialect has evidently been influenced by an early English colonisation, and that the speakers use very good English, not clipping their words much. The bracketed explanations are his own.

"Shure yer 'Oner never seen so clane [clear-complexioned] a boy, [unmarried man,] or likely [handsome] a colleen [girl] as them two that was marrid the week afore last.—Is it what the dacent couple had to depind [the *i* sounded like Italian *i*] on for their livin, yer oner is axin? Sorra a haporth but God's goodness, and the quarter of pyates [pronounced as two syllables, pya-te's, a quarter of an acre of potatoes] the boy sot last Easter.—Is it after the woman [the speaker's wife] yer Riverence is axin? Och she's bad intirely with the faver, and the

childhre down [sick] along with her. Glory be to God! an sorra an egg or a dhrop of milk meself has to give the crathers, becace the fox, the thief of the world, tuck the hins, an the cow's run dhry with the red murrin, not a dhrop inthered thir lips since yistherday but could wather.—Yer Riverence is a dacent gintleman, and won't see a poor craathur in want uv a bit to aate. The baaste perished [died] on me last week, and sorra a sup of milk I have for the childhre. It's kind faather [proving yourself kin to your father] for yer oner to be good to the poor."

Most words are here in received spelling, some occasionally in

both received and characteristic spelling; probably not one was altogether in received pronunciation.

With regard to the letter *a*, I have been told that the first letters of the alphabet are called (*ææ*, *bee*, *see*, *deee*), and that *barrel* is (*baa·ril*), and so on. But nothing of this is shewn in the above or in the following orthography.

In re-arranging Mr. D. Patterson's words, the ordinary spelling is put in italics, his phonetic spelling follows in roman letters, with *B* annexed, and *C* if this is used in Cork, *S* if in Scotch, *WS* in West and *SS* in South Scotch, and *SE* in Scotch English. Sometimes the word is re-spelled or only a single letter is added to shew the differences. When *C* is put after the usual spelling, it shews that at Cork the received, or what is there considered as the received, pronunciation is used. Sometimes this plan is specially broken through for brevity, as explained on each occasion.

Mr. D. Patterson seems to use *ee*, *ai*, *ah*, *au*, *oa*, *oo*, in closed syllables for (*ii*, *ee*, *aa*, *AA*, *oo*, *au*), and *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, for (*i*, *e*, *æ*, *o*, *ə*), but (*ɛ*, *ə*) may be meant, and he seems to have no sign for (*u*). In open syllables, or with a final *e* mute, (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*) seem to be (*ee*, *ii*, *ái* *éi*, *oo*, *iú*), and *ou* is (*áu*). The two sounds (*ái*, *éi*) will be spoken of under *i* long.

1. Miscellaneous.

To begin with a few instances which cannot be easily classed under letters. We have not unknown deformations of words in *column* *colyum* *B C SE*, and *tremendous* *tthremen-dyay-iss* *B*, *tthremendus* *C*, which appears rather as (*trime·ndzhəs*) in English, but *massacre* *massacrai* *B*, *massacree* *B*, *massacra* *C*, is very peculiar. The three following are usual enough in England: *coroner* *crowner* *B*, *C* or *corner*, *courtesy* *cutrthy* *B C*, *poem* *pome* *B C SE*, (*poi·em*) *S*, but *process* *C*, *pross* *B*, seems to be simply (*prō·ses*) abridged, and *portmanteau* *portmanteyea* *B*, where *yea* = (*je*), or *portmanchu* *C*, is a mere local mispronunciation in *B*, where 'portmankai' has also been heard. Initial syllables are lost in *apprentice* *C*, *prentice* *B S*, *enlist* *list* *B S C*, and perhaps a final *t* in *lancet* *lance* *B S C*, which looks, however, more like a different usage.

Accent is thrown back, as regards received pronunciation, in *brigadier* *brig'adier* *B*, *cavalier* *cav'alier* *B*, *engineer* *en'gineer* *B*, *fusilier* *fu'silier* *B*, *mankind* *man'kine* *B C*, and *S* for accent, *parishioner* *par'ishioner* *B C*; and forward in *contrary* *contra'ry* *B S C*, in *B* and *C* we ought certainly to have *tth*, *desultory* *desul'tory* *B*, *desul'tthory* *C*, *discipline* *discip'line* *B S C*, *disciplined* *discipl'ed* *B*, *disputable* *dispu'table* *B C*, *disputant* *dispu'tant* *B*,

district *C*, *district'* *B*, *exemplary* *exem'plary* *B S C*, *industry* *indus'try* *B S*, *indus'thry* *C*, as it certainly should be in *B*, *inventory* *inven'tory* *B S*, *inven'tthory* *C*, *lamentable* *lament'able* *B S C*, *maintenance* *maintai'nance* *B C*, (*menti'nans*) *S*, *subaltern* *subal'tern* *B*.

2. Vowels.

A is sometimes but rarely broadened into (*AA*, *ə*), as *cabal* *C*, *cabaul* *B*, *S* (*a*), *canal* *C*, *canaul* *B*, *S* (*a*), *tassel* *torsel* *B C*, *S* (*a*). The general tendency is towards thinness, which takes several degrees. Thus, *alderman* *C*, *alderman* *B*, that is, with (*æ*l) not (*AA*l), agrees with the retention of (*æ*) after *w*, which goes through the Belfast pronunciation, answering to *S* or *SE* (*a*), but, except in the one word *wasp* *wasp* = (*wæsp*) *B C*, seems to be unknown in *C*, where the received pronunciation prevails, the examples being: *qualify*, *quality*, *quantity*, *quarrel*, *quarry*, *squabble*, *squad*, *squander*, *swab*, *swaddle*, *swallow*, *swamp*, *swan*, *swop*, *swarm*, *swarthy*, *wadding*, *waddle*, *wallet*, *wallow*, *want*, *war*, *ward*, *warn*, *wart*, *warblē*, *warm*, *warp*, *warrior*, *wash*, *watch*, *wattle*, and *what*.

The short *a* seems to be lengthened to (*ee*) in *ration* *rashin* *B C*, *nag* *C*, *naig* *B S*, and falls quite into short (*e*, *ɛ*) in *apparel* *apprel* *B C*, *bandy* *C*, *bendy* *B*, *branch* *C*, *brench* *B*, (*brensh*) *S*, *calico* *C*, *kelligo* *B*, *cartridge*

kettridge B, or katthrij C, *damsel* C, demsel, S (e), *examine* C, exemine B, *example* C, exemple B, *January* C, Jenuary B, ma'am C, mem B, (mæm mem) S, *mangle* C, mengle B, *slant* C, slent B, (sklænt) S, *reach* (i) in *hang* C, hing B S (e'), *many* C, minny B, *has* C, his B, *have* C, hiv B.

A short often sounds as *e* short in almost any word, but in Belfast this pronunciation is confined to words in which *a* is preceded by (k, g), or followed by (k, g, q). What shade of short *e* this may be is not known; possibly (e), but Mr. Murray suggests that it may be only a too narrow pronunciation of (æ), as a rebound from Scotch (a, á), and doubts whether a Southern Englishman would feel it too narrow. In Cork nothing of the kind is known. The following are some of the examples: *bag* beg, *cannel* kennel, *cant* kent, *carry* kerry, *cattle* kettle, *cavern* kevern, *drags* dregs, *fang* feng, *gabble* gebble, *galley* gelley, *gas* guess, *hack* heck, *hag* heg, *in fact* in feck, *knaek* neck, *lag* leg, *pack* peck, *pang* peng, *plank* plenk, *rack* reck, *rank* renk.

CAR- GAR- are usually *kyar*- *gyar*- in Belfast, but sometimes *kare*- *gare*-. The first is just known in Cork. Neither are known in South Scotch.

In was C, wuz B, S occ., we have probably an occasional B use, and *vacation* C, vocation B, is no doubt mere confusion. Unaccented A is perhaps exceptionally treated in *America* *Americay* B C, and *'Meriky* C.

A long seems to be in Ireland naturally (ææ), but much further examination is here necessary. D. Patterson notes that -ar is often called (-eer), possibly (-æær), and that when following *k* a *y* is introduced, as *kyar*, *skyar*, for *car*, *scar*. This and the long -are must in general be passed over, to note *char* C, *char* B SE, *farm* C, *form* B, *dare* dar B S C, and *acorn* C, *ahcorn* B S, *panorama* panoramma B S C, *rather* C, *rether* B, S (ree).

AE is noted as *spae* C, *spae* B, but the meaning of the pronunciation is not obvious.

AI. Only *again* C, *again* B SE, *against* C, *against* B SE, *said* C, *said* B SE, are noticed.

AU is exceptionally pronounced in *assault* C, *assult* B, *auger* C, *ogre* B, *jaundice* jendiez B, *jaundis* C. The regular sound is marked as *a*, but whether this means (æ) or (ææ) or (aa)

is not noted. The C is as received, the S has (aa, aa) always, and the English has (AA), hence I only give B in *brawl* bral, *claw* cla, *crawl* cral, *fawn* fan, *flaw* fla, *gnaw* na, *hawthorn* hathorn, *jaw* ja, *gnaw* na, *law* la, *paw* pa, *saw* sa, *sprawl* spral, *tawny* tanny.

E short is apparently lengthened in B, and not in C, in *bet* C, *bait* B, *led* C, *laid* B, *precious* C, *prayshayis* B, *shed* C, *shade* B. It is occasionally deepened to (æ) as in *desk* C, *dask* B, (dæsk) S, *grenadier* grannidier B S C, *wren* ran B WS C, *wretch* C, *catch* B, S (w'r), *wrestle* rassel B WS C; but its general tendency is to sharpen into (i), as in *bench* binch B C, *besom* bizzim B, (bæzəm) S, *bless* C, *bliss* B, S (e'), *brethren* C, *brithren* B, S (e'), *cherry* C, *chirry* B, S (e'), *chest* C, *chist* B, occ. C, (ke'st) S, *clever* C, *clivver* B, S (e'), *crevice* C, *crivvis* B, S (e'), *devil* divvil B C, S (e'), *engine* injine B C, S (e'), *ever* C, *ivver* B, S (e'), *every* C, *ivvery* B, S (e'), *jerk* C, *jirk* B, *jet* C, *jit* B, S (e'), *kernel* C, *kirnel* B, *merry* C, *mirry* B, S (e'), *never* C, *nivver* B, S (e'), *next* nixt B C, S (e'), *premises* primmises B C, *red* C, *rid* B, S (e'), *shettie* shittie B, S (e'), *speckled* C, *sprickled* B S, *together* C, *together* B, S (e'), *twenty* twinti B C, *whether* C, *whither* B, S (e'), *wrench* wrinch B C, *yes* yis B, *yis* yes C, (je's) S, *yesterday* yisttherday B C, S (ye's), *yet* yit B C, S (e'), and in *senna* C, *seeni* B, (se'ni) S, it seems to be even lengthened into (ii). Although the tendency does not seem to have always reached C in these cases, it is widely diffused, and the above list is far from containing all the instances that might be given.

E long is often (ee) or (ee), where it was so in the XVIIth century, as in *decent* daicent B C, *equal* aiquil B C, *extreme* exththaim B C, *female* faimil B, *faimail* C, *fever* favur B, *fayvür* C, *frequent* fraiquent B C, *immediately* immaidlyent B, *immaidjutly* C, *scheme* skaim B C, *secret* saicret B C, *t tedious* taidious B C. The B short pronunciation in *hero* herro B, *hair* C, does not extend to C. In those words where it was spelled or might be spelled *ee*, the (ii) sound had already prevailed by the XVIIth century, but *beestings* beestins B, *baystins* baystees C, *queer* quair B C, are partial exceptions. The pronunciations *were* wur B, *wor* C, *threepence* thruppence B SE, *thrippence* C, *arise* otherwise. But where

EA was introduced in the xvith century, we know that the sound (ee, ee) remained in the xvii th, and hence we are not surprised at finding it almost uniformly so pronounced in Ireland. The remarkable point is that this pronunciation occurs in Belfast also, whereas it has nearly disappeared from the Scotch, whence it was derived. That it really existed there once, appears by some few remains. Thus *reason* is now in SS (rɪ'z'n), but in the common phrase *reason or none*, used adverbially, they still say (rɛ'z'n-ɔrn'n). Mr. Murray (in a private letter) says that there are many similar facts which lead him to suppose that the SS (i') in the xvith century was still (ɛ) or (æ), and that it travelled through (e₁, e¹) to (e¹, i'). In examining the words in EA, it is hence convenient to divide them into groups.

1) Those words in *ea* now (ee) or (ee) both in B and C, but not in S, these are: *bead* baid, *beagle* baigle, *beak* bake, *beam* bame, *bean* bane, *beast* baste, *beat* bait, *bleach* blaiçh, *breach* braich, *cease* saice, *cheap* chaip, *cheat* chait, *clean* clain, *creak* craik, *cream* craim, *crease* craice, *creature* craiththir B, *craitthur* C, *deacon* daikin, *deal* dale, *dean* dane, *each* aitch, *eager* aiger, *eagle* aigle, *ease* aize, *east* aist, *eat* ate, *feasible* faizible, *feast* faist, *feat* fate, *flea* flay, *freak* fraik, *grease* n. grace, v. graze, *heal* hale, *heathen* haithen, *key* gazy, *lead* lade, *leaf* laif, *league* laig, *leak* lake, *lean* lane, *lease* lace, *least* laist, *leave* lave, *meal* male, *mean* mane, *measles* maizels, *meat* mate, *pea* pay, *peace* pace, *peal* pale, *please* plays, *preach* praich, *reach* raich, *real* rail, *reap* rape, *rear* rair, *reason* raisin, *repeat* repait, *sea* say, *seal* sale, *seam* same, *seat* sait, *sheaf* shaif, *sheath* shaith, *sneak* snake, *speak* spake, *steal* stale, *streak* stthraik, *stream* stthraim, *tea* tay, *teach* taich, *treacle* tthraicle, *treason* tthraizin, *treat* tthrait, *veal* vale, *wean* wane, *wcave* wave, *wheat* whait, *wreak* rake.

2) Words in *ea* having the (ee, ee) sound in S, as well as B and C, *breathe* braithe, *endeavour* endaiver, *neat* nait, *weak* wake.

3) Words in *ear* having the (aa) or (ææ) in B, and the regular (æa) or (er) in C, *dearth* darth B, S (æ), *earth* C, arth B, S (æ), *heard* C, hard B, S (æ), *learn* larn B C, S (æ), *search* C, sarch B, S (æ).

4) Words in *ea* having (e, ɛ) in both B and C, *leap* lep, *meadow* medda.

5) Other words in *ea*, mostly treated differently in B and C, *beard* baird B, *deaf* deaf B S, *daif* def C, *deafen* deeve B S, *diften* C, *malleable* mallible B S C, *measure* C, *mizhir* B, S (e¹), *peasant* C, *payzant* B, *pheasant* C, *fazant* B, *ready* C, *riddy* B, S (e¹), *squeamish* squammish B, *squaimish* C, *sweat* C, *swait* B, *threat* C, *thrait* B, *treacherous* tthraicheriss B, *tthrecheris* C, *weapon* C, *waypin* B.

EI is not sufficiently exemplified, but the xvith century pronunciation appears to be the rule, *either* aither B C, *leisure* laizhir B, *laizhur* C, *inveigle* invaigle B C, *seize* saize B C. Mr. Healy thinks that the *ei* is not so broadly pronounced as *ea*, but I have not been able to determine whether they differ as (ee, ee).

EW. The few cases given are quite exceptional, *chew* chow B S, *chau* C, *skewer* skivver B C, *Matthew* Matha B C.

ER is almost universally written *ar* in Mr. D. Patterson's orthography. Whether that means (aar, ar) or (ær) I do not know. The Scotch has generally (ær) in such words. B and C sometimes agree, and also often differ. The words given are as follows: *certain* sartin B C, S (æ), *clergy* clargy B C, S (æ), *commercial* C, *commarcial* B, *concern* consarn B, S (æ), *convert* convert B C, S (æ), *desert* desart B C, S (æ), *deserve* C, *desarve* B, S (æ), *determine* C, *detarmine* B, S (æ), *divert* divart B C, S (æ), *errand* arran B, *errend* C, *eternal* C, *etarnal* B, S (æ), *ferrule* C, *farrel* B, S (æ), *Hercules* Harklis B, *infernal* C, *infarnal* B, S (æ), *merchant* C, *marchant* B, *Mercury* Markery B, *mercy* C, *marcy* B, S (æ), *nerve* C, *narve* B, S (æ), *perch* C, *parch* B, *perjury* C, *parjury* B, S (æ), *perpendicular* C, *perpendicular* B, *person* C, *parson* B, S (æ), *serge* C, *sarge* B, S (æ), *sermon* C, *sarmin* B, S (æ), *serpent* sarpint B C, S (æ), *serve* C, *sarve* B, S (æ), *stern* starn B, S (æ), *terrible* C, *tarrible* B, S (æ), *terrier* tarrier B C, (tærier) S, *vermin* varmin B C, S (æ), *verse* C, *varse* B.

I short when written *ee* by Mr. D. Patterson represents the Scotch short (i), and does not reach to C: *brick* C, *breck* B, *delicious* C, *dileeshayis* B S, *giggle* C, *geegle* B S (i), *idiot* eedyet B S, *ajut* C, *malicious* C, *mileeshayis*

B S, *militia* C, *mileeshy* B, *snivel* C, *sneevil* B, *ridiculous* rideekilis B S (i), *rdikilis* C, *wick* C, *week* B, (wik) S. Even the changes of *i* into (e, æ) in *miracle* merricle B C, (me'r-ik'l) S, *milt* melt B C, (me'lt) S, *rid* C, *red* B, (re'd) S, which is only partially C, and into (æ, æ) in *brittle* C, *bruckle* B S, *whip* C, *whup* B S, are good Scotch. In *ruffian* ruffin B C the *i* seems merely a mark of the indistinct final syllable, as used so much by Buchanan, see example on p. 1053.

I long is exceptionally pronounced (ee, ee) in *diameter* C, *dayameter* B, *fatigue* ftaig B, *fataig* C, *intrigue* inthraig B C, *lilac* C, *laylock* B S, occ. C, *quiet* quate B WS, quite C, of which *fatigue*, *intrigue* are remarkable, since *oblige* C, *obledge* B, and *obleedge* C, does not follow suit. Notwithstanding the usual impeachment that Irish people say *oi* naturally, I am led to suppose that *giant* joyant B C, *riot* royet B, *riot* C, are also exceptional.

In Belfast there appear to be two regular sounds of long *i*, corresponding to the Scotch sounds, see § 2, No. 10 below, and similarly distributed, but not always affecting the same words, nor, as far as I can discover, pronounced exactly in the same manner. According to Mr. D. Patterson, the first sound

B (ái) and S (ái).

I was hurt
My native country *I'll* disown
The *die* is cast
He will *dye* it red
He *dyed* his hair
He was *dyeing* it first
He *pried* into the secrets of all
They *tied* Rose fast
That gold is *mine*

This distinction is not appreciated by Mr. W. H. Patterson, who hears in Belfast, *a'm goin to Benger, a wouldn't if a was you*, and thinks that *eye* is called exactly (ái). But he adds, "a Cork man would say, *oi've hurt mee oi*." This Mr. Healy, being a Cork man, repudiates. He knows in general only one pronunciation of long *i*, which he considers to be (éi), and, after noticing the habitual pronunciation of *by*, *my*, as (bi, mi), adds, "Some of them also say *moi* for *my*, but these are very few; in fact, that word and *noine* for *nine* are the only ones I can speak of as having heard personally of the change of *i* into *oi*." He had forgotten *giant* joyant, which he had already acknowledged. Rev. Jas. Graves "never remarked any

is (ái), and the second (éi) or (æ'i), or (éæi) with the first element slightly lengthened. The first occurs in almost all words where long *i* precedes *r*, *v*, *z*, *th*, and in a few where *y*, *ye*, *ie*, are final.

The following words are said to have (ái) and in Scotch (ái), and hence are both B and S: alive arrive blithe buy by client connive contrive cry deny deprive derive descry despise dive dry dye expire fie five fry hive my pie ply prior prize pry revise revive rye scythe shy sire size sly spy sty surmise thy tie tithe try vie wry.

The following six have (ái) in B, and (ái) in SE, but not in vernacular S: byre desire dire fire hire tire.

The following two have (ái) in B and (ii) in S: briar, friar.

Other cases have the second or (éi) sound in B, and generally also in S, but the following eight have (éi) in B and (ái) in S: choir idol idolize iron piracy pirate quire squire.

This double sound of long *i*, which is not in received English (but see Granville Sharpe, above p. 1053, *c'*), is very puzzling to an Englishman. Mr. D. Patterson gives the following sentences to illustrate the two sounds in B. The S distribution of the sounds does not always agree with the Irish.

B (éi).

His *eye* was hurt—S (éi)
I will my native *isle* disown—S (éi)
They *die* at last
He will *die* in bed
He *died* in despair
He was *dying* of thirst
His *pride* was the cause of his fall—S (éi)
The *tide* rose fast—S (éi)
That is a gold *mine*—S (éi)

difference [between *I* and *eye*] in the southern parts of Ireland," but adds, "*eye* is pronounced *ee* in the north." However, he writes *height* hoit. Now Sheridan and Knowles, both Irishmen, make the English sound of long *i* = (ái), see (108, *c*), and only differing from *oy*, made (AA'i), by the length of the first element. Now what caused this, and what makes English novelists write *poi* for the Irish sound of *pie*? I have had very little opportunity of observing genuine peasant Irish. But I am inclined to think that the effect is produced by 'gutturalising' (1107, *c*), whereby the lower part of the pharynx being widened more than the upper, an effect is produced similar to the fourth degree of rounding (1114, *d'*),

so that the sound (ə'i) becomes (ə'ɪ) or very nearly (ə'ɪ), see (1100, d'). At any rate, this produces the nearest approach to the effect I have noticed. Of course any such change would be entirely repudiated by the speaker. The following are a few of the words which take (éi, E'i) in Belfast: *eye, idle, ice, Irish, pipe, pile, pike, pint, spite, spider, spice, bible, bite, bile, bind, life, fight, fine, find, vice, vile, vine, wipe, wife, wise, wile, wire, wind, twice, swine, white, whine, quiet, tight, tide, tile, time, sigh, sight, side, silent, sign, shine, child, chime, high, lie, liar, life, light, like, lime, line, oblige, fly, flight, slight, slide, slice, glide, ripe, right, wright, write, ride, rice, rhyme, bribe, bright, bridal, brine, fright, Friday, thrive, tripe, trice, stripe, strife, drive, gripe, kite, kind, guide, guile, might, mice, miser, mild, smite, nigh, night, knight, knife, nice, snipe*, and their compounds. Of these *oblige* had been previously given as 'obledge,' so that probably both pronunciations occur, but the present is the one considered by Mr. D. P. to be 'correct.' "When *ī* precedes another vowel," says Mr. Healy, "the *ī* only is heard, as *Brian* brine, *lion* line, *diamond* dimond, *crying* crine."

O short seems to be made (oo) or (o') in *cord* coard B C, (*cúard*) S, *sort* soart B C, (*súart*) S.

In the following words, where the received dialect has (ə, ɐ), we find (ə) retained: *constable* constable B S C, *govern* C, *govern* B SE, *hover* hover B SE, *none* none B C SE, but *one* waun B SE, *won* C, *nothing* C, *nothing* B SE, *oven* C, *oven* B SE, but B and C shew different habits, and the contrary use of (ə, ɐ) for (ə) seems confined to B in *body* buddy, *for* fur, *hod* hud, *nor* nur, or ur.

That the (ɐ)-sound after (w) should become (e, ɛ) is not strange, but Mr. Healy will not allow it in *Cork*. *wolf* C, *wulf* B, *woman* C, *wumman* B S, and even in the plural *women* C, *wumen* B WS.

The squeezing of (ə) into (æ) is more common, but although I have heard of its existence in *Cork*, Mr. Healy allows an approach to it only in one instance. *bobbin* C, *habbin* B, *bots* C, *batts* B, *chop* C, *chap* B WS, *crop* C, *crap* B, and occ. C, WS, *dobbin* C, *dabbin* B, *hob* C, *hab* B WS, *hop* C, *hap* B WS, *job* C, *jab* B, *knob* C, *nab* B, *lobby* C, *labby* B, *loft* C, *laft* B WS, *mop* C,

map B, *off* C, *aff* B WS, *prop* C, *prap* B, *Robert* C, *Rabert* B, (*Rab*) S, *shop* C, *shap* B WS, *slop* C, *slap* B WS, *soft* saft B WS, *saft* sahft C, *stop* C, *stap* B WS, *top* C, *tap* B WS.

The further gradation to (ɪ) appears in *Donegal* Dinnegal B, *Dunnegal* C, *does* C, *diz* B S, *worsted* wistid B, *wustid* C, but is not universal. In B it seems fixed for -*tion* -shin B, rather -shöön, than -shin or -shün C. For -in as indistinct (-ɪn), see *Buchanan* (1054). It is possible, therefore, that this may be an old Scottish tendency, retained in Belfast.

O long, OA, OE, are generally the same as in the received dialect, but *board* boord B C, *coarse* coorse B S C, *sloat* slot B, are exceptions, though (slot) is the common technical word in England. Before *l* there is the usual old change into an (ə'u) diphthong, now very characteristic of Irish: *bold* boul B C, and *bould* C, *bolt* Boul B, C gen., *cold* coul B, *could* C, *colt* coul B, C gen., *hold* houl B C, and *hould* C, *jolt* joul B, C gen., *mole* moul B, C gen., *old* oul B C, *pole* C, *poul* B, *roll* roul B C, *scold* scould B C, *sold* soul B, *sould* C, *told* toul B C, and *tould* C, but *gold* goold B SS C. Exceptional changes occur in *osier* oisier B, *pony* C, *pouny* B S, *swore* C, *sore* B, *tobacco* tobecky B, *tobacky* C; but *phoenix* fainix B C belongs rather to long *e*.

OO, though generally remaining, even in *door* B C, *floor* floor B C, (*flær*) S, becomes (ə, ɐ) in many words, but the usage varies, as *hood* C, *hud* B, *look* C, *luck* B WS, *shook* shuck B C WS, *stood* stud B C, *took* tuck B C WS, *wood* C, *wud* B S, *wool* C, *wul* B; but *loose* C, *louse* B S, which also is common in English dialects.

OI, OY. No examples given by Mr. D. P., but the usual (ə'i) sound in *boil*, *point*, *join*, etc., is I believe common.

OU, OW, in the following has an (ə'u) sound, contrary to received usage: *bowl* bowl B S C, *gauge* gauge B C, *pour* C, *pour* B C also and more commonly, (*puur*) S, *route* rout B S, *shoulder* showlthter B C, *soul* soul B C, *tour* tour B S. On the contrary, the received (ə'u) is (oo) in *devour* C, *devoar* B, and (uu) in *couch* cooch B S, *course* coorse B S C, *court* coort B S C, *crouch* crooch B S, *drought* drooth B S C, *pouch* pooch B C, *slouch* slooch B S.

This becomes (ə, ɐ) in *could* C, *cud* B, *courier* currier B S C, *mourn* murn

B S C, *should* C, *shud* B, *would* C, *wud* B, and (ə) in *nourish* C, *norrish* B.

Final -ow becomes regularly indistinct (-ə) in B S C, as *fellow* fella, and -ough fares the same in *borough* C, *borra* B, *thorough* C, *thorra* B. But we find the favourite -i in *window* windey B C, possibly etymologically founded.

U short is irregular in *puppet* C, *pappet* B, *torpentine* torpentine B C, *torpentine* C, *supple* soople B S C, and where the received pronunciation retains the old (u), has adopted, but chiefly in B, the XVIIth century (ə, ʌ) in *ambush* C, *ambush* B SE, *bull* C, *bull* B SE, *bullet* C, *bullet* B SE, *bulletin* C, *bulletin* B SE, *bullion* C, *bullion* B SE, *bullock* C, *bullock* B SE, *bully* C, *bully* B SE, *bulrush* C, *bulrush* B SE, *bulwark* C, *bulwark* B SE, *bush* C, *bush* B SE, *bushel* C, *bushel* B SE, *bushy* C, *bushy* B SE, *cushion* cushion B SE C, *full* C, *full* B SE, *pudding* C, *pudding* B SE, *pull* C, *pull* B SE, (pə'u) SS, *pullet* C, *pullet* B SE, *pulley* C, *pulley* B SE, *pulpit* pulpit B C SE, (pu'pət) S, *puss* C, *puss* B SE, *put* C, *put* B, (pe't) S. There is the usual change to (i, e) in *bury* C, *birry* B, *just* jist B, and *jis* C, (dzhe'st) S, *sich* sich B C, (se'k) S. For the prefix *un-* we find *on-* B C, sometimes ðön- C, never *un-*, as *unwell* onwell B C, etc.

U diphthongal, commonly called long u, becomes (i) or (e), or (ə) when unaccented, as *ague* aigay B, *aigee* C, (iə'ge) S, *argue* C, *argay* B, (a'rgi) S and C, *education* C, *eddication* B, *impudent* impident B C S, *manufacture* C, *mannafecthir* B, *value* C, *valyea* S. Also we find the usual *suite* shoot B, and *buoy* boy B C.

3. Consonants.

B is called (v) in *marble* marvel B C, S occ. B is omitted in Belfast and Scotch, but not in Cork between *m* and syllabic *l*, as *bramble* C, *brammil* B, *crumble* crummil B, *fumble* C, *fummil* B S, *gamble* C, *gammil* B S, *grumble* C, *grummil* B S, *jumble* C, *jummil* B S, *mumble* C, *mummil* B S, *ramble* C, *rammil* B S, *rubble* rummil B S, *scramble* C, *scrammil* B S, *stumble* C, *stummil* B S, *thimble* C, *thimmel* B S, *tumble* C, *tummil* B S, and between *m* and *er* in *timber* C, *timmer*, and even in Cork also in *cucumber* cucummer B S C, where the initial *cu-* for the natural xvii th century historical *cow-* is curious.

C functioning as (s) becomes (sh), as *s* often does, in *spancel* spenshil B S, *spansil* C; *guttapercha* guttaperka B C is a mere error of ignorance.

D and T in connection with R receive a peculiar dentality all over Ireland. This dentality is not noted in conjunction with any other letter but R, either immediately following, as in *dr-*, *tr-*, or separated by an unaccented vowel, as *-der-*, *-ter-*, the *r* being of course trilled. No notice is taken of the dentality of D, T, by Mr. D. Patterson in any other case, and he tells me that it does not otherwise occur in Belfast, but it is never omitted in these cases. Whether the word begins with the D, T or not, whether the D, T be preceded by S initially or by any long or short vowel, or any consonant in the accented syllable or not, whether the unaccented *-er-*, *-ar-*, etc., are followed by a vowel or another consonant, seems to make no difference. The dentality always occurs in relation to a following R, and not otherwise. No example is given of dentality being caused by preceding *r*—which is curious in connection with the apparent non-dentality of Sanscrit R under the same circumstances. The old Forth and Bargoyle dialect seems to shew an old dental *t*, *d*, even under other circumstances, as will be discussed in Chap. XII. In England, as has been pointed out at length, *t*, *d* are not generally dental (pp. 1095-6). We shall find that dental (*t*, *d*) occur frequently in English dialects, but always and only in connection with *r*, probably (*r*), under precisely the same circumstances as the Irish dental. We shall even find that in England phrases or varieties of dialect are distinguished by the presence and absence of this dentality. We have nothing in older English to lead us to a knowledge of the existence of dental (*t*, *d*), and their distinction from coronal (*t*, *d*). There is also no trace of it in Scotch. It commences further south in England, in Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Peak of Derbyshire, etc. How did it get into Irish-English? It is believed to be Celtic, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with Celtic usages, or the English customs of Scotch and Welsh Celts in speaking English, to form any opinion. Another question rises: is the Irish dentality the same as the Indian, French, and dialectal English?

Mr. D. Patterson writes it *tth*, *dth*, and, in answer to my request that he would describe the action of the tongue in pronouncing it, wrote: "This vulgar pronunciation of *t* and *d* is caused by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth instead of the gums," shewing that his own (*t*, *d*) are gingival instead of coronal, and so far making his dentals the same as (*t*, *d*). But he goes on to say: "The explosent *t* is first sounded, but, on withdrawing the tongue from the teeth, the sound of *th* as in *thus* (*dh*) is unavoidably pronounced between the *t* and the *r*." That is, his *tthram*, *dthram* = (*tdh.ræm*, *ddh.ræm*), which of course are quite possible, although it would thus be somewhat difficult to distinguish the first word from the second. The Rev. James Graves says: "The tongue is pressed firmly against the teeth and retracted, when the peculiar sound above described is pronounced, and before the succeeding vowel is vocalised." Here the (*dh*) disappears, and we have (*træm*, *dræm*) simply. Mr. W. H. Patterson says: "The tip and sides of the tongue are jambed tightly against the teeth and palate, by the muscular action of the tongue, assisted by the lower teeth, which are brought against it, and no sound issues till the tongue is removed, which is not done till the pressure of air from within is considerable (at least as compared with the amount of pressure used in saying *thin* or *then*). I think that this 'coarse and thickened pronunciation' owes its existence to the important part played by the lower teeth, which keep the tongue from moving. In fact the word cannot issue till the tongue is drawn backwards and downwards out of the gap between the upper and lower teeth which it had been closing." It was to meet this case that I introduced the bi-dental (*t*, *d*) on (1120, *b*). If Mr. W. H. P. is correct, therefore, the sound is (*træm*, *dræm*). Mr. Murray, who has been in Ulster, and knows the Westmorland (*t.r*, *d.r*), says: "I do not at all identify the *tth* of Ireland with the North of England dental. To my remembrance it was something distinct, with more (*th*) or aspiration and more moisture in it — a spluttering effect in perfervid oratory, as though the force of the explosion were carrying out the saliva with it. The northern English has a much finer [more delicate]

and more simple-tonely effect." This would make the effect nearly (*tʰ.r*, *dh.r*), the windrush (*ʃh*) and the jerk (*h*) carrying some saliva with them. Mr. Healy, in answer to the question: "is *t* or *d* pronounced dentally before *r*?" says: "Always, and to my Irish ears it would be a great improvement if they adopted or re-adopted it in England for some words. There cannot be a question as to the superior expressiveness of *Tthrash! Murdther!* heard from an Irishman, and the feeble *trash, murder*, heard here!" (dated Newcastle-on-Tyne). It might be possible to amalgamate Mr. W. H. P.'s and Mr. M.'s suggestions, and write (*tʰh.ræm*, *dh.ræm*). But merely English readers would be led to nearly the right sound, most probably, by endeavouring to say (*tth.ræm*, *ddh.ræm*). The following examples are selected from a long list, to shew the varying circumstances under which this dentality or bi-dental postaspiration occurs. All are found both in B and C, unless otherwise marked.

Dthr—*drain* dthrain, *draft* dthraft, *dram* dthram, *drill* dthrill, *droll* dthroll, *drop* C, dthrap B, and occ. C, (*drap*) WS, *drowned* dthrowned, *drunk* dthrunk, *foundry* foundthry, *hundred* hundthert B, hōōndthert C.

-dther — *spider* spidther, *powder* powdther, *scoundrel* scoundthrel, *blunder* blundther, *tender* tendther B, *tindther* C, *thunder* thundther, *murder* murdther, *border* bordther.

Tthr—*trade* tthrade, *tract* tthreck B, *thrack* C, *treble* tthreble, *trifle* tthrifle, *trim* tthrim, *trod* tthrod, *troop* tthroop, *trouble* tthrouble, *trousers* tthrouisers, *truth* tthruth, *trudge* tthrudge, *trythry*, *paltry* palthry, *sultry* sulthry, *sentry* senthry, *country* counthry, *partridge* patthridge.

Stthr—*strange* stthrange, *straight* stthraight, *straw* stthro B, stthrau C, *stretch* C, stthraitch B, *strive* stthrive, *strip* stthrip, *stroke* stthroke, *destroy* destthroy, *strong* stthrong, *struck* stthruck.

-tther — *matter* matther, *doctor* doctthir B, doctthur C, *rafter* raftther, *shelter* shiltther B, sheltther C, *winter* winthter, *chapter* chapthter, *porter* portther, *Ulster* Ulstther, *master* mastther, *sister* sistther, *battery* batthery, *bastard* bastthard, *Saturday* Satthriday B, Satthriday C, *lantern* lantthtern.

Miscellaneous — *children* chiltther,

udder eldther B, *udher* D, *solder* sother B, *saudther* C, (*sa'dər*) S, *consider* consither B, *considther* C, *ladder* leather B S, *ladther* C, *bladder* blether B S, *bladther* C, *fodder* fother B S, *fodther* C, *splendour* splendyour B, *splendthur* C, *nearer* C, *neardther* B. In some of these latter cases most probably *th* B is an error for *tth* or *dth*.

D is omitted—

after R in *gardener* garner B C, *hardly* harly B S C, *lard* C, *lar* B S; after L in *child* chile B C, *field* C, *feel* B WS, *held* C, *hell* B WS, *would* moul B C, *scaffold* skeffil B, *skaffil* C, *wild* wile B C, *world* worl B C WS;

after N in *and* an B S C, *band* C, *ban* B, N and WS, *behind* C, *behine* B, *bind* C, *bine* B, (*be'n*) S, *blind* bline B C, *bound* boun B C, (*bən*) S, *end* C, en B WS, *find* C, *fine* B, (*fe'n*) S, *friend* C, *fren* B WS, *found* foun B C, (*fən*) S, *grand* gran, B C, N and WS, *grind* C, *grine* B, *ground* C, *groun* B, (*grən*) S, *hand* C, *han* B N and WS, *hound* houn B C, *kind* C, *kine* B S, *land* C, *lan* B N and WS, *lend* C, *len* B WS, *mind* mine B S C, *pound* poun B S C, *round* roun B C, *sand* C, *san* B N and WS, *send* C, *sen* B WS, *sound* soun B S C, *stand* C, *stan* B N and WS, *vagabond*, *veggabone* B S, *vaggabone* C, *wind* C, *win* B.

Hence of course D also disappears between N and L, as in *bundle* C, *bunnil* B, *candle* kennel B, *kendle* C, *chandler* chanler B C, *dandle* dannil B, *handle* C, *hannil* B S, *kindle* C, *kennel* B S (*e'*) *spindle* C, *spinnel* B S, *windlass* winlass B C.

The participial *-ed* becomes *-it* or *-t*, contrary to received usage, at least in *crabbed* crabbit B S C, "in the sense of 'cute, not sour, morose,'" C, *crooked* crookit B S C, *killed*, *kilt* B WS C, *naked* nakit B S C, *wicked* wickit B C.

The following are exceptional forms: *soldier* soger B S C, common dialectally in England, *necessity* C, *needcessity* B S, which looks like an attempt to make *necessity* intelligible, but occurring in America (1226, *ba*), may be an old form, although clearly erroneous etymologically, *breadth* brenth B, *breth* C, the last is not at all uncommon in England, especially among dressmakers.

F occasionally becomes voiced in B and S, but not in C apparently, as *calf* C, *calve* B S, *staff* C, *stav* B, (*stav*) S.

G in *blackguard* bleggayard B seems to be merely palatalised before (aa), as *k*

usually is in B. In *drought* dthrooth B C, the (th) represents the lost guttural, but it was only (t) in the xviith and xviiith centuries.

K is not (as in received English) transposed in *ask* ex B, (*aks*) S, ax C, and disappears in *asked* ast B C, which must be considered a form of (*ækst*), and not of (*æskt*). It seems also to disappear in *lukewarm* C, *luewarm* B S, which may also be heard in England.

L is very variously treated in a few words. Its replacement by *n* in *April* Apron C, *flannel* flannen B S C, will be paralleled under N. In *corporal* C, *corpolar* B, we have almost a Spanish interchange of *l* and *r*. In *finch* C *finch* B, *l* is inserted, and in *Walter* Watter B, *Wautther* C, omitted, as of old. In *sluice* C, *sloosh* B, *l* causes a *y* sound to vanish, and in *column* colyum B SE, occ. C, to be inserted!

M in *mushroom* musheroon B C has gone back to its historical *n*. After L it appears to be always vocal: *elm* ellim B S, *ellüm* C, *helm* hellim B, S occ., *hellüm* C, *realm* rellim B, S occ., *rellüm* C, *whelm* whellim B, S occ., *whellüm* C, where, as usual, *i* replaces the indistinct vowel.

N becomes *l* in *chimney* chimley B S, or *chimbly* C, *damson* demsel B, (*de'mhs'l*) S, *remnant* remlet B, and *m* in *brine* C, *brime* S C, *ransack* ramsack B C.

NG in participles and gerunds is regularly (n) in B S C, as *cunning* cunnin B S C, *evening* evenin B S C, *gnawing* gnawin B C, *herring* herrin B S C, *sitting* sittin B S C; in *blacking* blecknin B, S occ., *blacknin* C, there is an evident confusion with *blackening*. In *kingdom* C, *keendom* B, it would appear that the vowel also is lengthened as in the old Forth and Bargo dialect. Before *th* it becomes *n* in *strength* stthrent B S C, *length* lenth B S C. In *dangle* C, *dang'le* B, and all similar words, C like E has ngg (qg), and S like B has ng (q) only, as in *ang-er*, *bung-le*, *sing-er*, *hung-er*, *jang-le*, *jing-le*, *mang-le*, *mong-er*, *ling-er*, *long-er*, *ming-le*, *sing-le*, *strong-er*, *strang-le*, *wrang-le*, *young-er*.

P becomes *b* in *baptism* C, *babtism* B, and often in England, *scrape* scrab B, *scrap* C.

QU is *k*, as often in England, in B and C, in *quoit*, *quorum*, *quote*, *quotient*.

R is often transposed, from before to after, in *afraid* afear'd B C, (*fürd*) S,

bristle C, *birse* B S, *crib* C, *kerb* B, *grin* C, *girn* B C, *pretty purty* B C; and from after to before in *burst* *brust* B, *bust* C, *curb* C, *crub* B S, *curd* *crud* B S C, *scurf*, *scroof* B, *scröf* C, (*scraf*) S. It is also sometimes inserted after *p*, *th*, as in *poker* C, *proker* B, *potatoe* *pratue* B C, and also often *pyaity*, (*tartö*) S, *thistle* C, *thristle* B S. The prior vocalisation of *r* occurs in *February* *Fayberwary* B, *Febery* C, *proprietor* *properietor* S, *properietthor* C, *propriety* *properiety*, B C, *library* *liberary* B S C, *sobriety* *soberiety* B C, *umbrella* *umberella* B S C, none of them uncommon in England, where also *curiosity* *curossity* B C is well known.

S is evidently mistakenly inserted in *molest* *mislist* B, *mülest* C, and omitted in *corpse* C, *corp* B S, but in *sneeze* C, *neeze* B S, the omission, and in *quinsy* *squinnisy* B the insertion, is ancient. It is changed to (*sh*, *zh*), but chiefly in B, in *blunderbuss* *blundtherbush* B, *blundtherbis* C, *fleece* C, *flesh* B, S occ., *grease* *creesh* B S, *crees* C, *harass* C, *harrish* B, *mince* C, *minsh* B S, *rinse* *rensh* B, *rinsh* C, *rinzh* S, *utensil* *utenshil* B S, *utinsil* C. On the contrary SHR evidently creates a difficulty, found also in Scotch, and in Salopian, and *sr* is used for it in B, not in C, in *shrubsrub*, *shrine*, *shrewd*, *shrew*, *shriek*, *shrink*, *shrug*, *shrill*, *shrank*, *shred*, *shrivel*, *shroud*, *shruk*. Is not *shrove* C, *seraff* B, a mere blunder? *Dictionary* *dicksinary* B, *dickshinary* C, is old, and *rubbish* *rubbitch* B, occ. C, is known in English as (*rə·bidzh*).

Although it is, strictly speaking, beyond the scope of this work, it seems advisable to supplement the above account by a notice of some other Belfast peculiarities given in Mr. D. Patterson's book, and their relation to Scotch.

Past Tense.—He *begun* to sing, he *sung* well, he *drunk* water, he *rid* home, he *ta'en* it away, I *seen* him, he *done* it himself. Mr. Murray says that this is quite opposed to Scotch. It is not uncommon in England. *Thriv*, *driv*, *striv*, *riz*, are used for *throve*, *drove*, *strove*, *rose*. I *giv* it him an hour ago, he *come* home this morning, he *run* down stairs. *Sut*, *sput*, *lot*, *brung*, are used for *sat*, *spat*, *lot*, *brought*.

Scotch Words in Belfast.—*Bing* heap, *boke* to retch, *brash* short and sudden illness, *cleek* hook, *clype* large piece, *coggle* to shake, to rock, *coup* to upset,

T becomes *d* in *protestant* *proddisin* B, *proddistin* C, *reticule* *redicule* B, (*rə·dik'l*) S, the latter very common as *ridicule* in England, when ladies' handbags were so called. T is omitted in *crept* *crep* B C, *empty* C, *empy* B S, *fidget* C, *fidge* B S, *hoist* C, *hoice* B S, C occ., *instant* C, *insant* B, *joist* C, *joice* B, *kept* *kep*, B C, *slept* *slep*, B C, *swept* *swep*, B C, *tempt* C, *temp* B S. This would seem natural if it had not been added on in almost the same cases in *attack* *attect* B, *attack* C, *once* *waunts* B C, and *wons-t* C, *twice* *twyste* B, C occ., *sudden* *suddent* B C.

TH has its old form in *throne* *trone* C, and becomes *d* in *farthest* C, *fardest* B, *farthing* *fardin* B, (*fə·rdin*) S, *fathom* C, *faddom* B S, and *though* *doe*, C.

W is omitted in *athwart* *athort* B S.

Y appears as (*dh*) in *yon* C, *thon* (*dhon*) B S, a remarkable form, which admits of explanation, first on the theory of assimilation to *this* and *that*, being used for a second more distant *that*; on the theory of (*dh*) replacing (*gh*) from *ags*, *geond*, or as a mere orthographical mistake, *y* as often standing for *p*, so that *yon* may have been in these the *ags*. *pon*, “(*dhon*) things,” being a construction equivalent to “them things.” Historical proofs are wanting. Mr. Murray takes the first view (*Dial. of S.* p. 186). It will be seen in § 2, No. 12, that the word *yon* is not very common in our dialects. The adverbial form *yonder* is more frequent.

Z is *s* in *lozenge* *lossenger* B S, *lozenger* C.

to barter S, *dunsh* knock against, jolt, butt, *dunt* knock, blow, *dwine* pine, *farl* cake of bread, *footy* mean, paltry, taking a mean advantage at play S, *fozy* spongy, *hoke* make holes, *jeuk* to dodge, *lappered* congealed, clotted, *oxthter* armpit, *prod* to stab, *scrunt* niggard, *scundther* to disgust, (*skə·nər*) S, *sheugh* a ditch (*səkwh*) S, *skelly* squint, *skelp* slap v. and n., *sleekeit* sly, *slocken* slake, quench, *smudge* to smirk, *stoon* pang, ache, *speel* climb, *smush* refuse n. [*quasi* what is smashed], *stoor* dust, *stroop* pipe, sprout, *thole* endure, *thraw* twist, *thud* knock or

thump, *warsh* insipid, tasteless (*warsh*) S, *ween* a quantity.

Unusual words not Scotch.—*Cur-naptious* crabbed, captious, *dotther* to stagger, *floosther* wheedle, *footther* to bungle, a bungler, *jubious* suspicious, mistrustful [dubious?], *jundy* to jostle, *ramp* rank, rancid, *sapple* to soak, to wet thoroughly, *scam* to scorch, *scringe* to creak, *sevendible* thorough, sound, *skelf* a small splinter.

English words in un-English uses.—

1. Scotch. *Even* to impute, to suppose capable of, or guilty of, *terrible* extremely, exceedingly ['terrible' common in Kent], *boast* hollow, (*but's*) S, *clash* a tell tale or idle tale, *clod* to throw, *crack* talk gossip, *gaunt* yawn, *gutters* mire, *loss* to lose, *pang* cram,

scout squirt v. and n.—*here there where* hither thither whither [almost universal in England], *a taste, a lock, a grain*, a very little.

2. Not Scotch. — *Bloodshed* blood-shot, *right* thorough, *them* those [very common dialectally], *welt* to flag, *a ha'p'orth* any thing at all, as "I don't know a ha'p'orth about it, he won't say a ha'p'orth about it, there wasn't a ha'p'orth wrong with him."

Scotch phrases.—*Whose owe* whose is [see Murray, *op. cit.* p. 193], *the t'other* the other, *throughother* confused, *de-ranked* [German *durch einander*], *a sore head* a head ache, *let on* let be known, pretend v., *carry on* misbehave, *put upon* ill used, imposed upon; *my, his, her, its*, lone alone.

VULGAR AND ILLITERATE ENGLISH

might be classed among educated English, if credit is to be given (as it should be given) to the following extract from *Punch* (6 Sept. 1873, vol. 65, p. 99):

Dialogue between Boy Nobleman and Governess at a Restaurant.

Lord Reginald. Ain't yer goin' to have some puddin', Miss Richards! It's so Jolly!

The Governess. There again, Reginald! 'Puddin''—'goin''—'Ain't yer'!!! That's the way Jim Bates and Dolly Maple speak—and Jim's a

Stable-Boy, and Dolly's a *Laundry-Maid*!

Lord Reginald. Ah! but that's the way Father and Mother speak, too—and Father's a *Duke*, and Mother's a *Duchess*!! So there!

But there is more in it than this. The so-called vulgarities of our Southern pronunciation are more frequently remnants of the polite usages of the last two centuries, which have descended, like cast-off clothes, to lower regions. Were there time and space, it would be interesting to compare them in this light. But the American and Irish usages just collected are sufficient for shewing the present state of these mummified forms, and we pass therefore at once to the more pressing investigation of the varieties of natural speech, as the only glimpse that we can get into the seething condition of the old pre-Chaucerian period, wherein our present language was concocted. Manuscripts transcribed by copyists who infused their own local habits into the orthography, and sometimes into the grammar, of their originals, afford at best but perplexing materials. We cannot hope to understand the ancient conditions but by examining their modern realisation.

§ 2. *Natural English Pronunciation.*

NO. 1. NATURAL PRONUNCIATION.

By "natural," as distinguished from "educated," English pronunciation, is meant a pronunciation which has been handed down historically, or has changed organically, without the interference of orthoepists, classical theorists, literary fancies, fashionable heresies,

and so forth, in short "untamed" English everywhere, from the lowest vulgarity, which, as just stated, is often merely a cast-skin of fashion, to the mere provinciality, which is a genuine tradition of our infant language. An exhaustive or even an approximatively complete investigation of this subject is far too extensive to be taken up in this place. It will, I hope, be gradually carried out in detail by the English Dialect Society, for it is full of interest for the history of our language.

In the present section, which is all that I can devote to an investigation which must extend over many years and many volumes to be at all adequately conducted, and which has been never generally treated by preceding writers, so that it is not possible to state general views succinctly, I shall endeavour to present some work done at my request, and with my own steady co-operation, in several characteristic departments, confining myself strictly to pronunciation, which is the phase of dialect to which most inadequate attention has been hitherto paid. For brevity and convenience I dismiss all consideration of merely illiterate speech, beyond the short notice that I have appended to the last section. It requires, and as an important constituent of our language deserves, a very careful study; but time, space, and materials are alike wanting.

To myself individually the present section of my work appears meagre and unsatisfactory in a high degree. Instead of being, as it ought to be in such a work as the present, the result of mature study and long research, it is a mere hasty surface tillage of patches in a district not even surveyed, scarcely overlooked from some neighbouring height. I should have been ashamed to present it at all, had I not thought it incumbent on me to complete at least the conception of the investigations promised on my title-page, and to furnish the best which circumstances allowed me to scrape together. While I have been laying friends, and voluntary but hitherto unknown assistants under contribution, the fact that the conception of writing the sounds of dialects is altogether new has been gradually forced upon me, by hours and hours of wasted labour. From Orrmin and Dan Michel to Dr. Gill was a barren period. From Dr. Gill till Mr. Laing's transcription of Tam o' Shanter (1182, *d'*) was another. But with Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech Specimens an entirely new epoch was initiated. Mr. Murray's Scotch Dialects have worthily opened the real campaign. In this section I indicate, rather than exhibit, what is meant by *comparative dialectal phonology*, and I only hope that the results may suffice to call attention to the extreme importance of the subject, not merely to the history of the English language in particular, but to comparative philology in general. In our studies of language, we have too much neglected the constitution of its medium—sound. If language is but insonated thought, yet it *is* insonated, and the nature of this body must be far more accurately studied than hitherto, if we would understand the indications of its soul.

No. 2. PHONETIC DIALECTS.

A dialect considered phonetically is not a series of mispronunciations, as the supercilious pseud-orthoepist is too apt to believe. It is a system of pronunciation. We must distinguish between a grammatical and a phonetic phase of language. They are not necessarily co-extensive. Within the same grammatical region exist various phonetic regions. But still there is something of the same character pervading both. Varied as are the phases of South Eastern pronunciation, they have all a different character from either the Northern or the Western. Our older English is all dialectal. First Mr. Garnett¹ and afterwards Dr. Morris have done much to compare them with one another grammatically, and, so far as mere letters allow, phonetically.² In the present work an attempt has been made to determine approximatively the value of those letters. The determination can be at most approximative, for the writing even by careful writers, as Dan Michel and Orrmin, could have only been in itself approximative. The writers had no means at command to express, or training to appreciate, a variety of pronunciation even remotely approaching to that at the command of those who use palaeotype, and that is not itself sufficient perhaps to indicate the various shades of really unbridled natural pronunciation. Suppose we limited ourselves to the vowels (ii i, ee e, aa a, oo o, uu u, yy y), and the diphthongs to be made from them, and attempted to write received English from dictation, such as the passages given on pp. 1206-7, what would be the result? I will endeavour to carry out the program for my own pronunciation there given. The result would I think be something like this. The lines are arranged as on p. 1206, col. 1, to facilitate comparison.

Dhe rittn en printed
reprizenteeshen e dhe saunz
ev laqgwedzh bi miinz ev
karektez, whitsh er
insefishent booth in kaind
en nomber, en whitsh
mos dheafoa bi kembaind oa
modifaid if wi wed giv e
grafikel simbelizeeshen e
dhe fonettik ellements widh
oonli som digrii ev
egzaknes en kenviinens,
hez biin frem oal taim, fe
neeshenz ez wel ez
individdiuelz,
liqgwistikel stiudents
not eksepted, won
e dhe moos neseseri
en won e dhe moos

difikelt ev problemz, en
ez konsikwentli skeasli
evve bin rappili solvd. Let
dhis tiitsh es dheth dhi
invenshen ev raitiq, dhe
greetest en moost
impoatent invenshen
whitsh dhe riimen maind
ez evve meed, en whitsh,
az it indiid oalmoost
eksiidz its streqth,
hez bin ofn en
not ondzhosli etribbiuted
te dhe godz; laik dhi
oagenizm ev e steet et wonz
simpl en kompleks, iz not
dhe weak ev individdiuelz,
bot ev sentiurez, penaps
ev thauzenz ev jiaz.

On comparing this with the original on p. 1206, it will be seen

For Footnotes 1 and 2 see next page.

that the absence of a mark for (ə), which no European language has yet accommodated with a fixed sign, has occasioned much trouble. In unaccented syllables (e) naturally presented itself, and in accented (o). The vocal *r* had of course to be omitted, but the diphthongs (ea, ia) replace (æ æ', i'') in accented syllables. The (AA) would be felt as something like (o) and as something like (a), so that (oa) would readily suggest itself. The distinction between long and short vowels is, properly speaking, an innovation, and it has given great power to the transcription. But the duplication of simple consonants after accented short vowels is almost inevitable. The net result, although really a burlesque on modern received pronunciation, would, if pronounced as written (with at most the usual German indistinctness or French obscuration of unemphatic *e*), be perfectly comprehensible, and would be only thought a little broad here and a little thin there, and rather peculiar in places, so that we might put it down to a foreigner who could pronounce English remarkably well—for a foreigner. I think that I have come much nearer than this to the pronunciation of Shakspeare and his followers, and that I have even given a better representation of Chaucer's. But as to the various dialectal pronunciations, as determined by the present written specimens, I should be satisfied if I came as near, not only in the XIVth and XVIIth centuries, but to-day in the XIXth, when reading English dialects written by contemporaries. What kind of an alphabet we now require for the representation of English dialects, I have two or three times attempted to shew (1174, *d*). The experience gathered by actual use has led me to modify and improve those attempts, and to select from the whole list of phonetic elements those which appear necessary for the special purpose of writing English dialects (see No. 5 below). And I shall later on select three verses from the various dialectal versions of the *Song of Solomon* executed for Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, and give them in their various original orthographies, contrasted with this Glossic system, so far at least as I am able to interpret the original. But otherwise I shall continue to use the palaeotypic method of writing, in order not to fatigue the reader with various systems of spelling.

Properly speaking, then, it would be necessary to group phonetic dialects according to the pronunciations of what are deemed the *same* words, or, more accurately, according to the phonetic dialectal forms which may be traced to a common ancestor. At present we have no means of doing so. It is as yet extremely difficult to ascertain the sounds used in our dialects, because those who possess the practical knowledge find themselves unable to communicate it

¹ The Philological Essays of the late Rev. Richard Garnett, of the British Museum, edited by his son, 1859, large 8vo. pp. 342. See especially the essay on English Dialects, pp. 41-77, and on the Languages and Dialects of the British Isles, pp. 147-195, in which, however, phonetics are as usual assumed,

like Dogberry's reading and writing, to come by nature (MA 3, 3, 7).

² See *supra* pp. 408-411, and especially footnote 3 to p. 409. See also Chap. VII. pp. 62-73, of Dr. Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence* (2nd ed. 1872, small 8vo. pp. 378).

on paper with the accuracy required for the present purpose. In fact most of them have to learn the meaning and use of alphabetic writing. We have to class the dialects partly phonetically and partly grammatically; then, having got these classes, to make out as extensive a vocabulary of each as possible, and *ascertain the sound of each word* separately and in connection, as well as its descent. This is clearly a gigantic task, and must therefore be postponed. The admirable comparison of Scotch and English sounds in Mr. Murray's work (p. 144) suggested to me, however, that it might be possible to *select* some thousand words which were tolerably likely to be common to most dialects, and, being received words, had a received orthography by which they might be identified, and then to obtain the dialectal pronunciation of these words. The kindness of some friends has allowed me to do so to a moderate extent, and far enough at least to shew the meaning of the process. I have grouped these according to received spellings, so that the dialectal de-formations (in a geometrical, not anatomical sense) may be to some extent compared. But I have not been able to do more than give a sample of the work wanted to be done before we can properly grasp the notion of phonetic dialects. I have eked out this attempt with comparative indices which at any rate will shew how little the present haphazard or 'picturesque' writing of dialects effects in this direction.

But to condense the view of dialects still further, I bethought me of procuring comparative translations of a single short specimen containing many words very characteristically pronounced, and also many grammatical phrases which have distinct idiomatic equivalents.¹ Although I have not succeeded in getting a complete series of trustworthy versions of this specimen, and although possibly something very much better could be suggested by the experience thus gained, probably enough has been done to shew how much the comparative study of our dialects would be advanced by the simple process of getting one well selected set of phrases, instead of merely isolated words, or distinct and unconnected tales, printed in a careful phonetic version for every available phase of dialect. In glancing from page to page of these versions I seem to gather a new conception of the nature of our English language in form and construction, and to recognize the thoroughly artificial character of the modern literary language. We know nothing of the actual relations of the thoughts of a people, constituting their real logic and grammar, until we know how the illiterate express themselves. Of course it would be absurd for those possessing the higher instrument to descend to this lower one, and for the advance of our people, dialects must be extinguished—as Carthage for the advance of

¹ In putting this together I had the valuable assistance of Mr. Murray, who made many excellent suggestions and additions, and the *Athenæum* and *Notes and Queries* were good enough to draw attention to it in October, 1873. This has not been without some effect, as

will be seen hereafter, though far less than I had hoped. Assistants thus attracted have, however, often brought others to the work, so that on the whole my volunteer staff has been practically large, and its zeal has been exemplary.

Rome. But for the advance of knowledge among the literate, let the dialects be at least first studied. We all know the value of fossils. The phonologic study is of course only the first round of the ladder, but it must be placed in position, and the sooner the better, because its material is the most difficult to recover. *One* very important, historically the most important of our English dialects (that of Forth and Bargy), has died out of the world of speech-sounds within the last fifty years! I have long entertained the opinion that a knowledge of our living dialects is the only foundation for a solid discrimination of our Anglo-Saxon varieties of speech. The actual existence of an English Dialect Society under the able inspiration of the Rev. W. W. Skeat will, I hope, do much to lift the veil which at present hangs over them, and to shew the new value which they will acquire by a comparative study.

NO. 3. ARRANGEMENT OF THIS SECTION.

The present section will consist of numerous "numbers," each of them very distinct. After giving, in No. 4, Dr. Gill's account of English Dialects, I shall consider the Dialectal Alphabet in No. 5, first as to the actual sounds used, and secondly as to their "glossic" representation for practical use. Then I shall consider the Dialectal Vowel Relations in No. 6, and afterwards those of the Consonants in No. 7. These numbers contain the principal philological considerations in this section. I regret that having been obliged to compose them before I could complete my collections, they are wanting in many points of detail; but they will I hope serve to give some general views on the very difficult subject of comparative dialectal phonology, which future observers may complete and rectify, and thus furnish the required thread for future crystallisations. Next, in No. 8, will be added an abstract of the Bavarian dialectal changes of vowels and consonants, which offer an important analogy to the English, and have been admirably investigated by Schmeller. After this, through the kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, I am able in No. 9 to present his classification of the English dialects, supplemented by Mr. Murray's classification of Lowland Scotch. To illustrate the Prince's work, and the orthographical systems or non-systems of dialectal writing hitherto employed, I shall in No. 10 extract the most noteworthy words, in the original orthography, from the versions of the Song of Solomon into various English dialects, which were made for him some years ago. These I do not attempt to transliterate into palaeotype, as I feel so much doubt on many points of pronunciation, while the general intention will be clear to any reader without interpretation. The Glossic rendering of three verses by way of example is given with much hesitation.

The following No. 11 presents a series of attempts to give something like an accurate rendering of dialectal pronunciation in the shape of the classified lists of words and examples already referred to, in which the sounds are given in palaeotype. Taking Mr. Murray's admirable list of Scotch words as a basis of comparison, it

will be given first entire, without his historical spelling, with each word rendered into palaeotype. This was really the first trustworthy representation of Scotch sounds that had been given. Mr. Murray himself will kindly revise the proof-sheets of this re-edition. The various other lists and examples have been furnished by many kind contributors, whose names and qualifications will be duly chronicled as each dialect comes under notice.

In No. 12 I shall place in juxtaposition the best renderings I have been able to obtain of the comparative specimen already referred to. The reader will thus be able to glance readily from one to another on consecutive pages, unincumbered by long explanations, as all such matter will have been given previously on a page duly cited, and hence immediately recoverable.

In all arrangements of dialectal varieties and specimens, the order of the classification given in No. 9 will be followed as much as possible, and its numbers will be invariably cited, so that one part will constantly illustrate the other.

In No. 13 I hope to give a comparative vocabulary of at least the principal words adduced in Nos. 11 and 12, arranged alphabetically for the words, and in order of classification for their sounds, so that their forms may be readily studied as they vary from one phase of pronunciation to another.

The general bearing of this investigation on Early English Pronunciation will be considered at No. 6, v., and may be reverted to in Chap. XII.

NO. 4. DR. ALEXANDER GILL'S ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH DIALECTS.

The earliest phonetic account of English dialects is the short sketch by Dr. Gill, which, from its importance, I give at full length. Written 250 years ago, it is valuable as showing the comparative tenacity with which our dialects have held their own, as against the received pronunciation, which, under the influence of literature and fashion, has been and is still continually altering. And it is still more valuable as being the only real piece of phonetic writing of dialects between the early attempts of Orrmin and Dan Michel and those of the present day. The old scribes indeed wrote dialectally, but after a prescribed system of orthography, which recalls to me the modern Lancastrian spelling, an orthography so stereotyped that persons may write what looks like Lancastrian, but is merely disguised literary English, and may at the same time be quite unable to write Lancastrian pronunciation.

The following extract forms the whole of the sixth chapter of Dr. Gill's *Logonomia*, pp. 16–19. The palaeotype is a transliteration as usual.

Dialecti: vbi etiam de diphthongis improprijs.

Dialecti præcipuæ sunt sex: *Communis, Borealium, Australium, Orientalium, Occidentalium, Poetica*. Omnia earum idiomata nec noui, nec audiui; quæ tamen memini, vt potero dicam.

(Ai), pro (æi), *Borealium* est: vt in (fai er), pro (fai'er) ignis: Et (au) pro (ou), vt (gaun), aut etiam (geaun), pro (goun) toga: et pro

(uu), vt pro (wuund) wound vulnus, (waund). Illis etiam frequens est (ea) pro (e), vt (meat) pro (meet) cibus; et pro (o), vt (beadh) pro (both) ambo. Apud meos etiam *Lincolnienses* audies (toaz) et (hoaz) pro (tooz) digiti pedum, et (hooz) HOSE caligæ.¹ Efferunt et (kest), aut etiam (kusn), pro (kast) iactus, a, um; (ful'a) pro (fol'ouu);² (klooth) pro (kloth) pannus; et contra (spok'n), pro (spook'n) dictus: (duun) pro (dun) factus: et (tuum), pro (tæim) tempus: (ræitsh) pro (rîtsh) dives: (dhoor) pro (dheer) illic: (briiks), pro (brîth'shez) braccæ: (seln) pro (self): (hez), pro (hath): (aus) pro (aal'soo); (sud) pro (shuuld): (œil, œist), aut³ etiam (ail, aist), pro (œi wil), futuri signo: vt et in reliquis personis (dhooul), aut (dhooust); pro (dhou wilt, dhou shalt), et sic in reliquis: (hiil), aut (hiist); (wiil, joul) aut (joust); (dheil, dheist), aut (dhei sal). In (ai), abjiciunt (i), vt pro (pai) soluo (paa); pro (sai) dico (saa); et pro (said, sed). Pro (u) et (uu), substituunt (yy): vt, pro (gud kuuk, gyyd kyyk), bonus coquus. Voces etiam nonnullus pro vsitatis fingunt: ut (strunt) et (runt), pro (rump) cauda: (sark) pro (shirt) camisia; pro (go) ito, (gaq), et inde (gaq'grel) mendicis; pro (went, red) aut (jood) ibam, ab antiquis etiamnum retinent.⁴

Aurales usurpant (uu) pro (ii), ut (huu), pro (hiil) ille: (v), pro (f); vt, (vil), pro (fil) impleo: (tu vetsh) pro (fetsh) affero: et contra (f) pro (v), vt (fin'eger) pro (vin'eger) acetum; (fik'ar) pro (vik'ar) vicarius. Habent et (o) pro (a), vt (roqk) pro (raqk) rancidus, aut luxurians, adiect; substantivum etiam significat ordines in acie, aut alios. Pro (s), substituunt (z), vt (ziq) pro (siq) cano; et (itsh), pro (œi) ego: (tsham), pro (ei am) sum: (tshil), pro (œi wil) volo: (tshi voor ji), pro (œi war'ant jou), certum do.⁵ in (ai) etiam post diphthongi dialysin, (a), odiose producunt: vt, (to paai) solvo, (dhaai) illi.

Orientalis contra pleraque attenuant; dicunt enim (fir) pro (foi'er) ignis: (kiv'er), pro (kuv'er) tegmen: (ea) pro (a), vt, (to deans),

¹ It is only this sentence which applies to Lincolnshire. The other parts refer to the northern area generally, and the words are apparently quite isolated, not even belonging to any particular locality. It was enough for Dr. Gill that they came from the north of his own county of Lincoln.

² In the original (fol'oon), but the n is probably a misprint for u; unfortunately Gill has forgotten to add the meaning.

³ Misprinted *ent*.

⁴ See a specimen of connected Northern pronunciation as given by Gill (854, d).

⁵ See the quotation from Shakspeare (293, e), which is written in the usual half phonetic style still prevalent in dialectal specimens. In an introductory note to Mr. Kite's Wiltshire Version of the Song of Solomon, referred to in No.

10, Wiltshire, Prince L. L. Bonaparte remarks: "In a very scarce pamphlet which I have been fortunate enough to find, the use of *ch* instead of *I* is to be remarked when Wiltshire men are speaking; as, for instance, *chave a million for her*; *chad not thought*, etc. This form is not to be found at present in the Wiltshire dialect, although it is still in existence in some parts of Somerset and of Devon, and was at one time current in Wiltshire. The title of the very rare and curious little work above mentioned is as follows:—'The | King | and Queenes | Entertainement at | Richmond. | After | their Departure | from Oxford: In a Masque, | presented by the most Illustrious | Prince, | Prince | Charles | Sept. 12. 1636. | *Naturam imitare licet facile nonnullis, | videatur haud est.* | Oxford. | Printed by Leonard Lichfield, | M.DC.XXXVI.' At page 5 of

pro (dans) saltare: (v), pro (f), vt (vel·ou), pro (fel·ou) socius: (z), pro (s), vt (zai), pro (sai), dicito.¹

At inter omnes dialectos, nulla cum *Occidentali* æquam sapit, barbariem; et maximè si rusticos audias in agro *Somersetensi*: dubitare enim quis faciliè possit vtrum Anglicè loquantur an peregrinum aliquod idioma. Quædam, enim antiquata etiamnum retinent; vt (saks) pro cultro, (nem) aut (nim) accipe; quædam,² sua pro Anglicis vocabulis intrudunt, vt (laks) pro parte; (toit) pro sedili; et alia. Sed et legitima corrumpunt, quædam vsu, quædam pronuntiati, vt (wiiz wai) pro freno; (wiitpot) pro farcimine: (na vaq) huc projice, aut etiam arripe proiectum; item (hii vaqd tu mi at dhe vant). i. in baptisterio pro me suscepit: (zit am) i. sede; (zadraukh) pro (asai·dher·of) gusta; (hi³ iz goon avisht) pro (a fish·iq) abijt piscatum. Sic etiam protollunt (throt·iin) pro (thirtin) 13. (nar·ger), pro (nar·ouer) angustior: (zorg·er), pro (moor sor·ouful) tristior. Præponunt etiam (i), participiis præteritis à consonanti incipientibus; vt (ifroor) aut (ivroor), pro (frooz·n) gelu concretus; (hav ji iduu), pro (dun); perfecisti? Hoc etiam peculiare habent, vt nomina anomala utriusque numeri in (z), per numerum vtrumque variant: vt (hooz) hose sing: et plur: caliga vel caligæ; apud illos singulariter manet (hooz) et pluraliter fit (hooz·n): sic (peez)⁴ communiter pisum vel pisa, cum illis fit pluraliter (peez·n) pisa.

Communis dialectus aliquando est ambiguus. Audies enim (inuf) et (inukh) INOUGH, satis: (dhai) aut (dhei) THEY illi; (tu fliit), aut (tu float) FLOATE aquæ innatare; (haal·berd, hal·berd) aut (hool·berd) bipennis, sic (toil, tuil; soil, suil; bæld, bæld, byyld), vt ante dictum.

Dialecti *poetis* solis ex scriptoribus concessæ;⁵ quibus tamen, exceptâ communi, abstinent; nisi quod rythmi, aut iucunditatis causâ sæpiusculè vtuntur Boreali; quia suavissima, quia antiquissima, quia purissima, vtpote quæ maiorum nostrorum sermoni proxima. Sed quia dialectum suam Metaplasmi solâ licentiâ defendunt, de eâ satis dicetur vbi ad prosodiam peruenerimus.⁶

this small quarto volume of 31 pages, I find: 'and because most of the Interlocutors were *Wiltshire* men, that country dialect was chosen, etc.'" In the introduction to Dr. Spencer Baynes's *Somersetshire* Version, the Prince says: "In the Western parts of *Somersetshire*, according to Mr. Jennings, *Ise* is very generally used for *I*; and in the southern parts of the county *Utehy*, *Iehè*, *Ch* for *I* are still employed. *Ise* is also to be heard in some parts of *Devonshire*, particularly in those adjoining *West-Somersetshire*."

The remainder of this paragraph is the passage about the *Mopsæ*, already given at length (90, d. 91, a). The (v, z) for (f, s), so common in *Dan Michel*, have quite disappeared from *Kent*, and all the East. But a recognition of their existence somewhere in the East

of England so late as 1621 is important, if it can be relied on.

² Misprinted *quadam* three times.

³ Misprinted 'hj' = (hæi), for 'hi' = (hi). No (æi, éi) sound of *he* is known in the West.

⁴ (Pez) in the original must be a misprint.

⁵ In his preface he says: Quin etiam vbi dialectus variat, faciliè patior vt ipsa scriptura sibi minimè constet: vt, (fardh·er, furdh·er), aut (furd·er); (mur·dher) aut (mur·dher), (tu flai) aut (tu fli), (tu fliit) aut (tu float), &c. Dialectis autem (exceptâ Communi) in oratione solutâ nullus est locus; nisi vbi materiæ necessitas postulat: Poetis metaplasmus omnis modestè conceditur."

⁶ The passage referred to is quoted at full, suprâ p. 936, No. 7.

Et quod hic de dialectis loquor, ad rusticos tantum pertinere velim intelligas: nam mitioribus ingenijs, & cultius enutritis, unus est ubique sermo & sono, & significatu. De venenato illo & putidissimo ulcere nostræ reipub. pudet dicere. Habet enim & fæx illa spurcissima errorum mendicantium non propriam tantum dialectum; sed & cantum¹ sive loquelam, quam nulla unquam legum vindicta coercebit, donec edicto publico cogantur Iustitiarum eius auctores in crucem tollere. sed quia tota hæc dialectus, unà cum nocentissimis huius amuræ sordibus, peculiari libro² descripta est; quia exteris hominibus nil commodi allatura; ex oratione meâ circumscribam.

NO. 5. DIALECTAL ALPHABET.

The alphabet of received English pronunciation has been considered at length in § 1. Notwithstanding the differences of opinion respecting the precise sounds usually employed, it is clear that we can take no other starting-point or standard of comparison than these sounds,³ though we have constantly to bear in mind the possible varieties. This alphabet has then to be increased by letters for the dialectal sounds. And both sets of sounds must be conveniently symbolised. For our present purpose the palæotypic forms more than suffice. But for special studies on English dialects, symbols based on the present received pronunciation are required. Much of the best assistance I have received in collecting dialectal pronunciation is due to the adoption of glossic (1174, *b*), and in the course of my work the necessity of shewing how glossic can be applied to the representations of the sounds has been strongly impressed upon me. The adoption of glossic by Mr. Skeat for the English Dialect Society makes an accurate description still more necessary.⁴ For precise purposes of comparison, such as here contemplated, no symbolisation can be too minute. But when such minuteness is studied, the recorder is too apt to fall into individualities, which he must afterwards eliminate.

The received alphabet may be considered as the following.⁵ The *emphatic vowels* are (ii ee aa AA oo uu, i e æ ɔ ə u), with varieties in

¹ *Cant* must have been already a common term, therefore.

² Title not known.

³ See the remarks on Vowel Quality, below No. 6, iii.

⁴ The Society which is publishing the Lancashire Glossary finds the use of glossic 'too difficult,' and hence proposes a 'simple' mode of indicating the pronunciation. I have not had the advantage of seeing this 'simple' mode as yet. But any writers who find glossic too difficult have probably every thing to learn in the study of phonology, and it is very likely that any 'simple' plan they could suggest would owe its apparent simplicity to omissions and

double uses, which, of little importance to those who do not thirst for accurate knowledge,—to the *dilettanti* of dialectal writing,—are excruciating to the accurate investigator of linguistic change. It is possible, however, for any particular dialect to have a much simpler form of expression than glossic, which should still be severe, but such simpler form would be worse than useless for *comparative* dialectal phonology of English, for which glossic is proposed. Glossic is simpler than palæotype for the same reason—it is English, not cosmopolitan.

⁵ The reader is referred generally to the discussions on pp. 1091–1171.

the case of (e, ə), which many pronounce (ɛ ɐ), without, however, making any difference in signification. I do not see much chance of having these pairs of signs kept apart by ordinary writers. The distinction (o, ʌ) is also so fine that it is not generally felt, and the tendency is to write (o) short and (ʌʌ) long, without much thought as to whether (ʌ) short and (oo) long would not be equally correct. The distinctions (i i, u u), although seldom known, are yet clearly made. Many persons vary also in the sound of (æ), using (ah) generally, and sometimes (a); but the distinctions (æ, a) are usually well felt by speakers, and, though hitherto almost unrecognized by writers, have a dialectal value.

Leaving out the diphthongs, then, the above 12 may be considered the emphatic English vowels. Each of them *may* be long or short, but the first six are seldom short in a closed syllable. The last six are seldom long, with the exception of (ə), which seems to be (œ) in places where *er*, *ur* are written, and no vowel follows. This is a disputed point (1156, *e*). Another vowel (œə) is assumed to exist in that case. But the distinction (œə, œœ) is very fine, and is certainly not always made. The real point of difference depends perhaps on the fact that long vowels do not glide so firmly and audibly on to the following consonant, as do accented short vowels in closed syllables (1145, *e'*). When therefore a writer puts (œ) in place of (ə), he wants to produce the effect of the short weak glide which follows long vowels (1161, *b*). Thus to write *iron* (ə'i'œn) would seem to make (œn) the same as in *shun* (shœn). By putting (ə'i'œn), this appearance is avoided; but still no *r* effect is produced, for the theoretical (ə'i'œm): hence refuge is taken in (œ), thus (ə'i'œn), the sound (œ) being only known in connection with *r*.

For *unemphatic vowels* (y, v) are practically undistinguished from (i, ə). Those, however, who use (ɛ) emphatically, do not use it unemphatically, and employ either (ə) or (v) in such cases (1160, *d*). What the precise differences are cannot be said to have been yet determined.

For the *Proper Diphthongs*, the long *i* varies as (ə'i, ɛ'i, áhi, ái, di), and occasionally (æ'i, ɛ'i, éi). The length of the second element is fluctuating, and the laws which it follows are unknown. They seem not to be so much individual as emotional, varying according to feeling in the same individual. Consonantal action also interferes. The quality of the first element is partly local and partly individual. At least three forms (ə'i, áhi, ái) must be admitted as received, and of these *perhaps* (ái) is commonest, and (áhi) most delicate. But (ɛ'i) is also heard from educated speakers, though both (ɛ'i, ái) have a broadness which offends many ears. The form (æ'i) is distinctly "cockney," and (ɛ'i, éi) are mincing, to such a degree that they may be understood as long *a*. Hence I would regard only (ə'i, áhi, ái) as received.

The *ow* diphthong has similar, but more divergent, and more numerous, varieties, and only (ə'u, áhu, áu) can be considered as received; (ɛ'u éu éu) are cockney forms, and (ʌ'u óu óu, ɛ'u áu, æ'u) provincial, and often characteristic of particular dialects.

The *oy* diphthong has a much smaller range, at most (ʼ*ai*, ʼ*aaʼi*, ʼ*oi*), of which the first and last are most generally received. From educated people the long *i* sounds for *oy* have disappeared, and (ʼ*oi*, ʼ*oi*, ʼ*ui*) are distinctly provincial.

The second element of these three classes of diphthongs is, at least occasionally, tightened into a consonant as (ʼ*ij*, ʼ*uw*, ʼ*ir*) or (ʼ*ɔ*, ʼ*w*, ʼ*ɔ*). How far this practice extends, and whether the result ever degrades into being a pure consonantal syllable as just marked, is not yet determined. Practically we may leave this point out of consideration. Also instead of (*i*, *u*), the second elements may be always (*i*, *u*), thus (ʼ*i*, ʼ*u*, ʼ*i*); but this does not seem to be the usual English habit. Mr. Murray assumes (*i*, *u*) in Scotch.

The long *u* has only one received sound (ʼ*iu*) or (ʼ*iu*), varying in the length of the second element, and with its first element either falling entirely into (*ɔ*) as (*ju*), or using a (*ɔ*) as a fulcrum, thus (ʼ*iu*). These variations are of no importance. But (ʼ*iu*, ʼ*iu*) are distinctly non-received. They are known and ridiculed.

The *vanish diphthongs* generally recognized are (ʼ*eeʼj*, ʼ*ooʼw*) already described at length. To these may be added (ʼ*aaə*, ʼ*aaʼə*), although they are generally condemned, because they are supposed to consist in adding on an *r*, and often lead to the euphonic interposition of (*r*) when a vowel follows. But, when this (*r*) is avoided, there is no doubt that (ʼ*aaə* ʼ*aaʼə*) are very generally heard in the pause. There are, however, very few words to which they apply.

The *murmur diphthongs* generally arising from a suppressed (*r*) have all long first elements, and are hence of the same character as the last. They consist essentially in adding on the simple voice (ʼ*h*), and if this is represented by (ʼ), there is no occasion to use the acute accent to mark the element which has the stress. In received English these are (ʼ*iʼ*, ʼ*eeʼ*, ʼ*ooʼ*, ʼ*uuʼ*), where either a vowel usually short is lengthened, or a new vowel is introduced, (ʼ*oo*) for (ʼ*oo*), and to these we must add (ʼ*aaʼ*, ʼ*aaʼ*), where there is no new first element. These are heard in *merely*, *fairly*, *sorely*, *poorly*, *marly*, *Morley*. The use of (ʼ*aaʼ*) for (ʼ*ooʼ*) is very common. The omission of the vanish in (ʼ*aaʼ*, ʼ*aaʼ*) is also quite common, and in (ʼ*eeʼ*) the vanish is usually very brief. Besides these there is the simple "natural vowel" (ʼ*əə*), or else its substitute (ʼ*əəə*), and these may go off into an indeterminate voice sound, as (ʼ*əəʼ*, ʼ*əəəʼ*), in which case the first element would be usually considered short, as (ʼ*ə*, ʼ*ə*), although it is as long as in the other cases. When (ʼ*ə*) is used, it is difficult to feel any transition in saying (ʼ*əəʼ*), but (ʼ*əəʼ*, ʼ*əəəʼ*) are quite marked. The sound of Mr. M. Bell's untrilled (*r*_o), in which the point of the tongue is simply raised without touching the palate, so that the passage of the voice is not more obstructed than for (*l*), if so much, is scarcely separable from (ʼ*ə*, ʼ*h*). Whether it is necessary to insist on this separation or not is a question. It is possible that (*r*_o) may be in practice, as it evidently is in theory, the transition from (*r*) to (ʼ*h*), but its habitual existence has hardly been established, and observations on it are certainly difficult to make. I think that I have heard (*r*_o), but I am by no means prepared to say that I have a dis-

tinged consciousness of it, or that it may not have been a personal peculiarity with those in whom I have observed it. The position of the tongue for (ə) and (r_o) is almost identical. At most the point is a little more raised for the latter. Hence the results cannot be much different. The obstruction for (r_o) is not sufficient to create a buzz. The result is at most a murmur. But for the ('h) or (r_o), combined with a following *permissive* trill, I use (ɹ), as explained on (1099, c). The notation (iɹ, eeɹ, aaɹ, AAɹ, ooɹ, uuɹ, əɹ, æɹ, œɹ) is therefore ambiguous. But it is so far clear that the (ɹ) must not be employed unless a trill *may* be used. We must not write *really*, *idea*, as (riɹ'li, ə'diɹ), because it is offensive, or unintelligible to say (rii'rlɪ, ə'dii'r). But in common talk *merely*, *really* (miɹ'li, riɹ'li) are perfect rhymes. We *may*, however, say (miɹ'rlɪ), and also (rii'əli, riɹ'li), but *not* (rii'li) or (riɹ'rlɪ). There are also *murmur triphthongs* formed from the first set of diphthongs, as (ə'i', əu', iu'). The murmurs ('l, 'm, 'n) act as vowels, and may or may not have the prefixed ('), so that (ll, mm, nn), might be written, as Mr. Bell prefers, or simple (l, m, n) might be used, such cases as *stabl-ing* (steɐ'b'liq) being provided for as above, or as (steɐ'bl-iq), or fully as (steɐ'b'hling).

Hence we have the following list of received vowel-sounds simple and combined.

<i>Long Vowels</i>	ii	ee	æ	aa	œœ	Æ	AA	oo	uu
<i>Short Vowels</i>	i	e	ɛ	æ	ə	ɛ	ɔ	u	
<i>Proper Diphthongs</i>	ə'i	āhi	āi,	A'i	ɔ'i,	ə'u	āhu	āu,	iú iúu
<i>Vanish Diphthongs</i>	ee'j	āæ	AA'ə	oo'w					
<i>Murmur Diphthongs</i>	ii'	ee'	aa'	œœ'	Æ'	AA'	oo'	uu'	
<i>Murmur Triphthongs</i>	ə'i'	āhi'	āi',	ə'u'	āhu'	āu',	iú'	iúu'	

The list is a pretty long one, and far beyond the usual resources of orthography to note. But it has to be considerably augmented dialectally. In the provinces we certainly hear long (ii ee Æ æ oo uu), which are always professedly short in received speech, and short (i e a o u), which are only known as long in received pronunciation. And there are new long and short sounds (aah ah, aa a, yy₁ y₁), where (y₁) lies between (y, ə), and varies possibly with (y, ə, œ) short and long. There seems also to be a well-established broader sound of (u), which is possibly (u_o), or (u) with the lip aperture for (o), but which *may* be (uh), and may be a new sound altogether. My northern authorities are not satisfied with (u), which is too fine for them. As their dialects have usually no (æ, ə) in emphatic syllables, they confuse this (u_o), as I will write it for the moment, with (æ). The confusion thus arising between (æ, u_o), which is the same as that between (ə, u), is widely prevalent. But on carefully observing the sounds it is apparent that (æ) is *not* "rounded," and (u_o) *is* "rounded." This rounding can, however, be imitated by contracting the sides of the arch of which the uvula is the keystone, so that the *effect* of (u, u_o) can be given with an open mouth, thus (u⁴), see (1114, d'). Now rounded (æ) is (o), and on p. 306 I consequently

represented the sound by (o). It is certainly more like (o) than (u) is. It may be (uh, u⁴, u_o, o_u, u₁, u₁₀), but either one of the first three seems its best representative. As however (ə ə) and also (e ɛ) have seldom to be distinguished except in phonetic discussions, so (u u_o) may generally be confused. At any rate, the subject requires much attentive consideration. Mr. Hallam has observed in South Lancashire distinctive cases of "rounding" by excessive protrusion of the lips, which may be marked for labials by the same sign (†) as is used for protrusion of the tongue in dentals (11, d), or as a *fifth* mode of rounding, thus (u†) or (u⁵). The fourth or internal rounding may be combined with any of the four others. In Scotch Mr. Murray has found it necessary to introduce additional vowels between (i) and (e), thus (i, e¹, e₁, e¹, e₁, ɛ), but these are hardly distinguishable by southern ears, to which (i e e ɛ) already present difficulties. See (1106, a').

The number of diphthongs must be much increased. Besides the received, and the non-received (ɛ' i dɛ i ɛ' i é i ; é u é u, é u, á u ó u ó u ó u, á u á u), with either (i i) or (u u) final, there are varieties with (e e, o o) final, and also varieties of the form (i i é i í u í u, ú i ú e ú a ú o ú u), where the second element is quite distinct, and may be short, or glide on to a consonant in accented closed syllables, or may be long, and the first element may vary, as (e, o), thus (é a é o, ó a ó e). The stress also may fall on the second element, as (i é i á, u á u ó), etc. But the diphthongs are by no means confined to (i, i, e, e; u, u, o, o) for one of their elements. Certainly (y₁) or (y, ə, œ) occurs as an element, and sometimes the whole diphthong may be made up of these elements. Thus (é y) was heard in Norfolk (135, c) as a variety of the (iú) form, and (œ y₁) is said to occur in Devonshire as a variety of (á u).

There are also *murmur diphthongs*, not arising from a suppression of (r), consisting of any one of the vowels, but chiefly (i i, e e, o o u u), short and with the stress, followed more or less closely by the simple voice ('h). The closeness is sometimes so marked that the net result, as (i', u') in Scotch, is felt and conceived as one sound, which may be even short in a closed syllable, just as many people consider received long i to be a simple sound. But the closeness relaxes at times, so that the results resemble (iə iə, úə úə), which belong to those mentioned in the last paragraph. At other times the first element is lengthened, as (i²), and then the received murmur diphthongs are reproduced in effect, but they have no longer necessarily a permissive (r).

The *received consonants* are (nh) and (p b, t d, k g, kw gw, wh w, f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, ʃ h, r l m n q). These all occur dialectally, together with the glottids (h ;). There are, however, *new consonants*; certainly (k g, kh kh kw), and perhaps (gh gh gwh), but these are doubtful. (Nh, rw) seem to be known, among a few old people, but (lh) I have not heard of. The (sh zh) only occur in (tsh dzh), and practically need not be considered separately from these combinations, which may be written (tsh dzh). But there is altogether an unexpected occurrence of true dental (t, d) formed as

the real mutes of (th, dh) by placing the tongue as for these sounds, but making the obstruction complete. These are seldom found except before (r), or the syllable (ər), or (ə), or any other indistinct vowel representing (ər), although at least a trace of them has been found after (s), and probably, when attention has been drawn to the fact, they may be found elsewhere. But the main case to be considered is the dentality of *t*, *d*, before *r*, as already noticed in Ireland (1239, *a'* to 1241, *a*). The question arises whether (r) is also dental in this case, as (r). I have not noticed the dentality, but I am inclined to consider this due to my want of appreciation, for others do hear it as dental in such a case. See also the Sanscrit use (1138, *b*). The peculiar rolling Irish (r) in these cases (1232, *b*) must also be noted. Mr. C. C. Robinson thinks he recognizes a dental (r) in some other cases in Yorkshire, as will be pointed out hereafter. A nasal (b₁), as distinct from (m), is also found in Westmorland and Cumberland. The uvular (r) is well known as the Northumberland burr, and there are no doubt distinct varieties of this burr. There may be probably even a glottal (ɾ) in Shields, and in the Western dialects, though I am more disposed, from what I have been able to observe personally, to attribute the Western effect to the use of a peculiarly deep vowel (æ), gruffly uttered.

In Yorkshire and Cumberland a (t) occurs which is heard before a following (t, d, k, g), as *at t' time*, *at t' door*, *t' church*, *t' gentleman*, *t' cart*, *t' garden*, and is heard also as a distinct element before a vowel, as *t' ouse*, *t' abbey*, without coalescence. I think that in these cases there is a true, though very brief, *implosion* (1097, *c'*. 1113, *a'*), and that the result is (at 't táim, 't,uus), and at least three of my kind helpers, to whom this *t* is native, recognize the correctness of this analysis. The effect is quite different from (at táim, tuus), and in the first case does not seem to be sufficiently represented by a held consonant, as (att táim).

These are our dialectal elementary and diphthongal sounds, so far as I have yet learned them. The question is how to represent them. The ordinary spelling will not do. Ordinary dialectal writers help themselves over local difficulties in various manners, which render comparison extremely difficult. We have, in fact, reproduced on a smaller scale, and with more exaggerated features, the European differences in the use of Roman letters, crossed by our insular usages. No system of notation extends beyond a single author. The same author seldom pursues the same plan in two consecutive books, often varies on the same page, and is supremely indifferent to any dialect but his own. Just as an Englishman, accustomed from his birth to received sounds, reads them off from the received orthography, or any conceivable mis-spellings, without hesitation, while a foreigner, after years of training, constantly stumbles; so the man native-born to a dialect, or having the sounds constantly in his ears, reads off his own dialectal spelling without difficulty, but this same spelling put before a stranger, as myself, becomes a series of riddles, nay worse, continual suggestions of false

sounds. Even after acquiring a tolerable conception of the dialectal pronunciation of a given locality, I have been constantly "floored"—I can't find a more elegant phrase to express my utter defeat—by some dialectal spelling of the same variety sent me by a new hand. Of course comparative study remains impossible when the things to be compared are unknown. Conclusions hitherto drawn are merely arrows drawn at a venture—they may hit the mark, but who knows? My Glossic was contrived for the purpose of overcoming these difficulties, and my recent experience has led me to the conclusion that it is really adapted to overcome them, by extremely simple means, which enables the received and any dialectal pronunciation to be written with almost the same correctness as by palaeotype, without any typographical troubles, such as varied roman and italic letters, turned letters, or, except very rarely, accented letters. Having shewn how Glossic can be used for the received pronunciation (1174, *b*), I proceed to shew how the dialects may be written, because I hope that, through the influence of the English Dialect Society, it may be extensively used for this purpose. But I would especially guard against the error that, because a person can pronounce a dialect, and because Glossic gives a means of writing it, and Glossic merely uses ordinary letters, generally, at least as a basis, in their received meanings, therefore it is only necessary to put the key to Glossic before one's eyes in order to be able to write a known pronunciation straight off. You might as well expect that when a key to the relation of the notes in music to the keyboard of a piano has been given—say by pasting on each finger key the written name of the sound it will give—to any grown girl of average intellect, she will be instantly able to play off a piece of music presented to her. We know that she must learn and *practice* her scales first. Glossic writing is an art which also requires care and practice. To one who can already read and write, it is comparatively easy *for the sounds he knows*, not by any means easy for others, as when a stranger would write from dictation—my own case, when I am fortunate enough to find one who *can* dictate. But if a thing is *worth doing at all*, it is worth doing well. At present dialectal writing is not done even ill: it is literally *not done at all*. The present arrangements supersede those above given, pp. 606–618, as they are founded on a much wider experience, but the basis of the system is the same. Glossic symbols are here inclosed in square brackets [], the palaeotypic being placed in a parenthesis ().

Quantity and Accent.

Each vowel-sign represents either a short or a long vowel. *When no mark is added, the letter always represents a short vowel.* It is very important to bear this rule in mind.

In *unaccented* syllables vowels are generally short. If it is considered necessary to mark length without accent in such syllables, *two* turned periods are added, thus [ee''].

When a *long* vowel occurs in an *accented* syllable, a *single* turned period is written immediately after it, as [ee', eet, een, i't, i'n].

When a *short* vowel occurs in an *accented* syllable, it is generally followed by a consonant, and a turned period is placed immediately after the first following consonant, as [feet', een', it', in'], but if, as occasionally happens, a short accented vowel occurs without

a following consonant, two *direct* periods, a usual sign of unfinished utterance, must be written, as [ee., i.], and [guo.in] for *going*.

It is rarely necessary to mark a middle length, but when it is, (:) may be placed *before* the vowel in unaccented syllables, as [:ee] = (i^l); it will thus not interfere with the use of the colon as a point. The combination of this with the turned period, as [:ee'] = (i^l'), marks medial length in accented syllables.

Secondary accent is not distinguished from the primary in Glossic; if it is strong enough to be marked, put two marks of accent, as [tu'neip'eikmu'n], and leave the actual stress doubtful, as in fact it often is. The preceding use of (:) for medial length renders its accentual use as in palaeotype impossible.

Emphasis is conveniently marked by the turned period before the whole word, thus *to two* [too'too].

These rules for quantity are *very* important, because they enable quantity to be exactly expressed in every case, thus (aa'a') = [aa'aa.], (kaa'tka't) = [kaa'tkaat'], (kaat) = [kaa'tt]. Of course words of one syllable cited independently of context may be considered as always accented, and hence we may distinguish [too', too..] = (tu, tu).

The rule for marking the quantity of the first element in diphthongs is precisely the same, the second element being considered as a consonant, as will appear presently. It is not usually necessary to mark the quantity of the second element.

The accent should be written in every polysyllabic word or emphatic monosyllable when writing dialectally, because its omission leaves the quantity uncertain, as any sound may occur either long or short. Dialectal writers, who begin to use Glossic, are extremely remiss on this point, and fall into many errors in consequence, probably because in *received* pronunciation the short and long vowels are known from their qualities. But this is *emphatically not* the case dialectally. Of course, ease to the writer, without much obscurity to a *native* reader (1252, d), may be attained by omitting all these troublesome marks of accent and quantity, which necessitate a little unusual thought on the part of the writer. But the difficulties thus occasioned to non-native readers by the ordinary orthography of Latin and Italian, as

contrasted with Greek and Spanish, shew how mercilessly the reader is then sacrificed to the writer. Witness those who have been punished at school, or laughed at in after-life, for "false quantities" in Latin, due entirely to the defects of the Latin orthography itself. *Sic vōs nōn vōbīs 'vulnera' fertis, ovēs!*

All *consonants* may be considered *short*, and doubled for length if desired, as [stai'bl, reeznn], or have the long [·] added, as [stai'bl·, reezn·]. When then a long consonant ends an accented syllable, it must either be doubled and followed by a turned period, or three turned periods are required, as [lett'let···].

Signs.

The use of short unaccented [ee], medial unaccented [:ee], long unaccented [ee·], short accented [ee· eet'], medial accented [:ee'], long accented [ee'] should be clearly understood. This notation gets over all difficulties of quantity, and accent.

The *apostrophe* (') is used to *modify* a preceding letter, and should *never* be used to shew the *omission* of a letter. If that is thought necessary, the hyphen should be employed, as [dhai doa'n-t]. But it is best not to indicate so-called *omissions*, for they distinctly belong to the false theory that the word is a mispronunciation, and their object is to lead the reader to guess the proper word. When the reader cannot do so, he requires a gloss or a dictionary, and should consult it. Besides, it is not possible to treat so-called *insertions* in this way.

The *hyphen* has sometimes to be used to shew how letters have to be grouped, as [t-h, d-h, n-g], distinct from [th, dh, ng]. As a rule, when two letters come together which can form a digraph, they should be so read; if the middle of three letters can form a digraph with either the first or third, it must be taken with the first. Any transgression of this rule must be marked by a *hyphen*, or an interposed turned period, when it can be used. Thus [toaud] = [toa-ud], not [to-aud], and may be written [toa'ud], distinct from [to-au'd, to..au'd].

When several words are written together, they may be distinguished to the eye by the *divider*), thus—[t)wuod·(nt)doo', dhat·)l)doo']. This) has no phonetic significance whatever.

Received Vowels and Diphthongs.

The 12 received *emphatic vowels*
 (ii ee aa AA oo uu i e æ o u) =
 [ee' ai' aa' au' oa' oo' i e a o u uo].

The alternative vowels (E EE, æ æ) =
 [æ æ', uu uu'], and assumed vowel
 (æ, ææ) = [e', e''].

The *unemphatic vowels* (y, v) always
 short are [i', u'], but need not generally
 be distinguished from [i, u].

Any one of the *diphthongs* for long
 i is represented in an unanalysed form
 by [ei]. It constantly happens that
 the writers know it to be one of these
 diphthongs, but cannot tell which; and
 it is then very convenient to be able to
 give the information that one of these
 [ei] diphthongs was heard. Similar
 unanalysed forms are used for the other
 diphthongs for the same reason. It is
 rather an inconvenience of palaeotype
 that it does not possess such forms.
 The three received forms are (e'i, áhi,
 ái) = [u'y, a'y, aay'] in accented syl-
 lables, first element short. If the first
 element is long, as (æ'i, áahi, áai),
 write [u'y, a'y, aay']. This rule ap-
 plies generally. These forms with [y],
 however, leave unsettled the point
 whether the diphthong end with a
 vowel or a consonant, because it has
 not much practical importance. But
 when it is desirable to shew that the
 final element *is* a vowel, and to distin-
 guish which vowel, another contrivance
 is used, which will be explained pre-
 sently.

Any unanalysed *ow* diphthong is
 [ou]. The received forms (o'u, áhu, áu)
 = [uw', a'w', aaw'], and if the first
 element is long, [u'w, a'w, aa'w] as
 before.

Any unanalysed *oy* diphthong is [oi].
 The received forms (A'i, AA'i, o'i) =
 [auy', au'y, oy'].

Any unanalysed *ū* diphthong is [eu].
 The received (iú, ju, jiú) are all written
 [yoo]. It is not considered necessary
 to mark these distinctions. But, if
 required, the short [ěě] or [i] may now
 be used, thus [ěěoo, yoo, yěěoo] or
 [i'oo, yoo, y'oo]. On account of the
 systematic way of representing quantity,
 the short and long marks need not and
 should not be used for other purposes,
 as I formerly proposed.

It is seen that the forms (ái, ái, áx)
 are all confused as [aay']. But if a
 systematic way of expressing these is
 required, we may again have recourse

to short marks, thus [aa'i, aa'ě, aay'].
 And if the *second* element is long, we
 must use long marks, thus (áai, áai, áii,
 áii) = [aa'i, aa'ěě, aa'i, aa'ěě']. These
 long and short marks always point out
 the unaccented element of a diphthong,
 so that [aa'ěě] is a monosyllable, but
 [aa'ee] a dissyllable. These distinc-
 tions are, however, too fine for ordinary
 use.

The *vanish diphthongs* (e'e', oo'w) are
 written [ai'y, oa'w], or the same as
 [éei, éou], with which they are usually
 confounded. It would be possible to
 write [ai'y, oa'w'], but this is scarcely
 worth while. On the other hand, (aaə,
 AA'a) are written [aaü, auü], when they
 must be distinguished from (aa', AA'),
 to be presently symbolised.

The murmur diphthongs with *per-
 missive trill* are written with a simple
 [r], which is always considered to be
 a diphthongising [ü] followed by a
permissive trill, and hence must never
 be used when a trill is not allowable.
 Thus (iia, eei, aax, AAx, oox, uux) = [i'r,
 e'r, aa'r, au'r, ao'r, uo'r], and since the
 change of vowel is instinctively made in
 received pronunciation, [eer, air, aa'r,
 au'r, oar, oor] might be written as
 more generally intelligible in popular
 Glossic, such as that on p. 1178. For
 all accurate dialectal purposes, however,
 the vowels should be distinguished, and
 [eer] should never be confused with
 [i'h'r], and so on.

Then for (æə, æə) we should, of
 course, use [u', e'], but, if there is a
 permissive trill, (ææ, ææ) = [u'r, e'r],
manner = [man'ur man'e'r], *earnest* =
 [e'rnest]. An *obligatory* trill is written
 [r'], which may be added to the former, as
earring = (ii'riq) = [i'r'r'ing] or [ee'rriq].
 Mr. Bell's untrilled (r) may, when
 desired, continue to be so written, the
 (.) being the turned (r) used to mark
 degrees.

Dialectal Vowels and Diphthongs.

We have thus exhausted the received
 vowels and diphthongs. For the dia-
 lectal additions we have first:

(ü ee ææ oo uu, i e a o o u)
 = [i' e' a' ao' uo', ee ai aa ao oa oo]

and (ah aah, a aa, y yy, ə əə, æ æə)
 = [a' a', ah ah', ue ue', eo eo', oe' oe']
 with perhaps a West'n. (æ æə) = [ua ua']

It is not considered necessary to dis-
 tinguish (y₁) from (y) = [ue], with
 which it is generally confused, on the

one hand, or (ə)=[eo], with which Mr. Murray identifies it, on the other; but, if required, we may write [ɛe] for (y₁), and similarly [é, è] for (e₁, e₂). The four degrees of rounding (1116, b') may be marked by superiors, so that (1) denotes the [au] degree, (2) the [oa] degree, (3) the [oo] degree, and (4) the inner rounding, to which we must add (5) for the pouting (1256, a). Thus (A₀, u₀, o₀)=[au², uo², oa³], all of which may occur dialectally. It is advisable, however, to avoid the use of such delicate distinctions as much as possible, or, at most, to allude to them in notes and preliminary discussions. If the peculiar sound thought to be (u₀)=(uo²), is identified rather with (uh), write it [uo¹].

The new y, w, diphthongs represented on the same principle will be

(a'i di æ'i e'i éi)
=[uuy' ahy' ay' aey' ey']
(æ'u éu eu, A'u ó'u óu)
=[æew' ew' aiw', auw' ow' aow'
óu, á'u áu)
oaw' uuw' ahw']

with short first element, which would be sufficiently indicated without the accent mark as [aaw], and this form is used in unaccented syllables. A long first element requires the mark, as (dai, dau)=[ah'y, ah'w], or unaccented [ah'y, ah'w]. If (i, u) in place of (i, u) occur in the second element, as (di, du), write [ah'ě, ah'ö]. The same contrivance is necessary in such cases as (ií íe ía ío íu)=[iěě eeě eěă eěö eeö], and (éa éo óa óe)=[eăă eăö aoă aoě], which are of very rare occurrence. Even when the second element is [y, ɛ], we may write [y], and when it is [ü, ö], we may write [w], with quite sufficient exactness, as [iy, uow]=(íi, úu). When the stress falls on the second element, as (ié íá uá uó), we may either write fully [ěěe eăaa ööaa ööoa], or concisely [ye yaa waa woa], as quite near enough for every dialectal purpose.

When the last element is [üě], we may write it thus or by [w], because the effect is a variant of [w], thus (éy æ'y)=[aiüě oeüě] or [aiw oew].

The *murmur diphthongs without permissive trill*, when ending in (e v), will be written with [ü ü'], but when ending in (') with [h'], which represents the simple voice, thus

(iə iv i' — uə v v')
=[iü iü' ih' — uoü uoü' uoh'],

of which (ih' uoh') are the usual forms. Of course if the first element is long, we have [i'h' uo'h']=(ii' uu'), and this gives us a means of distinguishing [i'r] with a permissive trill, into [i'h'] with no trill, and [i'h'r'] with a certain trill, while [i'r'] has no murmur. Compare English *deary me* with French *dire à moi*=(dii'ri mii, diir a muá)=[di'h'ri mee', dee'r' aa mwaa].

Received Consonants.

The received consonants (p b, t d, k g, wh w, f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, l m n) are the same in glossic as in palaeotype.

But glossic [ch, j] are used as abbreviations for (tsh, dzh), which are of constant occurrence; [tch, dj] ought not to be written, in *clutch, judge* [kluch, juj], unless we desire to shew that the [t, d] are held, as [klutch judj]=[kluttsh juddzh].

For (jh, j) use [yh, y], and for (r), the trilled r, employ [r']; but, as in received glossic, simple [r] is sufficient before vowels, unless great emphasis is given to the trill.

For (q) use [ng], taking care to write [n-g] when this group is to be read as two letters, thus *engross*=(engroo's)=[en-gr'oa's].

Similarly as [h] must be used for (nh), and also as a part of the combinations [th, dh, sh, zh], etc., we must always distinguish [t-h, d-h, s-h, z-h]. The mere accent mark, however, is often enough, as in *pothook* [pot'huok] *pothor* [puh'u].

The mere jerk (n), which sometimes occurs dialectally where (nh) could not be pronounced, is written (h) thus *get up*=[g.hae'r uop], in Leeds.

The catch (;), which occasionally occurs in place of an aspirate, and sometimes in place of (t), will continue to be so written.

Dialectal Consonants.

The new consonants (k g kh kh kw h)=[ky' gy' ky'h kh kw'h], where the apostrophised [y', w'] answer to the diacritics (j, w), and are thus distinguished from [y, w]=(j, w). Properly (kw, gw) should be [kw', gw'], though few persons may care to distinguish these from [kw, gw]. The (nh, rw) are [nh, rw']. The French *u* and *gn* mouillé (lj, nj), would be [ly', ny'], if they occurred in our dialects.

The dental (sh, zh) are not required, on account of (ch, j).

But the dental (t, d) are indispensable, and are written (t', d'), as *water* = Yorkshire [waat'wɹ].

Dental (r), if found, must be [r], as [r'] is the common trill. There is no need to mark it after [t', d'], except in phonetic discussions, but where it occurs independently, it should be noted.

The uvular (r) or burr is [r̥]. Irish rolled trill (r) may be [r̥]. Glottal (ɾ) is [r̥], with prefixed comma.

We have thus probably a complete alphabet for all English dialects. If new signs are required, they will generally be found in the Universal Glossic furnished in the notice prefixed to Part III. of this book. The following is an alphabetical list of the Glossic signs just explained, with their palaeotypic equivalents; for convenience *italics* are used for glossic, and the parentheses of palaeotype are omitted, unless it is also entirely in *italic*.

Palaeotypic Key to Dialectal Glossic.

a æ, a' ææ, a' ah, a' aah.
aa a, aa' aa, aa a, aaëë ái, aa'ëë áai,
aa'ëë áaii, aa'h' áa', aa'í áai, aa'í áaii,
aa'r aaí, aaü áa, aaw' áu, aa'w áau,
aay áai, aay' áai.
ae E, ae' EE, aey' E'i, aew' E'u.
ah (a), ah' (aa), ahëë (ái), ahöü (áu),
ahy' (ái), ah'y (ái), ahw' (áu), ah'w (áu).
ai (e), ai' (ee), ai (e'), ai (e'), ai'y (éi),
ai'y (éi), ai'y' (é'j), aiw' (éu).
ao o, ao' oo, aoh' o', ao'h' oo', aöä óa,
aoë ée, aor' ooi, aow' óu, aow' óou.
au A, au' AA, au² A_o, au'h' AA', au'r
AAí, auü A'ó, auw' A'u, au'y A'i, au'y
AA'i.
aw æ'u, a'w áhu.
ay æ'i, ay' ææ'i, ay' áhi, ay' áahi.
b b, b b.
ch t.sh.
d d, d' d, dh dh.
e e, e' ee, e' æ, e' ææ, é e', é e', eä ä éa,
ëü éo.
ee i, ee' ii, eëü ía, eëaa íá, eëé íe, eëé íé,
eëí íi, eëü ía, eëü íu, eëoo íú, eew íu,
éey íi.
ei [unanalysed diphthong of the (ái)
class, no palaeotypic equivalent].
eo (o), eo' (æ).
er eei', e'r eæi.
eu [unanalysed diphthong of the (íu)
class, no palaeotypic equivalent].
ew éu.
ey éi.
f f.
g g, gw' gw, gy' gj.
h hh, h h, h' h.
i (i), i' (ii), i' (y), iëë íi, ih' (i'), i'h'
(i'), ioo íú, iu (íu), iü' íu, iw íu.

Nasal (b) is [b], the sign [j] preceding, instead of following. The same mark [j] will nasalise vowels, when they occur, as [aa'y]. French nasality is indicated by adding [n'].

Implosion may have its palaeotypic sign (''), but it will generally be enough to write (at 't táim) as [aat)t(áaym] or [aat t taaym], or even [aatt taaym], in place of the full [aat)''t)taaym].

j dzh.
k k, kh kh, kw' kw, kw'h kw'h, ky' kj,
ky'h kjh.
l l, l' l, ly' lj.
m m, mm 'm.
n n, n' A, ng q, n-g ng, ngg qg, ngk qk,
nn 'n, ny' nj.
o o, o' oo, ow' óu.
oa (o), oa' (oo), oa³ (o_n), oaw' (óu), oa'w
(óou), oa'w' (oo'w), oay' (ói), oa'y
(óoi).
oe æ, oe' ææ, oe'w æ'y.
oi [unanalysed diphthong of the (ó'i)
class, no palaeotypic equivalent].
oo u, oo' uu, ööaa uá, ööoa uó.
ou [unanalysed diphthong of the (áu)
class, no palaeotypic equivalent].
oy ó'i.
p p.
r r, r' r, 'r (r), r' r, 'r' r, r' r,
'r' r, rw' rw.
s s.
sh sh.
t t, t' t, 't' t.
th th.
u u, u' uu, u' u, u'r uu.
ue y, ue' yy, üe y.
uo (u), uo' (uu), uo² (u_o), uo' (uh), uoh'
(u'), uo'h' (uu'), uor' (uu), uou' (ú),
uou' (úv).
uu u, uu' uu, uuw' u'u, uuy u'i.
uw u'u, uw' u'u, u'w u'ý.
uy ó'i, u'y ó'i.
v v.
w w, w' (w), wh wh, waa wa uá, woa
wo uó.
y j, y' j, yh jh, yaa ja íá, ye je íé,
yëëoo jíá, yíoo jíú, yoo ju íú.
z z, zh zh.

Examples of the use of this alphabet, which for any particular dialect is simple and convenient, will be given in No. 10. A learner ought always to begin with reading received pronunciation as written in glossic, with the conventions of p. 1175, as shewn on p. 1178. He should then gradually attempt to express the diphthongs [ei, oi, ou, eu] in their analysed forms, say as [aay, auy, aaw, yoo]. Next he should endeavour to appreciate the varieties [aay, a'y, ay, aey, ey, aiy], and [aay, uuy, uy, e'y], etc. Then he should turn to the unaccented syllables, and endeavour to express them unconventionally. He should constantly check his results to see that he has not allowed old habits of spelling to mislead him, as *in using silent letters*, or *ay, aw* for [ai, au], or *y* final as a vowel, etc. The encroachments of mute *e* will be found very difficult to resist. There will also be a tendency to write *s* for either [s] or [z], to use *th* for [dh], *ng* for [ngg], *nk* for [ngk]; and especially to introduce an *r* where it may never be trilled, as *brort arter*, for [brau't aartu']. The difficulty experienced by northerners, who have always read *a, u* as (a, u)=[aa, uo] in their dialect, to refrain from writing *a bad nut* instead of (u' baad nuot) is very great indeed. It has been a source of very great trouble to myself in deciphering dialectal writing sent to me. Yet it is absolutely necessary to use [a, u] in the senses familiar in the middle, west, and south of England, and in received speech. Since also only one of the two vowel-sounds [u, uu] usually occurs in the accented syllables of any speaker (though both may often be heard, if properly sought for, in the same locality), there is a constant tendency in beginners to use [u] for their own sound, whatever it may be, and to consider [uu] as some mysterious sound which they have not fully grasped. Thus northern writers have constantly confused [uu uo²], occasioning terrible confusion and tediously evolved rectifications. Again, there is a very strong tendency to consider [ee, ai, aa, au, oa, oo] as necessarily long, instead of being in dialectal writing necessarily short, unless marked as long. It is this which renders the use of [maan] objected to, because it would be read [maan] at first. There is the same difficulty in reading [i', e', a', o', u', uo'] as long, as in [ti'h', te'h', ba'rh, o'd, bu'n, shuo'h'], representing regular sounds of *tear* n., *tear* v., *burn*, *sure*, and provincial sounds of *Bath*, *old*. Great care must be taken with these quantities. Scotch [meet] is not English [meēt], and [ee] short and [i'] long occur in Dorset. Another difficulty arises from the constant tendency to write initial *h* where the dialectal speaker is totally unconscious of its existence, and similarly *wh* when only [w] is said. Nay, many persons will dialectally insert *h, wh*, where there was not even the excuse of old spelling, as *hurn* for *run* in Somersetshire, where simple [u'n]=(æn) is often, if not always, uttered without the least trace of either *h* or *r*.

These are some of the rocks on which beginners founder. There is another to which I would draw particular attention. A beginner is apt to vary the glossic signs, to introduce new ones, either new combinations, or accented varieties, or even to give new meanings

to combinations already employed for sounds which he has not considered. This mutilation of a system which it has taken years of thought and practice to perfect, by one who just begins to use it, has I trust only to be deprecated, in order to be prevented. Writers may of course use any system of spelling of their own invention which they please, but when one has been elaborated with great care to meet an immense number of difficulties, so that even a single change involves many changes, and perhaps deranges the whole plan of construction, writers should *either use it as presented, or not at all*. I feel that I have a right to insist on this, and I should not have done so, had not occasion been given.

There is one point which causes great difficulty, and for which no provision has yet been made. I allude to *dialectal intonation*. The principal elements of this are *length, force, and pitch*.

The vowel and consonant *quantity* has been provided for.

Syllabic quantity is made up of a number of vowel and consonant quantities of marked differences. To go into this minutely requires a scale of *length*, and those who choose may employ the numerical system already given (1131, *d*). But for rapid writing, an underlined series like . : | — 0 = + \mp \pm will be most useful, to be reduced to figures afterwards. This may also apply to syllables generally. Here the medium length is 0, or is left unmarked, the four shorter degrees are . : | —, and the four longer are = + \mp +|. This is abundant for most purposes.

Force also requires a series or scale, as already suggested (1130, *a'*), but the musical terms and signs there adduced are more generally known.

Pitch cannot be accurately given. The simplest mode that suggests itself to me is to draw a straight line——— above the line of writing, to represent

the medium pitch, and then a wavy line proceeding above and below it, more or less, as the pitch rises or falls. This, for printing, might readily be interpreted as a scale, 5 being the middle line, 1, 2, 3, 4 distances below, and 6, 7, 8, 9 distances above it.

All these additional marks should either be in pencil or differently coloured ink, and should in print form different lines of figures above and below the writing, commencing with the letters L, F, P, to shew that length, force, and pitch are respectively used, and for each the scale of 9, of which 5 is the mean, should be used.

No writer should attempt to use these fine indications without considerable practice upon his own pronunciation, putting by his writing for some days, and then seeing whether it is sufficient to recall the facts to his own consciousness. Of course till he is able to do this, he cannot hope to convey them to others.

Lastly, quality of tone is of importance. The dialectal writer remembers how the Johnny or Betty who spoke the words used them at the time, but they were mixed up with personal as well as local peculiarities of quality of tone, and he can't convey this, or convey the tone unqualified. It is like the despair of the engraver at not conveying colour. The nature of quality of tone has only recently been discovered, and it would be impossible to use the necessary technical language, because it would not be understood. We are, therefore, reduced to explanatory words, such as hoarse, trembling, whining, drawling, straining, and the like. If there is a character for any district, those who care to convey it should study it carefully, and spend, not five minutes, but many hours and days, at different intervals, in noting its characteristics and endeavouring to describe them in writing. All kinds of description are difficult to write, but descriptions of quality of tone are extremely difficult.

Mr. Melville Bell, in his "New Elucidation of the Principles of Speech and Elocution," (first edition, Edinburgh, 1849, p. 299), a book full of thoughtful and practical suggestions, gives the following summary of points to be borne in mind when representations of individual utterance are given. The symbols are here omitted.

Inflection. Simple, separately rising or falling from middle tone; compound, wavingly rising and falling, or falling and rising from middle tone.

Modulation. Conversational or middle key, with a high and higher, and a low and lower; and progressive elevation and depression.

Force. Vehement, energetic, moderate, feeble, piano; and progressive increase and diminution of force.

Time. Rapid, quick, moderate, slow, adagio; with progressive acceleration and retardation.

Expression. Whisper, hoarseness, falsetto, orotund, plaintive, tremor, prolongation, sudden break, laughter, chuckling, joy, weeping, sobbing, effect of distance, straining or effect of strong effort, staccato, sostenuto, sympathetic, imitative, expressive pause, sadness, panting respiration, audible inspiration, sighing or sudden audible expiration.

NO. 6. DIALECTAL VOWEL RELATIONS.

i. J. Grimm's Views of the Vowel Relations in the Teutonic Languages.

Jacob Grimm, after having passed in review the *literary* vowel systems of the Teutonic languages, proceeds (D.G.I.³, 527) with freer breath (*freieres athems*) to review the relations of quantity (*quantität*), quality (*qualität*), weakening (*schwächung*), breaking (*brechung*), transmutation (*umlaut*), promutation (*ablaut*), and pronunciation (*aussprache*). On the relations of sound and writing he says (*ib.* p. 579):—

"Writing, coarser than sound, can neither completely come up to it at any standing point, nor, from its want of flexibility, at all times even follow up the trail of fluent speech. The very fact that all European nations received an historical alphabet, capable of expressing the peculiarities of their sounds with more or less exactness, threw difficulties in the way of symbolisation. An attempt was gradually made to supply deficiencies by modifying letters. As long as this supplement was neglected or failed, writing appeared defective. But while thus yielding to sound, writing in return acts beneficially on its preservation. Writing fixes sound in its essence, and preserves it from rapid decay. It is easily seen that purity and certainty of pronunciation are closely connected with the advance of civilisation and the propagation of writing. In popular dialects there is more oscillation, and deviations of dialects and language generally are chiefly due to want of cultivation among the people. The principle of writing by sound is too natural not to have been applied by every people when first reducing its language to writing. But it would be improper (*ungerecht*) to repeat it constantly, because writing would then alter in every century, and the connection of literature with history and antiquity would be lost. If modern Greek, French, and English orthography were regulated by their present pronunciation, how insupportable and unintelligible they would appear to the eye! My view is that the various German languages had means of representing all essential vowel-sounds, and employed them by no means helplessly. But it would be absurd (*thöricht*) to measure the old pronunciation by the present standard,

and unreasonable (*unbillig*) to throw the whole acuteness of grammatical analysis on to the practical aim of orthography."

It is not pleasant to differ from a man who has done such good work for language, and especially for the branch of languages to which our own belongs, that it would be difficult to conceive the state of our philology without his labours. But Grimm was essentially a man of letters. Language to him was a written crystallisation, not a living growing organism. Its stages as already recognized by writing, he could and did appreciate in a manner for which we are all deeply grateful, but having reached his own stage, he conceived that the *new* languages were to remain in their present form, for the *eye* of future generations. The very languages which he cites to shew the insupportability of reinstalling the old principle, "write by sound," are the most glaring European instances of its necessity. It is only by much study that we acquire a conception of what living Greek, French, and English actually are, below the thick mask of antique orthography which hides their real features. If we had not an opportunity of acquiring their sounds, we should make the absurdest deductions respecting them. We have no occasion to go further than Grimm's own investigations of the relations of English vowels (*ibid.* pp. 379-401) for this purpose. Having nothing to bridge over the gap between Anglosaxon and the English of modern pronouncing dictionaries, which shew only the net result respecting the literary form of a single dialect, he was entirely unable to see the relations of the different vowel-sounds. Notwithstanding even all the previous investigations in the present work, the relations cannot yet be securely traced, and nothing more than indications can here be attempted.

So far from a crystallised orthography fixing pronunciation, it disguises it, and permits all manner of sounds to be fitted to the same signs, as the various nations of China use the same literary language with mutually unintelligible varieties of speech. It is not orthography, but intercommunication, the schoolmaster, and social pressure to which we owe our apparent uniformity of pronunciation. Our medieval spelling was contrived by ecclesiastics familiar with Latin, who tried to use Romance letters to express Teutonic sounds, of course only approximatively, and were able to indicate native variety but vaguely. I have already attempted to shew what would be the effect of trying even a more complete alphabet for representing received pronunciation (1245, *c*), and I have propounded the list of sounds which are apparently required for dialectal writing (1262, *b*). If we were to confine ourselves to a mere Latin alphabet, the result would be altogether insufficient. The orthography used by local writers of the present day, founded on the received pronunciation as they conceive it, still confuses many vowel-sounds, and makes perfect havoc of the diphthongs. For the older state of our language, and in the same way for the other Teutonic languages, we have to work up through a similar slough of despond. Hence the vowel relations on which Grimm dwells in the chapter just cited are comparatively insecurely based, and must be accepted as the very

best result that could then be reached, but not as the best attainable as phonology advances.

But coming from the dead to the living,—from the letters adapted by learned priests from Latin to Anglosaxon and old English, and more or less rudely followed by paid and unlearned scribes (249, *d.* 490, *c.*), to the language as actually spoken by and among our peasantry,—the problem is very different. Our crystallised orthography has not affected the pronunciation of these men at all. They feel that they have nothing in common with it, that they cannot use it to write their own language, but that it represents a way of speech they have to employ for “the gentry,” as well as they can. This imitation of “quality talk” is not dialectal, and is really mispronunciation, of the same character as a foreigner’s.¹ The dialectal speakers are in fact foreigners in relation to book-speakers. Although we are obliged to refer their sounds to those of received speech present or past, yet this is only as a help to our own ignorance. No proper classification is possible without a knowledge of the individuals, and that has, in this case, yet to be collected. The results gathered in Mr. Murray’s book on Scotch, and in the present chapter, are quite unexampled for English. They are far too few and too uncertain for scientific results. They can only lead up to theories which will guide future research; but they serve to open out a method which, when generally applied, cannot but prove of the highest philological value. The pronunciation of each district has to be separately appreciated, in connection with a well-chosen and well-arranged system of words. Of course grammatical and other considerations will also have to be weighed, but, from the nature of my subject, I confine myself strictly to phonology. Yet the formation of such a test vocabulary is, in fact, the smallest portion of the task. The discovery of the dialectal sounds of the words it contains for any one district, is a work of very great time and labour, even when the collector has much phonetic knowledge and practice. He must be a person long accustomed to the sounds, one before whom the dialect people speak freely; and he must be able to write them down when heard. There are numerous country clergymen, country attorneys, country surgeons, country schoolmasters, who are in a position to hear the sounds freely, but they seldom note them. They have seldom the philological education which leads them to consider these “rude” sounds and phrases of any value; and when they take them up as a local curiosity, they are generally unaware of their comparative value, and waste time over etymological considerations of frequently the crudest kind. But they are most supremely ignorant of phonology, and have not the least conception of how to write sounds consistently, or of how

¹ We shall have occasion to see how the desire of “talking fine” produces certain modes of speech in towns, and examples of three kinds used in Yorkshire will be furnished, through the kindness of Mr. C. C. Robinson. The

Scottish pronunciation of *English*, as distinguished from the vernacular, of which Mr. Murray gives an account (*op. cit.* p. 138), is an instance of a similar kind. But none of these belong to natural pronunciation proper.

to use a consistent alphabet when presented to them. Even those who have been partially educated by the use of Mr. I. Pitman's phonetic shorthand and phonetic printing,¹ are not up to the vagaries of dialectal speech, and make curious blunders, though happy am I to find such workers in the field. If I am fortunate enough, however, to discover any who have advanced as far as Bell's Visible Speech, or Murray's South Scottish Dialects, I begin to have great confidence. But even then the *habit* of strict writing is so slowly acquired, that slips frequently occur, and I have in no case been able to obtain information without considerable correspondence about it, raising points of difficulty and explaining differences, and worrying myself and my friends with questions of detail.²

The present considerations have been suggested by an examination of the dialectal specimens which follow. Those which are couched in the ordinary orthography, and which I could not get natives to read to me, are such uncertain sources of information, that I have been able to make them available only by guessing at sounds through information otherwise obtained, and from a general sense of what the writers must have meant. But, of course, I was at first liable to the same sources of error as a Frenchman reading English, with not quite so much information on the sounds as is given in an ordinary grammar. I feel considerable confidence in those specimens which I print at once in palaeotype. I could not have interpreted them into this form, if the information I had received had not been rendered tolerably precise. Of course there will be many errors left, but I hope that the specimens are, as a whole, so far correct as to form something like firm footing for scientific theory. The names of each of the kind friends who have helped me in this work will be given in due order. But I wish generally to express my great obligations to them for their assistance, without which this chapter would have entirely collapsed. It was a work of great labour to all of them, and was sometimes rendered under very trying conditions.

Grimm specifies quantity, quality, weakening, breaking, transmutation, and promutation.

Of these *promutation*—such as the grammatical vowel change in (*siq*, *sæg*, *sæg*), or (*siq*, *saq*, *suq*)—has no phonological interest in this work, and will therefore be passed over.

Transmutation in German is *prospective*, and consists in the change of vowel-sound in a word, when a syllable is added containing a vowel of another character. It may also be *retrospective*, when a sound is reduced to conformity with one that precedes. In one form or the other, this remarkable phenomenon runs through many

¹ See *suprà*, pp. 1182-5.

² In the case of the comparative example given below, I have often had to send a paper of 50 or 60 (in one case 117) questions before I could make use of the information given. And even then it was difficult to frame them intelligibly, so as to lead to a reply which

should really give me information. And my first "examination paper" had frequently to be supplemented by a second one on the answers to the first. I can only be thankful to the patience of correspondents, mostly personally unknown to me, who submitted to this tedious infliction.

languages; it is marked in Polish and Hungarian, more than in German, and is the basis of the Gaelic vowel rule (52, *d*). The essence of prospective transmutation consists in the consciousness of the speaker that a vowel of a certain kind is going to follow, so that his preparation for that vowel, while his organs are arranged for a different one, produces a third sound, more or less different from both.¹ This consciousness crystallises afterwards into pedantic rules, which remain after all action of the consciousness has long disappeared. Not having observations on the English dialects in reference to this phenomenon sufficient to reduce it to rule, I pass it over.

Quality refers to the difference of vowels, and, in Grimm especially, to their generation, as it were, from three original short vowels (a, i, u). This generation is, I fear, a theory principally due to the imperfection of old alphabetic usages. My experience of uncultured man does not lead me to the adoption of any such simple theory, although, as already observed (51, *a*), like the theory of the four elements, it is of course based upon real phenomena, and still possesses some value. It is singular that Grimm compares this vowel triad to a colour triad of a curious description, and the means, (e, o), inserted between the extremes (i, a) and (a, u), to other colours, after an analogy which I find it difficult to follow, thus (*op. cit.* p. 33):

(i	e	a	o	u)
red	yellow	white	blue	black
(éi	ái	áu	íu)	
orange	rose	azure	violet	

These are mere fancies, unfounded in physics,² based upon nothing but subjective feeling, and yielding no result. The qualitative theory which we now possess is entirely physical, depending upon pitch and resonance.

¹ See the remarkable instances from modern Sanscrit pronunciation (1138, *b*. 1139, *b*). Grimm curiously enough starts the conception that this transmutation (*umlaut*) had some analogy with the change of old S into later R (*op. cit.* p. 34, note).

² If we adopt the vibrational or undulatory theory of light, then there is this analogy between colour and pitch, that both depend upon the number of vibrations of the corresponding medium (luminous ether and atmospheric air) performed in one second. In this case *red* is the lowest, *blue* (of some kind) highest in pitch, *green* being medial. Now vowels, as explained on (1278, *c*), may be to a certain degree arranged according to natural pitch; and in this case (i) is the highest, (a) medium, and (u) lowest. Hence the physical analogies of vowel and light are (i) blue, (a)

green, (u) red, and I believe that these are even subjectively more correct than Grimm's, where *white* (presence of all colours) and *black* (absence of all colours) actually form part of the scale. But physically *white* would be analogous to an attempt to utter (i, a, u) at once, producing utter obliteration of vowel effect; and the sole analogue of *black* would be—silence! Again, even his diphthongs, considered as mixtures of pigments, are singular. With mixtures of colours he was of course unacquainted. The *orange* from red and yellow will pass, but *rose* from red and white (pale red), *azure* from white and black (grey), *violet* from red and black (dirty brown), are remarkable failures. Could Jacob Grimm have been colour-blind? Dugald Stewart, who rested much of his theory of beauty on colour, was himself colour-blind!

Weakening consists, according to Grimm, in "an unaccountable diminishing of vowel content" (*dass zuweilen ohne allen anlass der gehalt der vocale gemindert wird*, *ibid.* p. 541). The expression is entirely metaphorical, and is unintelligible without explanation. To Grimm, vowels have weight, (i) being the lightest, (u) the heaviest, and (a) intermediate, so that (a) may be regarded as a diminished (u), and (i) as a weakened (u) and (a). This, however, belongs to promutation, and he dwells chiefly on a vowel being "obscured" (*getrübt*) into some nearly related one, comparing ags. *stäf*, *bác*, *cräft*; engl. *staff*, *back*, *craft*; fries. *stef*, *bek*, *krefte*, where there is no transmutation. He finds a similar change of *a* to *o*. He seems to confine the term weakening to these changes.

Breaking is introduced thus (*ib.* p. 32): "A long vowel grows out of two short vowels, but the confluence of two short vowels does not always produce a long one. For if the two short ones combine without doubling their length, but leave it single, they give up a part of their full natural short quantity, and, on addition, only make up the length of the single short quantity. These may be called *broken* vowels (*gebrochene vocale*), without particularizing the nature of the fraction. Assuming the *full* short vowel to be = 1, the long would be = $1 + 1 = 2$; the broken = $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{4} = 1$." And then in a note he has the extraordinary statement, quite upsetting all physical notions, and shewing the mere literary character of his investigations: "This breaking of vowels is like the aspiration of consonants"! (*ibid.* p. 33.) Grimm considers breaking mainly due to the action of a following *r*, *h*; his classical instances are Gothic *baíran* *faúra*, and, which are for us the most important, the ags. *ea*, *eo*, *ie*, from which he entirely separates ags. *eá*, *eó*, *ié*, considering the latter to be diphthongs having more than the unit length, and hence different from his broken vowels.

There remains *quantity*. "Vowels are either *short* or *long*: a difference depending on the time within which they are pronounced. The long vowel has double the measure of the short." (*ibid.* p. 32.) We are evidently here on the old, old footing, the study of books—not speakers.

ii. On Vowel Quantity in Living Speech.

The late Prof. Hadley very properly blamed me, in reviewing the first and second parts of this work (down to p. 632), for not having paid sufficient attention to quantity as marked in Anglosaxon works, and especially in Orrmin.¹ With this it is not now the proper place

¹ His critique, which appeared in the *North American Review* for April, 1870, pp. 420-437, has been reprinted in a volume of "Essays Philological and Critical, selected from the papers of James Hadley, LL.D. New York, 1873," pp. 240-262. It was the earliest notice of my work in the English language, and contains the judgment of a profound scholar, who had fairly studied the first four chapters, and

cursorily looked over the next two. He begins by giving an account of palaeotype. He disputes some of my conclusions from my own data, and considers that long *a* could not have been broader than (*ææ*), "at the opening of the sixteenth century," (p. 247), nor that long *u* was substantially different from its present sound (p. 250). He confesses to "some feeling of doubt, if not skepticism," as to my "whole

to deal, but I would remark on the essential difference between the letter-length and the speech-length of vowels, consonants, and syllables. The sound of what is recognized as the same syllable lasts a longer or shorter time, according to the wish or feeling of the speaker. The difference of length does not change its dictionary significance, but occasionally (much less, however, than alterations of pitch and quality of tone, which usually accompany the various degrees of length), practically modifies its meaning considerably to the listener. And this syllabic length may be analysed, as already partly explained (1131, *d.* 1146, *b*), into the lengths of the several vowels, the several consonants, and the several glides between these parts two and two. The length of the glides is usually thrown out of consideration. But it is often a question to me how much is due to one and how much to the other. In received speech the so-called long vowels are all different in quality from the so-called short vowels; and hence when a Scotchman, for example, gives a short pronunciation to any of the so-called long vowels, in places where the southerner uses his corresponding short vowel, which is altogether different in quality, the latter blames the former for pronouncing the southern short vowel long!

This connection of quality with quantity makes it difficult for a speaker of received pronunciation to determine the real length of vowel-sounds used by dialectal speakers. I find my own ear constantly at fault, and I have no doubt that many of my correspondents are not to be implicitly trusted in matters of quantity. But the length of the glides, the different action of voiced and voiceless consonants on preceding vowels, the holding and not holding of those consonants, and Mr. Sweet's rule for final consonants (1145, *d'*), also materially interfere, not merely with practical observation, but with theoretical determination. In many cases, no doubt, our crude, rough way of indicating the quantity of a vowel as (*a*, *aa*), must often be considered as marking merely a temporary feeling due rather to the consonant than to the vowel. We have no standard of length, no means even of measuring the actual duration of the extremely brief sounds uttered. A long vowel in one word means something very different from a long vowel in another. In the case of diphthongs the lengths of the elements are entirely comparative among one another, and bear no assignable relation to the lengths of adjoining consonants or of vowels in adjoining syllables.

theory of labialised consonants," (p. 253). And he dwells on my shortcomings with respect to quantity on pp. 259-262. Thus (412, *c*) *ase* is (*aa'se*), but (*ase*)—he should have said (*as*)—occurs (413, *a'*). Of course the first should also be (*a'se*). On (442, *d'*) we have (*don*) compared with (*doon*) below. The latter is correct, of course, and (*miis'doon'*) on (442, *d'*) should, I think, be (*mi'sdoon'*). The (*laa'vird*, *lav'erd*, *ded*, *forgiiv'*, *forgiv'eth*, *forgif-*

ness), *suprà*, p. 443, should probably be (*laa'verd*, *deed*, *forgiiv'*, *forgiiv'eth*, *forgiiv'nes*). I am sorry to see that (*dead-litshe*) for (*déad-liitshe*) occurs on (503, *ed*). Prof. Hadley subsequently did better than criticise; he supplemented my shortcomings, in a paper on *Quantity*, read before the American Philological Association in 1871, reprinted in the same volume, pp. 263-295, of which I hope to give an account in Chap. XII.

With Englishmen diphthongs may be extremely brief,¹ and short vowels may be pronounced at great length (as in singing) without altering the character and signification of the word.²

The length of vowels in received English is very uncertain. How far it is dialectally fixed I will not pretend to say. At times vowels are unmistakably lengthened, but this is not frequent. The two most careful observers on this point among my kind helpers are Mr. Murray for Scotch, and Mr. Hallam for Derbyshire, both of whom are acquainted with Mr. Bell's Visible Speech. Mr. Murray makes the Scotch sounds generally short, and occasionally long. But he remarks (Dialect of S. S., p. 97): "Absolutely *short*, or, as it might better be called, *ordinary* or *natural*, quantity in Scotch is longer than English short quantity, though not quite so long as English long quantity; but long quantity in Scotch is much longer than long quantity in English. Even in English, quantity differs greatly in absolute length; for though the vowel-sounds in *thief*, *thieves*, *cease*, *sees*, are considered all alike long *e* (ii), *thieves* and *sees* are certainly pronounced with a longer vowel than *thief* and *cease*. It would, perhaps, be most correct to say that Scotch long quantity is like that in *sees*, short quantity nearly like that in *cease*." Much here depends on the consonant; see also Prof. Haldeman's remarks (1191, a. 1192, b'). Mr. Murray also observes that something depends in Scotch on the *quality* of the vowel itself; thus: "With (æ) and (a), and to a less degree with (e) and (o), there is a great tendency to lengthen the short vowel before the mutes, and to pronounce *egg*, *skep*, *yett*, *beg*, *bag*, *rag*, *bad*, *bog*, *dog*, as (ææg, skææp, jææt, bææg, baag, raag, baad, boog, doog)" (*ibid.* p. 98). Mr. Hallam, it will be seen, constantly takes refuge in medial quantities, lengths decidedly longer than the usual English short, and yet not decidedly long. Mr. C. C. Robinson occasionally does the same, and all dialectal writers who wish to represent quantity with accuracy meet with similar

¹ The old theory made diphthongs essentially long, as made up of two short vowels, yet they did not always "scan" as long, or influence the position of the accent as long, in ancient Greek. And Merkel, a German, says: that "syllables with true diphthongs have always a medial quantity, that is, not fully short, but *not capable of prolongation*, as otherwise they would lose their monosyllabic character," (Silben mit wahren Diphthongen sind stets mittelzeitig, d.h. nicht völlig kurz, aber auch nicht producibel, sonst geht die Einsilbigkeit verloren. Phys. Lale-tik, p. 322). His true diphthongs are (ai, au, ay, oi, ou, oy, ui, yi). He considers combinations like (ei, eu, œi) to be "altogether and under all circumstances dissyllabic, and to have no claim at all to be considered diphthongs" (*ib.* p. 125), which shews the effect of

native habits of speech on even theoreticians.

² Since beginning to write these remarks, I heard a man cry "Saturday," while speaking to a mate on the other side of the street. I was not able to determine the quality or quantity of the first vowel, though the word was repeated, and I thought it over for some time afterwards. Most persons would have written (sæ-tərdee) without hesitation, but this is merely the effect of old education, which tells them that the first vowel is short and the last long, and that (r) is heard. I took refuge finally in (sah^{ah} tæde), making the first vowel medial, and the two next short and indistinct, though I could not determine their relative lengths, the (t) decidedly dental, the (d) not certain, the quality of the first vowel (ah) not satisfactorily fixed.

difficulties, which do not fail to occur in other languages also (518, *a*). We are not properly in a condition to appreciate a pronunciation, which, like the ancient Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, marked length so distinctly as to make it the basis of verse-rhythm, to the exclusion of alterations of pitch and force.¹ At any rate, our own spoken quantities are very different from musical length, and the extreme variety of musical length which composers will assign to the parts of the same word at different times serves to shew to what a small extent fixed length is now appreciated. As regards myself, although I often instinctively assign long and short vowels in writing to different words, yet when I come to question myself carefully as to the reasons why I do so, I find the answers in general very difficult to give, and the more I study, the less certainty I feel.

That there *are* differences of length, no one can doubt. That those lengths are constant, either relatively or absolutely, cannot be affirmed.² There is naturally a great difficulty in prolonging a sound at the same pitch and with the same quality of tone. Are vowel qualities ever purely prolonged? Does not the quality, as well as confessedly the pitch of spoken vowels, alter on an attempt to produce them? Are not all appreciably longer vowel qualities really gliding, that is, insensibly altering qualities, so that the commencing and ending qualities are sensibly different? Such combinations as Mr. Hallam's Derbyshire (*ii*, *úu*) may possibly rather belong to this category than to that of intentional diphthongs. If we were to examine carefully what is really said, we should, I think, have to augment the number of such phenomena considerably. The London (*ee'*j, *oo'w*) are cases of a similar kind.³ To retain the vowel quality for a sensible time requires an unnatural fixity of muscle, and consequently relaxations constantly occur, which alter the

¹ My short experience of Mr. Gupta's quantitative pronunciation of Sanscrit (1139, *a*) makes me feel it highly desirable that the reading of Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian quantitative verse, by learned natives, should be accurately studied. Italian and Modern Greek reading of classics leads to no result, because the true feeling for quantity has there died out. But it really prevails in the East. In France, some writers dwell much on quantity; others, like M. Féline, drop almost all expression of quantity, as in the example, *suprà* p. 327. We have nothing in ordinary Southern English at all answering to the prolongations made by Mr. Gupta in Sanscrit, or Mr. Murray in Scotch. If persons really observe the relative time they employ in uttering Greek and Latin syllables, and especially unaccented long syllables, they will, I think, be struck by the great difficulty of constantly and appreciably exhibiting the

effects of quantity, so as to make them a guide to rhythm. This is more especially felt when numerous long syllables come in close succession, as in the following lines from the beginning of the first Satire of Horace:

Qui fit Mæcenas, ut nemô, quam sibi
sortem—

Contentus vivat? laudet diversa sequentes—

O! fortunâti mercatôrës, gravis annis—
Contrâ mercâtor, nâvim jactantibus
austris—

where the long vowel is marked as usual, the short vowel is left unmarked, and position is indicated by italicising the determining consonants.

² Not in such living languages as I have had an opportunity of examining, not even in Magyar, as I heard it, although its poets profess to write quantitative metres occasionally.

³ See the remarks on *suffractures* in iv. below.

vowel quality. Again, the preparation for the following consonant acts so strongly upon the nerves which are directing the formation of the vowel, that they cease to persist in the action, and insensibly modify it, producing other changes of quality, in a manner with which we are familiar as the action of a consonant on the preceding vowel. But it may be said, although these alter the quality as it proceeds, the ear recognises the intention to continue the original quality, and gives credit for its continuance. The credit is freely given in received speech, as judged by a received orthography. But in dialectal speech we have no such assistance. We have to treat the dialect as an unwritten language, and discover what is said without reference to orthography, that is, without reference to what learned men in olden time thought would be the most practical way of approaching to the representation of sounds of *other* dialects by means of symbols whose signification had been fixed by still older writers in totally different languages. This drives us at once from books to nature, which is very hard for literary men, but is, I believe, the only way of giving reality to our investigations. As long as we do not check literature by observation, as long as we continue to take the results of old attempts at representing observations,¹ as absolutely correct, as starting-points for all subsequent theory, we lay ourselves open to risks of error sufficient to entirely vitiate our conclusions. Much harm has already been done in theoretically restoring the marks for long and short vowels in Anglo-saxon, in printing diplomatically with theoretic insertions, in systematising an orthography which was not yet understood.² Our real knowledge of the ancient lengths of these vowels consists in the analogies of other languages and the present changes. And these seem to be much affected by the already-mentioned difficulties of retaining the same quality of tone while endeavouring to prolong the sound. But to obtain a real knowledge of long and short vowels, we shall have to study languages in which difference of length, independently of difference of quality, is significant, and in which quantity forms the basis of rhythms.

¹ This is apt to be forgotten. At some early time, when phonetic knowledge was comparatively small, or the necessity of discriminating sounds was not strongly felt, alphabetic writing was comparatively vague, and, moreover, it so happens that alphabets invented for languages with one set of vowels have been used for languages with a totally different set. How much languages thus differ will be seen at the end of the next sub-number iii. But still the writing *was* based on observation, such as it was.

² "All alteration in the text of a MS., however plausible and clever, is nothing else but a sophistication of the evidence at its fountain-head: however imperfect the information conveyed by

the old scribe may be, it is still the only information we have, and, as such, ought to be made generally accessible in a reliable form." Preface to King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, by *H. Sweet*, p. viii, an edition in which the new method required for Anglo-Saxon study is well initiated. When a young man like Mr. Sweet is capable of doing such work as this, what may we not hope from his maturer years. His accurate knowledge of phonetics, and his careful powers of observation, to which frequent allusion has been made in these pages, lead us to expect the best results hereafter, if he only have opportunity to do the work he is so well qualified to produce.

The net result for our present investigations on English dialects is that all quantities here marked must be taken as provisional, that too much weight must not be attributed to the separation of long and short, and that in general a certain medial length may be assumed, which, when marked short, must not be much prolonged, and when marked long, must not be much shortened. But allowances must always be made for habit of speech, for intonation and drawling, for the grammatical collocation of the word,¹ for emphasis and accent or force of utterance, for "broadness" and "thinness" of pronunciation,—all of which materially influence quantity,—as well as for those other points of difficulty already dwelt upon, and many of which are characteristic of speech in different districts. But for the practical writing of dialects, we must continue to make a separation of short and long, if for nothing else, at any rate as an indication of glides (1146, *b*). When we write [meet·]= (mit), we seem to shut up the vowel too tightly, owing to the action of the consonant. This is not usual to the Scot, who says [m:et]= (mìt). Hence we hear the Scot say [mee·t]= (mìt), and when he really lengthens, as in *thieves* (thiivz)= [thee·vz], we almost seem to want an extra sign, as [th:·eevz]= (thiivz). For dialectal writing we do much if we keep *two* degrees, and use the long vowel really to mark a want of tightness in the glide on to the following consonant. The real value of our longs and shorts must not be taken too accurately. The writer had better give his *first* impression than his last, for the last has been subjected to all manner of modifying influences. We have simply nothing left like the quantity of quantitative languages.

iii. On Vowel Quality and its Gradations.

The *quality* of a tone is that which distinguishes notes of the same pitch, when played on different musical instruments. It is by quality of tone that we know a flute from a fiddle, organ, piano, harp, trombone, guitar, human voice. Prof. Helmholtz discovered that there exist simple tones, easily producible,² but not usually heard in nature, and that the tones which generally strike the ear are *compound*, made up of several simple tones heard or produced at the

¹ Many English dialects, like Hebrew, lengthen vowels "in the pause," *i.e.* at the close of a phrase or sentence.

² A tuning fork gives nearly a simple tone; when held over a box of proper length, it produces a really simple tone. A *c* tuning fork, struck and held over the opening of any cylindrical vessel, tumbler, jar, wide-mouthed bottle, about six inches deep, will produce the required tone. The vessel may be *tuned* to the fork, by adding water to shorten it, and thus sharpen the tone, and by partly covering the aperture to flatten it. A jar thus tuned to *c* may be easily tuned to the *a* tuning fork below it, by still further covering the mouth. It is

interesting to observe how suddenly the resonance changes from dull to bright. Every one who wishes to understand the vowel theory should study the first and second parts of Prof. Helmholtz's (161, *d*) *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*, 3rd ed., Braunschweig, 1870; pp. 639. A translation of this work into English is at present engaging a large portion of my time, and I hope that it will be published at the close of 1874 by Messrs. Longman, for whom I am writing it, under the title: *On the Sensations of Tone as a physiological basis for the theory of music*. It is one of the most beautiful treatises on modern science, and is written purposely in a generally intelligible style.

same time. The relative pitches of those tones, that is, the relative numbers of complete vibrations of the particles of air necessary to produce them, made within the same time, are always those of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and so on, 1 representing the pitch of the lowest simple tone, which the ear receives practically as that of the whole compound tone. The *quality* of the *compound* tone depends on the *relative force* or loudness of its *component* simple tones, and this relative force is dependent on the mode of production. Now, in the case of the vowels, the mode of production resembles that of the French horn. In that instrument a hemispherical cup is pressed tight on the lips, which are closed. Wind is forced from the chest, opening the lips, which immediately close by their elasticity, assisted by the pressure of the rim of the cup, and this action being repeated with great rapidity, puffs of air come in regular succession into the cup or mouth-piece, and are transmitted through a small hole at the opposite extremity into a long tube (27 feet long nearly), the contents of which form a *resonance chamber*, which is naturally only able to resound to certain simple and compound tones. The puffs of the lips are not sufficiently rapid generally, on account of their want of elasticity, to produce the tones of the long tube itself, but they are able to set the air within it in motion, and the action of this confined air is powerful enough to make the lips vibrate properly. The tube can only give certain tones, dependent on the force of the impulse given by the lips; but by introducing the hand and arm at the bell-like opening of the tube, the shape of the resonance chamber is altered, and new tones can be produced, not however so bright and distinct as the others. Now, in the human voice, a pair of elastic bands or chords, pressed closely together in the larynx, serve the purpose of the lips, and produce the puffs of air, which pass through the upper part of the cartilaginous box (often nearly closed by its lid, the epiglottis) into a resonance chamber answering to the tube of the horn,¹ which can have its shape marvellously altered by means of the muscles contracting the first part or pharynx, the action of the uvula in closing or opening the passages through the nose, and the action of the tongue and lips, which last much resembles that of the introduced hand and arm in the French horn.

There are, however, some essential points of dissimilarity between the two cases. Thus the resonant chambers in speech are small, and the resonance is not powerful enough to affect the vibrations of the vocal chords, so that the rapidity of the vibrations of these chords themselves determines the pitch and the full force of tone, while the resonant chambers can only vary the relative force of the different simple tones which compose the actual musical tone produced. It is entirely upon this variation of force that the different vowel effects depend, and, at the risk of being somewhat tedious, I shall venture to give some of the acoustical results, because they

¹ It is almost impossible in such a work as the present to avoid repetitions. Some of the present matter was anticipated on p. 161, where the

shape of the resonance tube is more fully described. It was found, however, insufficient for our present purpose merely to refer to that passage.

have not yet found their way into philological treatises, and are of the highest philological interest.

Suppose that the puffs of air produced by the vibrations of the vocal chords produce a musical note of the pitch known as B flat, on the second line of the bass staff. Then (in a way explained by Prof. Helmholtz by means of some of the most recent anatomical discoveries of the construction of the internal ear, and numerous experiments on so-called sympathetic vibration), the ear really hears not merely 1. that simple B flat, but the following among other tones in addition to it, namely, 2. the *b* flat next above it, 3. the *f'* above that, 4. the next *b'* flat, 5. the *d''* above that, 6. the octave *f'''* above the former *f'*, 7. a note a little flatter than the next *a''* flat, 8. the *b''* flat above, 9. the next tone above *c'''*, 10. the octave *d'''* of No. 5, 11. a tone not in the scale, a good deal sharper than *e'''* flat, 12. the octave *f'''* of No. 6, 13. a tone not in the scale, somewhat flatter than *g'''*, 14. the octave of No. 7, a little flatter than *a'''* flat, 15. the major third *a'''* above *f'''*, 16. *b'''* flat, the octave of No. 8, and so on, up to 24 or more, sometimes, in the human voice, especially when strained, where the numbers of vibrations in a second necessary to produce the notes written, are in proportion to the simple numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., of their order. These are the tones naturally produced on the B flat French horn. The mode of marking musical pitch just used is adopted pretty generally. The capitals C, D, E, F, G, A, B, denote the octave from the lowest note of the violoncello upwards. The small letters *c, d, e, f, g, a, b*, the next higher octave, beginning on the second space of the bass staff. The once-accented letters *c', d', e', f', g', a', b'*, the next higher octave, beginning at the note on the first ledger line above the bass and below the treble staff. The other higher octaves begin at *c''* on the third space of the treble staff; *c'''* on the second ledger line above the treble; and then *c''''* is the octave to that again. The reader will therefore easily be able to write out the notes here referred to in ordinary musical notation. These are, in fact, the simple tones out of which the compound tone heard may be conceived as formed. But in ordinary speaking the vocal chords do not act so perfectly as in singing, and many very high and dissonant simple tones are also produced.

Now the effect of the differently-shaped resonance chambers formed by placing the organs in the proper positions for the different vowels is to make some of these louder and some weaker, and the joint result gives us the vowel sensation. The shape or materials of the resonance chamber are quite indifferent. Hence it may happen that two or three different positions of the mouth may produce the same resonance. If so, they will give the same vowel. This is extremely important, because it shews that a prescribed position for a vowel is not necessarily the *only* position, but merely a *known* position, which will produce the required effect. It may also happen, that if a notation indicates a vowel by giving the form of its resonance chamber, two different symbols, though shewing different forms of that chamber, may denote the same vowel, because these different resonance chambers have the same resonance.

The resonance of a mass of air depends upon many conditions which are ill understood, and can be calculated only in a few cases. Generally it is determined by experiment. Prof. Helmholtz, Dr. Donders, and Dr. Merkel, with others, have thus endeavoured to determine the resonance of the air in the mouth for the vowels which they themselves utter. If we really knew those resonances accurately, the vowels would be determined. But this is far from being the case. We must indeed consider that these gentlemen pronounce the vowels which they write with the same letters, in appreciably different manners, as the results at which they have arrived are materially different. Prof. Helmholtz, however, has practically applied his result to the artificial generation of vowels. By holding a reed pipe tuned to the *b* flat just mentioned against a resonance box tuned to the same pitch, the result was a very fair (uu); changing the resonance box to one tuned an octave higher, to *b'* flat, the result was (oo); changing to a box tuned another octave higher, to *b''* flat, the result was "a close A," perhaps (aah), while a box tuned a major third higher, to *d''*, gave "a clear A," perhaps (aa). He also obtained various grades of (ee, œœ, ee, ii), by using as resonance boxes glass spheres, into whose external opening glass tubes, from two to four inches long, were inserted, thus

giving a "double resonance." This is a rough imitation of what really takes place in speaking. His previous experiments lead him to believe that, for his own North German pronunciation of the vowels, there are single resonances, namely *f* for (uu), *b'* flat for (oo), *b''* flat for (aa), and double resonances (the lower for the back part of the mouth and the throat, and the higher for the narrow passage between the tongue and hard palate), namely, *a''* and *g'''* for (EE), *f'* and *b'''* flat for (ee), *f* and *a'''* for (ii), *f'* and *c'''* sharp for (ææ), and *f* and *g'''* for (yy).

But Prof. Helmholtz went further,

and producing the series of tones just described on a series of tuning forks, which were kept in motion by electricity, and placed before resonance boxes in such a way that he had complete command over the intensity of the resonance, he actually made them utter vowels. Let *p*, *mf*, *f*, *ff*, have their usual musical sense of *piano*, *mezzoforte*, *forte*, *fortissimo*, and indicate the loudness of the notes under which they are placed. The notes are exactly one octave higher than those formerly described. The vowels corresponded to the different intensities of the tones of the forks thus:

FORKS	<i>b</i> flat	<i>b'</i> flat	<i>f''</i>	<i>b''</i> flat	<i>a''</i>	<i>f'''</i>	<i>a'''</i> flat	<i>b'''</i> flat
VOWELS								
(uu)	<i>f</i>							
(oo)	<i>mf</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>p</i>					
(aa)	<i>mf</i>	<i>mf</i>	<i>mf</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>			
(EE)	<i>mf</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>ff</i>	<i>ff</i>		
(ee)	<i>mf</i>	<i>mf</i>				<i>ff</i>	<i>ff</i>	<i>ff</i>

The vowel (ee) was not well produced, because it was not possible to make the small forks corresponding to the very high notes *f'''*, *a'''* flat, *b'''* flat, sound strongly enough, and still higher forks were wanted. For the same reason (ii) could not be got out at all. It would have required a much higher series of forks. The table shews at once that (uu) belongs to the low, (aa) to the middle, and (ii) to the high parts of the scale. The reader should, however, carefully remember that this table gives the relative loudness of the component simple tones *only* when the vowels are sung to the pitch *b* flat, and that if this pitch is altered the distribution of the loudness would be changed, the resonance chamber remaining unaltered. It is merely by the *natural recognition* of the effects of resonant chambers of nearly the same pitch, reinforcing the component simple tones of the sound which lie in their neighbourhood, that vowels are really characterised. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the vagueness with which they are habitually distinguished.

If this reinforcement of certain tones

by the vowels exists in nature, the reinforced tones will excite some of the strings of a piano more than others. Hence the following striking and fundamental experiment, which every one should try, as it not only artificially generates vowels, but actually exhibits the process by which vowels are heard in the labyrinth of the ear, where an apparatus exists wonderfully resembling a microscopical pianoforte, with two or three thousand wires. Raise the dampers of a piano, and call out a vowel sharply and clearly on to the sounding-board or wires, pause a moment, and, after a slight silence giving the effect of "hanging fire," the vowel will be re-echoed. Re-damp, raise dampers, call another vowel, pause, and hear the echo. Change the vowel at pleasure, the echo changes. The experiment succeeds best when the pitch of one of the notes of the piano is taken, but the pitch may be the same for all the vowels. The echo is distinct enough for a room full of people to hear at once. The vowel is unmistakable; but, on account of the method of tuning pianos, not quite true.

A vowel then is a *quality of tone*, that is, the effect of increasing certain of the partial simple tones of which the compound tone uttered consists; and this augmentation depends on the pitch of the

note or notes to which the air inclosed in the mouth when the vowel is spoken will best resound. We cannot therefore be surprised at finding that vowel quality alters sensibly with the pitch or height at which the vowel is uttered. Thus on singing (ii) first to a high and then to a low pitch, the vowel quality will be found to alter considerably in the direction of (ii), and as we descend very low, it assumes a peculiarly gruff character, which only habit would make us still recognise as (ii). In fact, the vowel differs sensibly from pitch to pitch of the speaker's voice, which also varies with age and sex, and other causes, so that what we call our vowels are not individuals, scarcely species, but rather genera, existing roughly in the speaker's intention, but at present mainly artificially constituted by the habits of writing and reading. When, therefore, these habits are of no avail, as in scientifically examining unknown languages and dialects, the listener fails to detect the genus which probably the speaker feels, and hence introduces distinctions which the latter repudiates. Also the habits of different sets of speakers become so fixed and are so different in themselves, that those of one set have possibly many vowels not corresponding to those of the other, and hence they either cannot appreciate them at all, or merely introduce approximations which are misleading. This is one secret of "foreign accents." We have agreed to consider certain vowel qualities as standards from which to reckon departures. But we are really not able to reproduce those standards, except by such an apparatus as Helmholtz contrived, and even then so much depends upon subjective appreciation, which is materially influenced by the non-human method of production, that real standards may be said not to exist. And we are still worse off in ability to measure the departures from the standard as shewn by the metaphorical terms we employ to express our feelings. Practically in each country we fall back upon "received pronunciation," and how much that differs from person to person, how little therefore it approaches to an accurate standard, has already been shewn in § 1 of this chapter.

A careful description of the positions of the tongue and lips in producing vowels is of great assistance (25, a), and practically is sufficient, when reduced to a diagrammatic form (p. 14), to teach deaf and dumb children to pronounce with perfect intelligibility, as I have witnessed in children taught by Mr. Graham Bell and Miss Hull (1121, c). Hence the real importance of basing the description of vowels upon the positions of the organ most generally used in producing them. This is Mr. Bell's plan. The diagrams on p. 14 are rough, and curiously enough do not shew the closure of the nasal passage by the action of the uvula, so that the figures really represent nasalised vowels. They give only

9 positions, manifestly inadequate. But each can be much varied. Thus, taking (e) as a basis, the tongue may be a little higher (e'), or lower (e_1), and in any of the three cases the point of least passage may be advanced (e), or retracted (e'), thus giving 9 ($e, e', e_1, e, e', e_1, e, e', e_1$) forms to each position. Again, the cavity behind the least passage may be entirely widened (e), or widened only in front of the arches of the soft palate (e^2), or only behind it (e_2), or more in front than behind (e^2), or more behind than in front (e_2). Supposing then that the cavity had not been particularly widened before or in the primary positions, each one of the preceding 9 forms gives *six* (e, e^2, e_2, e, e^2, e_2), produced 6 times 9,

or 54 forms for each one of the original 9, and hence 9 times 54 or 486 forms altogether. Now on each of these, 5 different kinds of "rounding" may act, that is, contractions of the aperture of the mouth as for (A, o, u), or contraction of the arches of the palate, thus (e_{Δ} , e_o , e_u , e^4), for some of which distinct signs are provided, thus ($e_o = \alpha$, $e_o = \alpha$), or pouting the lips. This adds 5 times as many forms, giving 6 times 486 or 2916 shapes of the resonance cavity for the nine original positions, and these are far from all the different shapes of the resonance cavity producible without the aid of the nose. For example, the contraction of the arches of the palate may be itself of various degrees, and may be combined with each of the contractions of the aperture of the mouth, which may or may not be pouted. But if we merely add two kinds of nasality, the French and Gaelic, as (e_{Δ} , e_{Δ}), we get twice as many additional forms, or, including the unnasalised, 3 times 2916, or 8748 forms, and these, as we have seen, are by no means all; but all these are easily written in palaeotype by the methods already described.

Of course these positions do not tell the result, but they tell how to get at the result, and in this way, as Mr. Bell expresses it, they produce *Visible Speech*, and his is the only system which does this systematically,—in the forms, as well as the conventional meanings, of his symbols. To discover the results, we must make experiments on ourselves—taking care to be out of earshot of others, because of the unearthly sounds we shall produce. It is best to take a good breath, and hold a familiar vowel,

Now (ii) represents the effect produced with open lips,¹ the middle of the tongue high, the pharynx narrow. It is a thin bad quality of tone for the singer, impossible on low notes, that is, its natural pitch, or the pitch mostly favoured by the shape of its resonance chamber, is so antagonistic to low notes, that its character is disguised, its purity "muddled," as it were, by lowering the pitch. This "muddying" is literally the German "trübung," and may be termed "obscuration."

¹ Lepsius (*Standard Alphabet*, 2nd ed. p. 54) says with "broad lips," meaning with a long transverse aperture. This is not necessary. The corners of the lips should be kept apart, and the middle of the lips may be as widely separated as we please, and the wider the separation the clearer the (i).

such as (ii, aa, uu) at the most comfortable pitch as long as possible unchanged. Begin with (ii), keeping lips very wide open. Next, keeping the position unchanged, *try* to change the vowel-sound by intention, and try to detect that you have not preserved your position when the vowel changes. Next begin (ii), and gradually, during one breath, alter the tongue, keeping the lips open. Next begin (ii), keep tongue fixed, and alter lips gradually, closing to perfect closure, reopening with side openings, pouted lips, varying lips. The variations of vowel are wonderful. Do the same with (aa), and produce (oo) by rounding lips only. Next take (uu), observe the great difference of effect by moving the tongue only, and the effect of keeping the tongue still and opening the lips. Steady practice of the nature indicated will give not only great command of sounds, but great appreciation of those *dialectal changes* and *affections* of vowel-sounds with which we have to deal. These are things impossible to appreciate on paper only. But it is a great advantage to the investigator that he has his own vocal organs always ready for experiment, and if he does not take advantage of this, he has no one but himself to blame for want of understanding. If children, actually deaf from birth, can be got to produce excellent imitations of the peculiar English vowels, distinguishing readily (i) from (î), and (a) from (æ), as I have myself heard, there is no reason why those who can hear should not by similar training obtain much better results. *All* children should be *taught* to speak.

Still, in quietly uttering the series of vowels (i, e, a, o, u) before a glass, it will be seen that for (i) the lips form a narrowish horizontal slit, which opens wider for (e), and becomes comparatively vertical for (a), the corners being apart in all; then the corners come together for (o) and most for (u).

Again (uu) represents the effect produced with lips so nearly closed as to leave only a small central aperture, the back (not middle) of the tongue high, nearly as high as for (k), and the pharynx narrow. It is a hollow round sound, extremely simple in character, that is, being almost a simple tone, and hence penetrating, but its pitch is naturally low, and it is impossible to sing without "muddiness" at high pitches.

These are evidently extreme positions. But (aa) is produced with lips moderately open, distinctly *not* rounded by closing the outer corners of the lips, a tolerably flat tongue, with the back not nearly so high as for (uu), and the pharynx open. It has a very complicated composition out of partial tones, and a pitch of moderate height, so that it accommodates itself even to high or low notes without much "muddying." Obscuration is most felt on the low tones which err on the side of (uu); the upper ones err on the side of (ii), and make the vowel too "thin."¹

These three vowels (i, a, u) exist in perfection in the Italian, and possibly Castillian. They do not exist in great perfection in English. There, (ii) is frequently obscured, or has its quality deteriorated, by widening of the pharynx, descending to (ii), or, by slightly lowering the tongue, to (ee¹, ee¹). The (uu) is better, but also inclines often to (uu), not, however, reaching (uuh). The (aa) rises to (aah), which is a bright sound, though inclining to the roughness of (EE), or else sinks to (aa), which is much duller, and has almost the effect of rounding. These are the tendencies in the cultivated received pronunciation. In the dialects we shall find both (ii) sinking and (aa) rising to (ee), and (aa) also sinking to (aa, AA), and even (oo, oo); while (uu) approaches (oo) by a peculiar alteration of the lips, or arches of the palate, without the tongue, giving (uu_o) or (uu⁴). These alterations correspond to the effects of Grimm's *weakening*, but weakening is hardly an appropriate term. If we consider the nature of the alterations, they are found to consist in modifying the resonance chamber, and hence changing its vowel effect, by raising or lowering parts of the tongue, by opening or still further closing and "rounding" the lips, and by widening the pharynx. To none of these can the term "weakening" well apply. But the (ii) sounds have a thin whistling effect, the (ee) sounds a rattling reediness, the (aa) sounds an open sonorousness, the (oo) sounds a round fullness, the (uu) sounds a hollow roundness, and we may consider that (ii) or (aa) *degrades* in passing to (ee), and (oo) in passing to (uu). The sounds (aa, oo), which differ only in the position of the lips, are the best sounds we have, and the passage of one into the other is on a level. It has been very frequently made in our dialects.

A slight alteration, however, materially affects the quality of the resonance. The qualities of the vowels (æ ɹ œ ə) are rough.

¹ To understand the effect of vowel quality in music, sing a simple stave, as the first part of *God save the Queen*, first with the vowel (i) only, then with

(a) only, then with (u) only, and first at an easy pitch, then as high, and lastly as low as the voice will permit, with long sustained tones.

That is, the resonance cavities, which are not well adapted for selecting good sets of simple tones, allow component tones to co-exist which more or less *beat* or *grate*,¹ and the general effect is dull and unsonorous. Yet (æ ɶ œ) are merely (u o ʌ) with the lips open, and (ə) is (ah) with the pharynx narrowed. Of these (œ) does not seem to occur even dialectally in English, but (æ), I think, does. Both (æ, ə) are frequent, and must be considered as obscurations of vowels for which the positions are nearly the same, such as (aa oo oo, ah, e ɛ æ). If Mr. Bell is right, (v, ω) also frequently occur in the same capacity. Here (v) is (u) with open lips, and (ω) is merely (ə) with a lower tongue. All the flat-tongued mixed vowels (y, ə, ω) have an obscure disagreeable quality of tone, but they are easy to produce in a lazy manner, and hence are very frequent in dialectal English. The qualities of (v, æ, ə, ω), however, are so much alike, that I feel no certainty in separating them from one another and from (ə). I follow my authorities in each case, but consider their conclusions to be provisional, and that the whole question awaits future judgment. These obscurations mainly occur during remission of accent or emphasis, and consequently they present themselves in far the greater number of English syllables. But the change of sonorous vowels occurs also in accented syllables.

Thus in dialects accented (i, ɪ, e, e¹) are all likely to be mixed together by the hearer, the real sound perhaps being something different from all, or even varying through all in different speakers or the same speaker at different times. Unaccented, they fall into (y, ə).

Again, (e, ɛ, æ) are far from being well separated in accented syllables. No certainty can generally be felt respecting (e, ɛ), and few care to distinguish (ɛ, æ). When unaccented, all become (ə).

Again, (a, ah, æ, ɛ), on the one hand, and (a, ʌ, ʌ, ɔ, o), on the other, pass into one another when accented. Unaccented, all become (ə). And not unfrequently, when accented, they approach (æ).

But (o, u) more frequently interchange with (æ), the former directly, the latter perhaps through (v), its delabialised form, or through (u_o) or (u⁴), which strangely vary as (o, æ).

When one of the former in the group (i, ɪ, e, e¹), or in the group (e, ɛ, ɛ, æ), is replaced by one of the latter, the action is often called *thickening* or *broadening*, the pitch of the resonance chamber being lowered. The converse action, going from one of the latter to one of the former, is called *thinning* or *narrowing*, the pitch of the resonance chamber being raised. In the first case the vowel is *strengthened*, in the latter *weakened*. But when any vowel of the first set falls into (y), or either set into (e, v), it is *obscured*.

¹ There are probably always many kinds of resonance, and when the cavities are unfavourably constituted, there are reinforcements not only of dissonant or beating higher components, but there are also sounds produced by friction, and divided streams

of air, and eddies, all of which will beat, and produce *noises* which mingle with the true vowel quality. Such *noises* are never absent from speech, and distinguish it from song. It is one of the great problems of the singer to eliminate them altogether.

When one of the former is replaced by one of the latter in (a, ah, æ, ɛ), it is said to be *thinned* or *narrowed*; and when one of the latter is replaced by one of the former, it is said to be *broadened*, *widened*, *thickened*, *flattened*, etc. And the same terms are used when one of the former falls into one of the latter in (a, ɑ, ʌ) or (a, o, ɔ). The effect of the "rounding" or shading by the lips is always to produce a sensation of *thickness*, because it disqualifies the mass of air within the mouth from resounding to the component simple tones of a higher pitch, and hence removes the brightness and fullness of the tone, and gives it a dull hollow character, which this term is meant to express.

The passage in the direction (o, ɔ, u) is also one of thickening, and (u_o) or (u') is felt to be very thick indeed. When we come to (u), the tone feels lighter again. This arises from the disappearance of most of the component simple tones. The sound (ʌ_u), or a vowel produced by keeping the lips in the (u) position, and lowering the tongue to the (ʌ) position, is the dullest possible (u). It is recognised by Helmholtz as the true type of (u), because it leaves the mouth nearly like a sphere with a very small external aperture, and is the real extreme vowel. It possibly occurs dialectally, as do also, I think, (a_u, u₁), and various other modifications of (u).

Any approach to (v, ɹ, æ, ə, ɔ) from any quarter is recognised as obscuration. This, as already mentioned, apparently depends on a want of adaptation of the resonance chamber to qualities of tone which are free from beats.

It is thus seen that the effects described by all manner of theoretical terms depend upon the physiological action of the relative loudness of component simple tones, and the scientific study of the relations of vowel qualities is, like music in general, reduced to an investigation of the effects of altering the intensities of these same components. This it is beyond our present purpose to do more than indicate. But we see generally that thinness or hollowness depends upon a bad filling up of the compound tone; the thin tones wanting force in the lower, and the hollow tones in the higher components. Thick tones seem to have several lower components strongly developed (as in the sesquialtera stop on the organ), and the upper comparatively weak. The obscure rough tones arise from beating components due to imperfection of resonance.

In (u_o) and (ʌ_u) we seemed to have reached the acme of thickness, in (u) the components were almost reduced to the lowest simple tone, but, in consequence, the tone was not thin. If, however, the position of the tongue be slightly changed, so that it glides from the (u) to the (i) position, the lips remaining unchanged, a peculiar mixture of the hollowness of (u) and thinness of (i) results, the German (ɪ), or, with wider pharynx, the French (y). Whether these sounds occur in our dialects or not is disputed. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte inclines to (y₁) or (ə'), which has not quite so high a position of the tongue as (y). In either case the result is that of *weakening* (u), although, for reasons which will appear in the next sub-number iv, I feel doubtful as to whether the replacing of (u)

by (y) or (y₁), which occurs in Devonshire, Norfolk, and Scotland, is really due to this desire of thinning or weakening. In precisely the same way (o), by a still slighter alteration of the tongue to the (ə) position, produces (ø), which, on widening the pharynx, gives (œ). As (e) replaces (i) in Scotch, one is not surprised to hear (ə) in place of (y) or (y₁), and Mr. Murray recognises (ə), or the French *eu* in *peu*, in his own dialect, rather than (y₁), which lies between *eu* in *peu* and *u* in *pu*. In point of fact this (ə) is a "weakened" (u) reduced to (o). The lips are opener, and the middle of the tongue is higher; but the quality of the tone is not only thinner, it is obscurer. That is, it approaches to that of (ə). When we get to (œ), this approach is still nearer, and few Englishmen, without study, distinguish (ə, ø) and (æ, œ), and many mix them all up together. In precisely the same way, Frenchmen and Germans hear (ə, æ) as (ø, œ). The (œ) is a still nearer approach. Yet in (ø, æ, œ) there is no rounding of the lips. This is an example of how very closely approximating sounds can be produced by very different forms of the resonance chamber. The (œ) is supposed by Mr. Baird to occur in Devonshire, where it appears in the diphthong (œ'y₁), an alteration of (ou), where first the (u) is "thinned" into (y₁), and then (o) is by "attraction"—in fact by transmutation, owing to the preparation for (y₁)—thinned or obscured, in fact palatalised, into (œ). It is possible that some speakers say (æø'y) or (œæ'y), rather than (œ'y₁). The diphthongs are probably due to different appreciations of intentionally the same sounds, as heard from different individuals and by different observers.

Finding such hovering sounds, we can no longer be surprised at an original distribution into three (i, a, u), in Sanscrit, at a subsequent development into five (i, e, a, o, u) in the same language, which became *eight* in Greek (i, e, e, a, o, o, u, y). The separation of (e, e) and (o, o) is, however, too fine for this stage, which practically reduces to *six*, (i, e, a, o, u, y), and this becomes *seven* by the addition of (œ), which must be held to include (ø) on the one hand, and (ə) on the other. The vowel scale (I, E, A, O, U, Y, Œ) practically includes all the "classes" of unnasalised sounds which are recognised, each clearly distinct from the other, and indicated, for convenience, by capitals. They form the "natural" classification, as distinct from any artificial one. But on going into details, we find many sounds which we cannot satisfactorily fit into any class, and other "transitional" sounds which lead the way from class to class. Thus let (i) be developed and distinguished from (i). These two stages are by no means coexistent; for example, (i) has long been developed in English, but phonologists have only quite recently distinguished it from (i), Dr. Thomas Young having been one of the first to do so (106, d). Then (i) at once leads on to (e), and the passage is rendered easier by the development and distinction of (e), thus (i, i, e, e). By a similar process (E) generated from (e), and first (ah) and then (æ) generated from (a), give the transition (e, E, æ, ah, a). Again, (a) develops first (a), and then (A), in the direction of (o); for although the change from (a) to (o) is most

easy and rapid, yet when we come to hear the intermediate sounds, we recognise the bridge as being (a, *a*, A, *o*, o), the (*o*) being on the one hand confused with (A), which is again confused with (*a*), and on the other with (o). The next bridge is (o, *o*, u, u). Then begins the shift of the tongue through the first series (i, e, a), and we have the bridge (y, *e*, æ, æh). We have here very nearly reached (æ), whence (æ, *e*, y) lead up again to (i) through (*i*). Thus we obtain a much extended vowel-scale, which may be grouped under the former seven heads, thus:

I E A O U Y Œ
i i y, e e E, æ æh a *a*, A *o* o *o*, u u, y *e*, æ æh æ æ e

This only gives 24 vowels out of our 36. The peculiar (*u*_o) or (*u*^o), which would lie thus (*o* *u*_o *u*) or (*o* *u*^o *u*), and (*y*₁) lying thus (y *y*₁ *e*), with several un-English varieties, are also omitted. Many of the rest cannot be placed exactly linearly.

No linear form of expressing relationships of natural phenomena ever succeeds. The above line does not shew the relation of (I) to (Y), or of (Œ) to (E) and (O), and in fact, if (*e*) belongs to the family (Œ), of (Œ) to (A). This is partially accomplished by a triangular arrangement, much used, and very attractive, thus:

A
E Œ O
I Y U

We must remember, however, that the (A, E, I) and (A, O, U) limbs of this triangle are essentially distinct in mode of formation and effect, that the "means" (E, O) are really not on a level in respect either of quality or physiological position, and that the "extremes" (I, U) are still more diverse. Also the central stem, (Œ, Y), although necessarily attractive to Germans on account of their *umlaut*, is not a real mean between the limbs, as its situation would imply. Generally (Y) has the tongue position of (I) and lip position of (U), and (Œ) the tongue position of (E) and the lip position of (O), but (U, O) have tongue positions, and (I, U) lip positions, of their own; and, taking resonance, we do not find the resonances of (Y, Œ) compounded of the resonances of (I, U) and (E, O) respectively. Hence such an arrangement as

I E A O U Y Œ
 Y Œ

has even more significance.

The triangle has been greatly developed by various writers. Lepsius begins by comparing the vowel families to colours, but does not hit on exactly the same relations as Grimm (1269, *c*), for, like the blind man who imagined *scarlet* to be like the sound of a trumpet, he makes (*Standard Alphabet*, p. 47)

A
E Œ O analogous red
I Y U to yellow orange brown violet blue

which, as before, misses the actual analogies between musical pitch and optical colour. The "indistinct vowel-sound from which, according to the opinion of some scholars, the other vowels, as it

were, issued and grew into individuality," which should be the undifferentiated voice ('h), he compares to *grey*, "which also does not belong to the series of individual colours;" does *brown*?

This triangle Lepsius develops by separating (E) into (e, e, æ), (O) into (o, o, A), and (Æ) into (ø, œ, ɶ), as I presume I may interpret his examples, because he distinguishes the last (ɶ) from the "indistinct vowel," in which he seems to mix up ('h, v, ø). He thus gives, as "the complete pyramid of the European vowels,"

			a		
		æ	ɶ	A	
	e		œ		o
	e		ø		o
i		y		u	

but he is very anxious to omit "the second row," and consequently proposes to identify the vowels in 1) English *past*, *heart* (aa), French *mâle* (aa), German *that* (aa, aa); 2) English *hat* (æ), French *mal* (a, ah), German *hat* (a, a); 3) English *hut*, *fur* (ø, ɶ), French *heurter* (œ, æh), German *hörner* (œ); 4) English *naught*, *war* (A), French *cor* (o), *what*, *hot* (o), French *vote* (o, o₁, oh), German *sonde* (o, o). Of course such identifications do not represent national habits. Lepsius's English vowels are given by the words 1 *past*, 2 *heart*, 3 *hat*, 4 *head*, 5 *hate*, 6 *swear*, 7 *heat*, 8 *hit*, 9 *year*, 10 *hut*, 11 *fur*, 12 *naught*, 13 *hot*, 14 *war*, 15 *note*, 16 *borne*, 17 *hoot*, 18 *hood*, 19 *moor*, which, judging from the values assigned to his symbols by German examples, and using ('r) for 'vocal r,' seem to be considered as, 1 aa, aa, 2 a'r, 3 æ, 4 e, E, 5 ee, 6 e'r, 7 ii, 8 i, 9 i'r, 10 æ, 11 œ'r, 12 AA, 13 A, 14 A'r, 15 oo, 16 o'r, 17 uu, 18 u, 19 u'r. Hence omitting the ('r), and disregarding quantity, and the confusions (a a, e E), Lepsius admits only (a æ e e i, ɶ œ, A o u) as English vowels, disregarding (i, o, u), and recognising (œ).

But even this triangle does not suffice for the Slavonic and Wallachian relations, where two vowels are met with which Lepsius describes thus, in our notation for *tongue* and *lip* position, taking the lip positions of (i, e, a) as three unrounded degrees of opening (1280, d'). In the first place his u is (A_u), "the tongue drawn back in itself, so that in the forepart of the mouth a cavity is left," which agrees with Helmholtz's u (1283, b), and may perhaps be considered as the German u, related to (bh) in the same way as the English u, with the *back of the tongue raised*, is related to (w). The *tongue*-position for Lepsius's u is therefore that for our (A),¹ the *lip*-position being the same as for our (u), and this is the meaning of

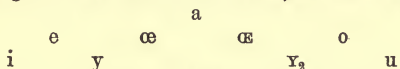
¹ This retraction of the tongue for (A) I frequently found useful when desiring to examine the throat of a child, who, when he opens his mouth, usually stuffs his tongue uncomfortably in the way, from not knowing what to do with it, and is always annoyed by having it held down by a spoon or paper knife, which he naturally struggles against. I used to say, "Open your

mouth, and say (AA) as long as you can." The tongue disappeared immediately, and the examination was conducted without difficulty. "Parents and guardians will please to notice"!! and also to notice that they must shade their own mouth and nose when examining, so as to avoid the dangerous miasma almost always exhaled from a diseased throat.

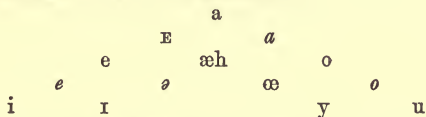
(Λ_u). Then he makes (y)=(i_u), but makes the Russian Ы or Polish y =(Λ_1), or=(u_1) taking the u he describes,¹ and (œ)=(e_o), but the Wallachian ă , etc.=(o_e). He would therefore arrange his triangle thus:



which is very pretty, if correct. But Prince L. L. Bonaparte, as will be presently seen, identifies the Wallachian sound with (œ)=(Λ_a), being delabialised (Λ), which would have the tongue lower and the lips opener than (o_e), the real representative of (æ). Between (æ , œ) the difference is not really very great, yet, if I am right in my appreciation of the Forest of Dean sound of *ur* as (æœ), it is very sensible. The Russian sound has been hitherto treated in this work as (r), and the Prince, being familiar with this sound before he heard the Welsh u , which seems to = (y), felt the connection to be so great, that he at first confused them, and afterwards connected them, as Bell did (y , r). But he recognises a *guttural* character about the Russian sound, which is absent in the Welsh. For a long time I have entertained the same opinion, and hence, on the principle of (1100, *d'*. 1107, *c*), I represent it by (r_2), thereby maintaining an elevation of the flat tongue and a widening of the pharynx behind the arches of the palate, which gives my sensations when attempting to reproduce the sound. In this case, however, the prettiness of Lepsius's triangle is somewhat deteriorated, and it becomes:



Brücke,² unable to accommodate all the vowels which he recognises in one triangle, or as he, with most Germans, terms it "pyramid," constructs *four* such. The first seems to be:



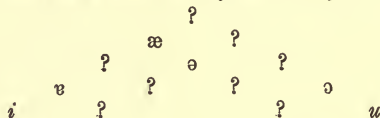
in which, instead of a central stem, there is a central triangle. These are considered to be all the "perfectly formed" vowels, and Englishmen will notice that some of their most familiar vowels (i æ ə Λ ɔ u) are absent. These are partly provided for in another scheme of "imperfectly formed" vowels,—the "imperfection" existing, of course, only physiologically in Dr. Brücke's own at-

¹ Lepsius gives *two* accounts, first, "the *lips* take the broad," meaning horizontally transverse, "position of the *i*, and the *tongue* is withdrawn as in the *u*," this, with his value of u , gives (Λ_1), as in the text. But he afterwards says that in forming this vowel "the middle tongue is lifted up to the palatal [coronal] point in the middle of the hard roof of the palate; from this point it slopes down almost

perpendicularly, so as to leave a cavity between this point and the teeth." This is not quite the same, because for (Λ) the tongue is simply laid down and back in the lower jaw, but the second description implies some connection between the tip of the tongue and the coronal point of the palate.

² See p. 16 of his tract: *Ueber eine neue Methode der phonetischen Transcription*, Wien, 1863, pp. 65.

tempts at pronouncing them. Each one of the above vowels has its "imperfect" form, giving the following pyramid, where (?) represents a sign used by Dr. Brücke, of which he gives no explanation beyond such as is furnished by its locality:



The other two pyramids are merely the nasals formed by adding (Δ) to these signs. The relations between the ordinary vowels, where all nasal resonance is cut off by closing the entrance to the nose with the uvula, and the nasal vowels, where this entrance is opened, are not so completely understood as could be desired. The forms (a₁, aΔ) indicate that the tongue and lips are in the position for (a), but that the uvula is very differently situated, and this, even if the entrance to the nose were cut off by other means, would essentially modify (a) by the opening out of the upper portion of the pharynx, introducing a new resonance chamber, and by the flapping about of the soft uvula. How far the resonance can be affected by stiffening the uvula, or making the entrance to the upper part of the pharynx more or less open, or by some internal action on the membranes of the nasal passages, is not known, has in fact scarcely been studied at all. The two kinds of "nasality" indicated by affixing (.) or (Δ) to an ordinary vowel-symbol, and the choice of that vowel, are altogether uncertain, as indeed is shewn by the various opinions expressed regarding such well-known sounds as the French nasals.

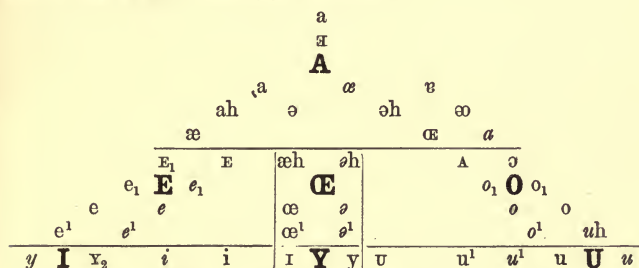
Prof. Haldeman (*op. cit.* 1186, *d.*, art. 369) endeavours to combine all these vowel-sounds in a single triangle with a central core. See his English vowels, *suprà* pp. 1189-93. The ? in this triangle marks doubtful identification with his vowel-symbols, but a brief key is added.

	A	
Fr. âme a	ə urn	
awe Δ	a Suabian ?	
odd o	æ add	
Italian o	e ₁ Coptic ?	
Fr. o ₁ ?	œ Fr. e ₁ Suabian ?	
owe o	e there	
obey o ¹ ?	ø Fr. e ebb	
	e ¹ Gudjarat'hi ?	
Italian uh	i Germ. e eight	
'w	? Alsatian 'j	
Swedish ʊ	ʊ Swedish u	e ¹ Fr. é ?
fool u	ʏ ₂ Russian i pin	
pull u	y Fr. u i machine	
	y Welsh u	

Prof. Whitney, as will be seen in the latter part of No. 7, makes the

triangular arrangement with central stem an instrument for shewing the relations between vowels and consonants.

The conception of a *double triangle* has been united with that of a central stem by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. Omitting the nasals, and some other signs, such as (oh oh u₁ 'w 'j i¹), which tend somewhat to obscure the general symmetry, as the complete form will be given on p. 1298, the following is in principle the Prince's double triangle, in palaeotypic characters.



On comparing these arrangements with Bell's (p. 15), it will be seen that the inner triangle corresponds generally to 'primary' and the outer to 'wide' forms, and that in the central stem, the right-hand column is 'primary,' and the left-hand 'wide,' while the only 'rounded' forms are all those in the classes (O, U, Y, Œ). But to carry out this last restriction, apparently, the forms (æ, œ, æ, æh, æ, æ), which have to me all more or less a tinge of the (œ) quality, and which are practically constantly confounded together and with those here assigned to the (œ) family, are given to the (A) family. The great peculiarity of this triangle, however, consists in not terminating the (A E I) and (A O U) limbs by the typically closest positions of the series. It will be seen that the first terminates with (y x₂), and that the series then extends along the base, through (i i), where the closest position is reached, to the labialised central core (I), where the palato-labial series commences. And the second limb terminates with (u u), which again are not so close as (u¹ u¹), and these go on to (v), which is almost on the central core, and leads up to (y), where the labial series is palatalised, and the palato-labial series commences on this side, and so on to (I). Hence the base of the triangle would probably be best represented by two curves sweeping from **I** to **Y**, and from **U** to **Y**, where they unite, and proceed in a vertical line through **œ** to **A**, and then (i, u¹) would be outside, and (i, u¹, v) just inside, so that the 'wide' and 'primary' vowels would be kept distinct. By drawing these lines on the printed scheme, together with the limbs **A E I**, **A O U**, a better conception of this extremely ingenious arrangement will be obtained.

This double triangle, with central stem and curved base, exhibits the relation of vowel gradations in a very convenient form, and may help many readers to a better conception of certain "intermediate" forms, than any long physiological description of the forms of resonance chamber by which they are produced. The

identifications of the Prince's symbols with palaeotype are practically his own, with the exception of (\mathbb{E}_1), which is a theoretical intermediate form, for which he has given no key-word, but see (1108, *a*). That the forms with (1_1) precisely represent the same as are produced by the physiological actions these signs were introduced to symbolise (1107, *a'*), may be sometimes doubtful. Nevertheless, for a study of vowel relations, this triangle, here printed from the Prince's unpublished papers, is of more material value than any of the other triangular arrangements which have been cited above, though they all serve more or less accurately to shew the subjective relations of the vowels by which the changes have been generally estimated. But the real causes of the changes are certainly to be sought in the relations of position of tongue, lips and pharynx, and the more or less careless habits of speakers in assuming definite relations, dependent upon the ease with which approximations to definite position, and hence quality of tone, are appreciated. This readiness of appreciation, or perhaps of confusion under one conceived genus, is due, probably, to the necessarily wide varieties in the qualities of tone usually identified by the speaker himself, which arise from difference of pitch, already mentioned, and emotional modifications. It must be remembered, however, in this connection, that what one nation, or tribe, or clique, is in the habit of confusing, another is in the habit of distinguishing. To an Englishman it is indifferent how he modifies his pitch in speaking, to a Chinese such modifications are all important.

All such changes from a vowel in one part of the scale, to another not far remote on either side, may be called *gradations* (1281, *d*), and we may say that a vowel thus replaced is *gradated*, a general term, avoiding the usual metaphors of weakening, strengthening, etc., or even *degradation*.

It must not, however, be supposed that dialectal speakers are indifferent to their vowel qualities. Each speaker is tolerably clear about the matter, till he is questioned, and then, like the educated speaker, he becomes bewildered or doubtful. Also, in using his words in different collocations, he unconsciously uses different sounds. Also, when the listener attempts to give him back his sound, almost certainly incorrectly, the native speaker is apt to acknowledge as identical what are really different, or to find immense differences where the listener felt hardly an appreciable distinction. Again, dialectal speakers vary greatly from one another, when the finer forms of elements are considered. The investigator generally knows but few. Hence he is apt to be deceived. Are we to suppose that the great varieties of Early English spelling are due simply and always to carelessness or ignorance? My dialectal experience leads me to think that much may be due to difficulties of appreciation and varieties of pronunciation, and that some of the best spelling, by the most careful men, such as Orrmin and Dan Michel, even when consistent (which, as we know, is not always the case), may give sharp *subjective* distinctions, and may contain *accommodations* to alphabetic resources, which are not correct as real representatives of the language spoken. My own personal experience of phonetic

writers, during many years, leads me to a similar conclusion. For older hired scribes, who wrote before the inauguration of a mechanical system of spelling, to settle all questions by an iron rule, and while letters really represented sounds to an appreciable extent, another cause may have acted. They wrote much from dictation, or when they wrote from 'copy,' they transferred the word into sound in their heads, and they were so slow in forming the letters that they laboured an analysis of the sound as they went on. This naturally varied as they used the word after intervals or in different connections. It does so with every one; this is the mere outcome of experience. But with the old scribe the result was a corresponding alteration of spelling. The word was considered in isolation, hence its rhythmical or rhyming qualities did not enter into consideration. The analysis was uncertain, hence it altered. It was tintured by the local habits of the scribe, with whom, therefore, the spelling changed also in generic character. The point least thought of was the general habit of pronunciation, because it was really unknown, and there was no early standard. It seems to me that very much of the varieties of our early MSS. can be thus accounted for, and some puzzling, but not frequent, groups of letters satisfactorily explained.

The net result then for our dialectal examples is that only class changes can be tolerably well ascertained, such as (I) into (E), (A) into (E), (A) into (O), (E) into (A), (O) into (A) or (U), (U) into (O) or (Y), and all into (Æ), including (ə). Unmistakable instances of all these will be found, but whether they are due to the feelings of weakening, thickening, narrowing, broadening, obscuration, or to physiological relations of the parts of speech, or, as I am often inclined to think, to hereditary and imperfect imitations of fashions for some unknown reasons assumed as models, does not seem to be determinable with our present very limited stock of knowledge. Alterations stated to occur *within* classes, orthoepical distinctions of (i, i), of (e, e) or (e, E), of (ah, a, a), of (A, ə, o), of (o, o), of (u, u, u), of (y, ə), of (ə, æ), of (æ, ə, v, ə), are all extremely doubtful. When exhibited in phonetic writing, they must be taken on the word of the investigator as the best distinctions he was able to make at the time, to be corrected when his "personal equation" is known. Experience, gathered from myself and others, has convinced me that opinions alter *widely*, and within short intervals, while listening to repeated utterances of the same speaker, as to the precise shade of sound heard. Hence I consider that it would be premature to draw absolute conclusions from them. We know in France and Germany that much confusion as to (ə, æ) prevails. The French distinguish (E, e) sharply, and so do the Italians. The French also distinguish (o, o), but the Italians have (o, uh) in their place.¹ All this is easy when we have written documents and much

¹ Prince L. L. Bonaparte does not make precisely these distinctions. He gives what is here marked (E, e) in French as (e₁, e), and what is marked

(o, o) in French and (o, uh) in Italian as (o₁, o) in both. It is certainly sufficient for intelligibility to make the distinctions (e, e; o, o) in both, and

discussion. Both fail for our dialects, where a strict consideration of sound is quite in its infancy.

most probably individuals in different localities, even of the highest education, differ materially as to the precise distinction they make, and believe most firmly that their own habits are universally adopted by received speakers.

Since the above note was in type, I have had a curious confirmation of the correctness of this conjecture. Mr. Henry Sweet informed me (6th Feb., 1874), on his return from Holland, where he had had an opportunity of examining the pronunciation of Dr. Donders, Prof. Land, and Prof. Kern, to whom I have had occasion to allude at length (1102, *c'*. 1109, *d'* to 1110, *c'*. 1114, *b*), that they have each different pronunciations, and that each considers his own not only the *correct*, but the *general* pronunciation. The following notes, with which he has furnished me, are interesting, not only in this respect, but in reference to the passages just cited. The letters D, L, denote Donders and Land, and when they are not used, the pronunciation is general.

a = (æ, a); (æ) [or, as Mr. Sweet's pronunciation sounded to me, (a)] before (l), otherwise (a).

aa = (aa), as in Danish, *maan* (m, aa).
e = (ɛ), *bed* (bɛt), sometimes (æ), *gebed* (ghəbɛt), D only.

ee = (ee) L, (*éi*) D; *been* (beɛn) L, (*bein*) D, the diphthong quite distinct.
-eer = (eer) L, (*eer*) D; *meer* (meer) L, (*meer*) D, so that L follows English use.

e unaccented = (ə), *de goede man* (də ɡhuːɹə man). The *d* between two vowels often becomes (w) or (ɹ); *Leyden* is (lɛɹə), the first (ɛ) running on to the (ɹ) as a diphthong, the final *n* being dropped as usual. This final *-e* is always pronounced when written, except in *een*, *één*, *een man*, *eene vrouw*, *één vrouw*, (ən-manː, ən-vrəu, ɛɛn vrəu).

i = (e¹) or (ɛ¹), Scotch *ɪ*, unaccented often (ə), *twintig* (tʰbɛɪˈnˌtəkh).

ie = (i) short, except before *r*, *niet* (nit), *bier* (biɪr).

o, from original *o*, = (o) L, (o) D; *slot* (slɔt) L, (slɔt) D.

o, from original *u*, = (a_o) L, Danish *aa*, (o) D; *bok* (ba_ok) L, (bɔk) D.

oo = (oo) L, (dou) D, *boom* (boom) L, (bóoum) D.

oor = (oor) L, (oor) D, *boor* (boor) L, (boor) D.

u = (ə, ɔ, əh), *dun* = (dɛn, dœn, dəhn).
uu = (i), *minuut* (mɪnɪˈt), *zuur* (ziɪrː).
eu = (əʊ) L, (əʊˈi) D, *neus* = (nəʊs) L, (nəʊˈs) D.

eur = (œœr) L, (əʊr) D, *deur* = (dœœr) L, (dæʊr) D.

aai = (aai).

ei, *ij* = (ɛˈi). Prof. Kern, a Geldlander, makes *ei* = (ɛˈi) and *ij* = (ahˈi) [see Dr. Gehle's pronunciation (295, c)]. L artificially distinguishes (ei) as (ɛˈi) and *ij* as (eˈi), probably learned in Friesland; in ordinary speech he makes both (ɛˈi).

aa, *ou* = (ɔˈu) L, (ou) D, *blaauw* (bləˈu) L, (blou) D, *koud* (kəˈut) L, (kóut) D.

ui = (əhˈw, əhˈi), *huis* (ɦhəhˈwɪs), *lui* (ləhˈi), final. The (əh) is slightly more guttural than in the English *err*. [Dr. Gehle said (ɦhəˈys), at least such was his intention, compare the Devonshire diphthong below, No. 10, subdialect 41; Mr. Hoets, from the Cape of Good Hope, was satisfied with (œˈi), as in French *œil*.]

w = (bh), *v* = (v), *f* = (f), *wat vat fat* (bhat vat fat); *w* and *v* are always distinct, *v* is often whispered (ˈv), and appears sometimes to be made voiceless (f), so that it is confused with *f* (in Amsterdam). Land's *slagconsonant* or explosive (ɓ) [at which Donders was equally surprised with myself (1103, *b*)] is made by drawing the under lip over the upper teeth so as to cover the interstices without touching the upper lip at all; if the upper lip is touched, the effect is too near to (b). It is peculiar to Land, who, however, hears it always both in Dutch and German. [Neither L nor D hear North German *w* as (v), although identified with (v) by Lepsius and Brücke. Neither Mr. Sweet nor myself have heard (v) from any German. Prince L. L. Bonaparte has recently heard an old Dutch retainer call *v* (ˈv) and *w* (bhˈw).]

z is often whispered (ˈz).

r is strongly trilled, either with point of tongue (ˌr) or uvula (ːr).

g is pronounced quite soft (lgh) by good speakers, the trilled (grh) is vulgar.

l is more guttural than palatal, like the English and Scotch *l* [i.e. more near to (lˈw) than (lˈj)], or rather (lˈ) than (lˈj)].

The kindness of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte enables me to furnish one of the most remarkable examples of vowel appreciation and classification which has ever been published. The Prince, during last winter, as the outcome of his phonetic studies pursued during many years, with unprecedented facilities for hearing varieties of pronunciation, drew up a scheme of vowel and consonant classification. To the vowel scheme he appended a list of all the vowel-sounds which, so far as he could appreciate, existed in each of forty-five European languages. At my request, and purposely for the present work, he verified his appreciation by giving in each language a word containing that vowel-sound, together with its meaning, serving to identify it. He has thus constructed the most extensive series of *key-words* ever attempted, and has furnished a means of arriving within comparatively narrow limits at the meaning of the palaeotypic symbols. Of course there will be no absolute identity. First there is his own personal equation in observing, next there is that of another observer, and these may cause so great a divarication that the identification may be disputed in many cases. I have found several in which I do not appreciate the distinctions of sound in precisely the same way as he does. Still the limits of difference are in no case very great, and their very existence is important in relation to the gradation of vowels when appreciated qualitatively.

In order to make this remarkable work more valuable for philological purposes, I have arranged it as follows. First, on p. 1298, I give the Prince's complete triangle, of which there is an extract on p. 1289. As it was impossible to use the Prince's own symbols, many of which have never been cut as types, I have confined myself to giving the *numbers* in his list. Hence, whatever may be thought of the palaeotypic equivalents afterwards added, each vowel can be immediately identified as B 1, B 2, etc., B indicating *Bonapartean*, and thus referred to in any English or foreign treatise. For typographical reasons I have, as before, omitted the sloping lines of his triangle. These may be readily supplied thus: by drawing lines from **A** at the top, through **E** to **I**, through **O** to **U**, and through **Æ** to **Y**. The first two lines separate the primary and wide vowels. The two uprights between the two horizontal lines should be parallel to the other two, and point to 35 on the left, and 62 on the right. The vertical lines inclosing 67, **Y**, (65, 66) and the horizontal lines, are correct. The capital letters **I, E, A, O, U, Y, Æ**, indicate the classes, the limits of which are clearly marked by these lines.

Next follows a linear list of the 75 sounds entered as vowels in the above triangle, in order of their numbers, with their palaeotypic equivalents. Except for 5, 9, 12, 22, 26, 30, 36, 38, 39, 47, 52, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 73, 74, 75, these equivalents were furnished by the Prince himself, and hence indicate his own appreciation of my characters. Of these 5 is determined by the Danish example after Mr. Sweet to be (a). Then 22 is the (ɛ) already mentioned (1290, a). Number 36 is only exemplified by an indeterminate unaccented Scotch vowel, scarcely distinguishable from (i); but, as

Mr. Murray considers it nearer to (i), the Prince has made it intermediate to (i, i), and I have used (i') as the symbol, where the greater closeness (1107, b), indicated by (¹), refers rather to the width of the opening of the pharynx than to the height of the tongue. Number 56 is identified by a Swedish sound, which seems to be best indicated by (u₁). The English and Icelandic examples of 61 sufficiently identify it with ('w). Perhaps 62, which is only identified in Swedish, is not quite properly represented by (u¹), but its position in the triangle leads me to that symbol. A similar doubt hangs over 63, (u¹), identified only in Lap and Norwegian. As to 74 and 75, the systematic character of the Prince's symbols leads me to think that (æ¹, ø¹) are probably correct, especially as the latter is also identified with the Scotch *ui* in *guid*. Here (ø¹) is the sound I have hitherto written (y₁). With regard to the other numbers not identified with palaeotype by the Prince himself, they are all nasals or semi-nasals, formed on bases already identified, and hence have been written by adding (Δ) or (,) to the palaeotypic equivalents of those bases. These additional symbols have been all approved by the Prince, but some doubt necessarily remains as to the correctness of the physiological identification, in which, however, he is not much interested, and very probably some will have to be altered hereafter. Thus (25 e₁, 46 o₁, 55 o¹) were identified by the Prince with sounds which Mr. Sweet writes (E, Aₒ, oₐ) respectively; see the Danish vowels, language 40, below. It is almost impossible that ears attuned naturally to English and foreign sounds respectively should agree on such minute points.

The numbers in the first column in this list refer to the numbers of languages in the list beginning on p. 1300, in which the sound has been identified with that used in a given word. Taking the identifications to be tolerably correct, these numbers give a very remarkable result. At the end is given after the sign (=) the number of the languages in which each vowel-sound has been identified. Collecting these results, and considering 'l, 'r, as two additional vowels, we find in

Languages.	the vowels	Languages.	the vowels
0	15 A, 17 'h, 19 əh, 22 E₁, 24 e₁, 42 oh, 44 əh, 45 o₁, 53 əh, 73 əA =10 vowels.	8	69 əh=1 vowel.
1	2 a, 5 a, 6 ah, 9 æA, 10 v, 11 æ, 12 æ, 13 ə, 14 i, 21 æ, 36 i¹, 38 i, 59 u, 62 u¹, 64 u, 68 əh, 70 əhA, 'l=18 vowels.	10	8 æ=1 vowel.
2	4 a, 26 e₁, 30 əA, 33 y, 40 'j, 41 ə, 52 əA, 56 u₁, 61 'w, 63 u¹, 66 yA=11 vowels.	11	35 i, 43 A=2 vowels.
3	47 o₁, 50 oh, 67 i, 74 æ¹, 'r=5 vowels.	12	72 ø=1 vowel.
4	20 a, 39 iA, 60 uA, 75 ø¹=4 vowels.	13	71 æ=1 vowel.
5	3 aA, 23 E, 48 o₁A, 54 əh=4 vowels.	14	16 'h=1 vowel.
6	27 e₁A, 55 o¹, 57 u=2 vowels.	15	49 o=1 vowel.
7	7 ə, 31 e¹, 32 e¹, 34 y₂=4 vowels.	20	65 y=1 vowel.
		21	51 o=1 vowel.
		24	29 e=1 vowel.
		25	28 e=1 vowel.
		27	46 o₁=1 vowel.
		33	25 e₁=1 vowel.
		41	18 'h=1 vowel.
		42	58 u=1 vowel.
		43	1 a=1 vowel.
		44	37 i=1 vowel.

It appears then that 60 out of the 77 vowels, including ('l, 'r), recognised by the Prince, occur each in less than 9 languages, and only each of 17 occur in 10 or more languages. These 17 are consequently those to which attention must be chiefly directed. In order of the number of languages in which they occur, shewn by the figures placed after the letters, they are—

37 i, 44	28 e, 25	71 œ, 13
1 a, 43	29 e, 24	72 æ, 12
58 u, 42	51 o, 21	35 i, } 11
18 'h, 41	65 y, 20	43 A, } 11
25 e ₁ , 33	49 o, 15	8 æ, 10
46 o ₁ , 27	16 'h 14	

From these we may reject (18 'h) as not being generally considered a vowel at all, because not "voiced,"¹ and (16 'h) as undifferentiated voice, which is therefore not usually put among the vowels. It would be in accordance with the habits of many phonologists to consider (4 æ, 7 œ, 10 e, 11 œ, 13 œ) and (16 'h) as all forms of the same vowel, which, to agree with Rapp and English phonologists, may be looked upon as (œ). Giving then to (œ) all the different languages now credited with those vowels just named, it occurs, under some more or less distinct form, in 20 languages. The appreciation of so many vowel-sounds as (e₁) instead of (E) has put (E) out of and (e₁) into this series. The Prince has not found (E, e₁) simultaneously, except in 12. Ostiac, and 26. Rhetian; in the first he has not given an example, but in the second he tells me that he has heard the extraordinary series (8 æ, 23 E, 25 e₁, 28 e, 29 e, 35 i), where 4 means are interposed between (æ, i).² It is of course possible that other observers might note the sounds rather as (8 œ, 22 E₁, 23 E, 28 e, 29 e, 35 i), or even as (8 æ, 23 E, 28 e, 29 e, 31 e', 35 i), or might consider the sounds here separated as (23 E, 25 e₁) to be the same. The recognition of all the terms in such a series is so difficult, that (e₁) may be considered as the Prince's appreciation of what other observers class as (E); thus in 40. Danish, he appreciates Mr. Sweet's (E) as (e₁). If we do not count these two languages twice, (E, e₁) together appear in 35 languages. Again, as regards (o, o₁), it will be seen that the Prince has not found them both in any language but 21. Italian, and (39). Norwegian after Aasen. As regards Italian, it is only quite recently that the Prince has considered the sounds (28 e, 49 o) to have been used in unaccented syllables, having formerly supposed the sounds to be

¹ The Russians reckon their Ъ as a vowel, and the Prince identifies this with (18 'h). He also considers a peculiar kind of after-sound in the Wallachian final (n, m) to be the same, see language 27, below. To me it sounded, when he pronounced it, more like (;'h), coming immediately after a

nasal, and very short, as (vin;'h). The (16 'h) when final, he usually pronounces more strongly than is customary with careful English speakers.

² See also *Ascoli's Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, Rome, 1873, which, in a remarkable paper on these dialects, also recognises four means.

(29 *e*, 51 *o*) in such cases, and he has also quite recently considered the 'open' Italian *e*, *o*, in accented syllables to be (*e*₁, *o*₁), instead of (*ɛ*, *o*) as he formerly thought them to be (1180, *b*), that is, he did not formerly consider the difference sufficiently marked to require independent symbols. The separation of (*o*₁, *o*) under these circumstances is somewhat doubtful. In the Norwegian, the example for (*o*₁) is *maane*, which is (*Λ*_o), according to Mr. Sweet. Altogether, therefore, we may consider that (*o*₁, *o*) are fine distinctions of sounds usually confused as (*o*), and for our present purpose so confuse them. Hence, adding together the numbers of languages for (*o*₁ and *o*), taking care not to count these two twice over, and crediting them all to 49 *o*, its number becomes 42.

The scale of importance of the 15 vowels thus distinguished above all others, where (18 'h) is omitted, (4 *ɶ*, 7 *ə*, 10 *ɐ*, 11 *æ*, 13 *œ*, 16 'h) are all confounded as (*ə*), (*e*₁, *ɛ*) as (*ɛ*), and (*o*₁, *o*) as (*o*), is therefore as follows, the numbers before the vowel being the Bonapartean, and those after the vowel the numbers of European languages out of 45 in which they occur, which are slightly different from those in the last table (1295, *a*).

37 i	44	28 e	25	71 œ	13
1 a	43	29 ɛ	24	72 ə	12
58 u	42 }	51 o	21	35 i	11 }
49 o	42 }	7 ə	20 }	43 ʌ	11 }
23 ɛ	35	65 y	20 }	8 æ	10

and there is little doubt that with these 15 vowels, forming the series

I E A O U Y Œ
i i, e e ɛ, æ a, ʌ o, u, y ə, œ ə

and supplemented by their nasal forms where necessary, all the principal languages of the world could be written with an accuracy far surpassing any that has yet been exhibited. Different nations would necessarily demand varieties for their peculiar differentiations, and phonetic inquiries into gradations of sound would require the minutest symbolisation; but no foreigner is likely to appreciate a language with more real accuracy, until he has undergone severe phonetic discipline. The 7 classes of vowels are thus divided into 15 genera, of which the numerous species are exhibited in the list of Vowel Identifications, pp. 1300-1307.

In this last list the languages are arranged according to the Prince's own systematic classification, the whole of the vowel-sounds known to occur in any language are given in the order of the Bonapartean vowels, with the corresponding palaeotype, and an example is given to each, in the ordinary orthography of the language, with a translation. After the name of each language is given the number of vowels with which it is thus accredited, assuming (16 'h, 18 'h) and ('r, 'l) to be vowels. If we reject these, the numbers of vowels, except in languages 19. Modern Greek, 21. Italian, and 22. Spanish, will have to be diminished by 1, 2, or even 3, as in 47. Bohemian. The following will be the numbers of the vowels after these rejections:

Vowels	occur in languages.	Vowels	occur in languages.
5	3 = 19 Modern Greek, 22 Spanish, 43 Illyrian.	11	2 = 2 Finnish, 26 Rhetian, Oberland dialect.
6	1 = 52 Lettish.	12	7 = 1 Basque, 10 Hungarian, 12 Ostiak, dialect of Surgut, 17 Albanian, Guègue dialect, 35 Dutch, 36 Modern Friesian, Western dialect, (37) Scotch.
7	5 = 6 Permian, 9 Morduin, 11 Vogul, 14 Welsh, 45 Bulgarian.	13	4 = 3 Esthonian, 5 Lap, dialect of Finmark, 34 Low German, dialect of Holstein, 38 Icelandic.
8	7 = 15 Cornish, extinct, 25 Roman, Catalan, 27 Wallachian, 42 Russian, 44 New Slovenian, Wendish, 47 Bohemian, 50 Lithuanian.	14	1 = 49 Cassubian.
9	3 = 4 Livonian, extinct dialect of Salis, 8 Tsheremissian, on the right bank of the Volga, 21 Italian.	16	4 = 16 Breton, 24 French, (39) Norwegian of Aasen, 40 Danish, after Sweet.
10	4 = 7 Votjak, 33 High German, 46 Polish, 48 Lusatian.	17	1 = 39 Swedish.
		19	2 = 23 Portuguese, 37 English.
		21	1 = 13 Gaelic.

The languages selected by those languages that have the same number are by no means identical; thus Portuguese and English, which have each 19 vowels in this estimation, have only 6 in common, namely (1 a, 8 æ, 37 i, 51 o, 57 u, 58 u). This may serve partly to explain the difficulty felt in acquiring the pronunciation of foreign languages. It also by no means follows that the languages most generally esteemed for their sonorousness, or their cultivation, have the greatest number of vowels. Thus 22. Spanish has only 5, 14. Welsh only 7, 21. Italian only 9, 33. High German only 10, 37. English, taking the received dialect, after Smart, and admitting ('j, 'w) to be vowels distinct from (i, u), is put down at 19, which, on removing these, reduces to 17, as in 39. Swedish. But if we include all the dialects, the previous enumeration (1262, c) gives, independently of length and doubtful nasalities, and the numerous fractures, and inserting (*i*¹, *æ*) = Glossic [*i*, *ua*], which were accidentally omitted, the following 30 vowels from the Prince's list, (1 a, 4 æ, 6 ah, 7 ø, 8 æ, 10 v, 13 œ, 20 a, 21 œ, 23 e, 24 e₁, 25 e₁, 28 e, 29 e, 31 e', 33 y, 35 i, 36 i', 37 i, 41 o, 43 a, 49 o, 51 o, 54 uh, 57 u, 58 u, 65 y, 71 œ, 72 œ, 75 e'), to which (o_u, u_o) or (u⁴) have probably to be added, and other vowels may yet be recognised, for example (42 oh, 50 oh), in Bell's unaccented syllables (1160, a).

It is obvious that the 5 vowel signs of the Roman Alphabet a, e, i, o, u, are quite insufficient for intelligibly writing any one of these languages, except 19. Modern Greek, 22. Spanish, and 43. Illyrian, and would be insufficient to write even the dialects of these. What is the proper notation for all these languages is an inquiry not here raised. The notation here employed, whether palaeotypic or glossic, is merely a makeshift, to give a means of writing all these languages so that they could be printed with ordinary types,—an end hitherto unattained, if indeed ever attempted. The "missionary alphabet" of Max Müller¹ is the nearest approach to this, but it is extremely defective in vowel signs, and requires several (4 or 5) special types. Merkel's² is a mere make-

¹ The Languages of the Seat of War in the East, with a Survey of the Three Families of Language, Semitic,

Arian, and Turanian, 2nd ed. with an appendix on the Missionary Alphabet, etc., London, 1855. ² Laetich, 1866.

8 æ	5 12 13 23 25 26 35 37 (37)
	42 = 10
9 æA	23 = 1
10 e	37 = 1
11 œ	13 = 1
12 œ _i	13 = 1
13 œ	37 = 1
14 i	37 = 1
15 i	= 0
16 'h	16 17 23 24 25 26 33 34 35 36
	37 (37) 49 52 = 14
17 'h	= 0
18 'h	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
	14 15 16 17 24 25 26 27 33
	34 35 36 37 (37) 38 (39) 39
	40 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49
	50 52 = 41
19 eh	= 0
20 a	24 34 36 (37) = 4
21 œ	27 = 1

E

22 E ₁	= 0
23 E	2 5 8 12 26 = 5
24 e ₁	= 0
25 e ₁	3 4 5 7 9 10 11 12 13 16 21 23
	24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36
	(37) 38 (39) 39 40 44 45 46
	47 48 49 50 52 = 33
26 e _{1A}	13 16 = 2
27 e _{1A}	1 17 23 24 46 49 = 6
28 e	1 2 3 4 6 7 8 9 10 11 14 15 17
	19 21 22 24 26 34 37 (39)
	39 40 43 45 = 25
29 e	2 3 10 12 13 16 21 23 24 25
	26 33 34 35 36 38 (39) 42
	44 47 48 49 50 52 = 24
30 eA	16 23 = 2
31 e ¹	16 23 35 36 (37) 46 48 = 7
32 e ¹	3 4 5 27 (37) (39) 40 = 7

I

33 y	12 14 = 2
34 x ₂	6 7 9 13 27 42 46 = 7
35 i	5 13 15 26 37 38 (39) 39 40
	49 50 = 11
36 i ¹	(37) = 1
37 i	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
	14 15 16 17 19 21 22 23 24
	25 26 27 33 34 35 36 37
	(37) 38 (39) 39 40 42 43 44
	45 46 47 48 50 52 = 44
38 i _i	13 = 1
39 iA	1 16 17 23 = 4
40 'j	37 38 = 2

O

41 o	37 40 = 2
42 oh	= 0

43 A	10 12 13 15 34 36 37 42 44 48
	49 = 11
44 ah	= 0
45 o ₁	= 0
46 o ₁	2 3 5 6 7 8 9 12 13 15 16 21
	23 24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36
	38 (39) 39 40 47 49 = 27
47 o _{1i}	13 46 49 = 3
48 o _{1A}	1 16 17 23 24 = 5
49 o	1 4 11 14 17 19 21 22 37
	(37) (39) 43 45 50 52 = 15
50 oh	3 7 8 = 3
51 o	3 10 13 15 16 21 23 24 25 33
	34 35 37 38 39 42 44 46 47
	48 49 = 21
52 oA	23 49 = 2
53 oh	= 0
54 uh	10 23 46 48 49 = 5
55 o ¹	3 5 (37) (39) 40 = 5

U

56 u ₁	2 39 = 2
57 u	17 23 37 38 (39) 50 = 6
58 u	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
	14 15 16 19 21 22 23 24 25
	26 27 33 34 35 36 37 (37)
	38 40 42 43 44 45 46 47 48
	49 50 52 = 42
59 u _i	13 = 1
60 uA	1 17 23 49 = 4
61 'w	37 38 = 2
62 u ¹	39 = 1
63 u ¹	5 (39) = 2
64 u	39 = 1

Y

65 y	1 2 3 4 7 8 10 11 12 16 17 24
	33 34 35 36 (39) 39 40 49
	= 20
66 yA	1 17 = 2
67 i	40 47 48 = 3

œ

68 æh	5 = 1
69 øh	2 14 16 24 34 35 39 40 = 8
70 øhA	24 = 1
71 œ	3 4 6 7 10 12 26 33 34 38 (39)
	39 40 = 13
72 ø	2 10 13 16 24 33 34 35 36
	(39) 39 40 = 12
73 øA	= 0
74 œ ¹	6 8 13 = 3
75 ø ¹	(37) 38 (39) 39 = 4

Murmurs.

'l	47 = 1
'r	43 44 47 = 3

PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL IDENTIFICATIONS IN 45 EUROPEAN
LANGUAGES.

See (p. 1293). These languages are arranged in the order of Prince L. L. Bonaparte's revised classification, as given in French in a footnote to Mr. Patterson's account of Hungarian in my Presidential Address to the Philological Society for 1873 (Transactions for 1873-4, Part II., p. 217). The classification is here incidentally repeated and translated. The different observations as they occur, unless inclosed in [], are taken from the Prince's classification or MSS. All the vowel-sounds in each language, so far as known to the Prince, are given for each language separately. Occasionally, when differences of opinion exist, the list thus formed is eclectic, and gives his own individual judgment. The left hand numbers in each list are those in the triangular and linear arrangements. Then come the forms in palaeotype, followed by a word containing the vowel, in its original spelling; if the word has more than one vowel-sign, a subsequent number, 1, 2, 3, etc., shews whether the first, second, or third, etc., vowel is intended; by this means the usual printed form of the word is preserved. When this is not sufficient, the vowel not being expressed, the place of its insertion is marked by (), or the full pronunciation of the word is given. When two adjacent vowel-signs form a digraph to represent the vowel-sound, their numbers are bracketed thus [1, 2]. Finally, the meaning of the word is given in English, and in italic letters, except, of course, for the English language itself.

*Morphological Classification of Euro-
pean Languages.*

CLASS I.

A. BASQUE STEM.

1. BASQUE. 13 vowels.

N.B.—The letters S, R, after a word, indicate the Souletin dialect, and the Roncalais sub-dialect, respectively.

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 a | ura, 2, <i>the water</i> |
| 3 aa | āhālke, 1, 2, S, <i>shame</i> |
| 27 e _{1A} | mēhē, S, 1, 2, <i>thin</i> |
| 28 e | ille, 2, <i>hair</i> |
| 37 i | begi, 2, <i>eye</i> |
| 39 ia | mīhī, S, 1, 2, <i>tongue</i> |
| 48 o _{1A} | ōrzi, 1, R, <i>to bury</i> |
| 49 o | bero, 2, <i>hot</i> |
| 58 u | sagu, 2, <i>mouse</i> |
| 60 ua | ūhūn, S, 1, 2, <i>thief</i> |
| 65 y | sū, S, <i>fire</i> |
| 66 ya | sūhīa, 1, S, <i>the son-in-law</i> |
| 18 h | bat(), <i>one</i> |

B. ALTAIC STEM.

a. Uralian Family.

a. Tshudic Sub-family.

i. Finnish Branch.

2. FINNISH. 12 vowels.

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 a | maa [1, 2], <i>earth</i> |
| 23 e | pää [1, 2], <i>head</i> |
| 28 e | reki, 1, <i>sledge</i> |
| 29 e | niemi, 2, <i>promontory</i> |
| 37 i | iili [1, 2], <i>leach</i> |
| 46 o ₁ | toveri, 1, <i>companion</i> |
| 56 u ₁ | Suomi, 2, <i>Finland</i> |
| 58 u | puu [1, 2], <i>tree</i> |

(2. Finnish, continued.)

- | | |
|-------|----------------------------|
| 65 y | syys [1, 2], <i>autumn</i> |
| 69 əh | köyhä, 1, <i>poor</i> |
| 72 ə | työ, 2, <i>labour</i> |
| 18 h | estet(), <i>impediment</i> |

3. ESTHONIAN. 14 vowels.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1 a | ma, <i>I</i> |
| 25 e ₁ | käzi, 1, <i>hand</i> |
| 28 e | enne, 1, <i>before</i> |
| 29 e | enne, 2, <i>before</i> |
| 32 e ¹ | k()ēl' [pronounced (ke ¹ eelj)],
<i>tongue</i> |
| 37 i | ilm, <i>world</i> |
| 46 o ₁ | tolmu, 1, <i>dust</i> |
| 50 əh | wōlg, <i>debt</i> |
| 51 o | pō()l' [pronounced (po ¹ oolj)], <i>half</i> |
| 55 o ¹ | tolmu, 2, <i>dust</i> |
| 58 u | Jumal, 1, <i>God</i> |
| 65 y | üks, <i>one</i> |
| 71 əə | ō, <i>night</i> |
| 18 h | lüht(), <i>light</i> |

4. LIVONIAN, extinct dialect of Salis,
still spoken at the beginning
of the XIXth century. 10
vowels.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1 a | kaks, <i>two</i> |
| 25 e ₁ | mäd, <i>our</i> |
| 28 e | bet, <i>but</i> |
| 32 e ¹ | (ēzgürd [pronounced (e ¹ ez-
gyr.d)], <i>nigh</i> |
| 37 i | iza, 1, <i>father</i> |
| 49 o | koda, 1, <i>house</i> |
| 58 u | k'nlk, <i>side</i> |
| 65 y | sūna, 1, <i>name</i> |
| 71 əə | lōud, 1, <i>to find</i> |
| 18 h | pieutt(), <i>to take</i> |

II. Lap Branch.

5. LAP, dialect of Finmark. 14 vowels.

1 a	hallo, 1, <i>pleasure</i>
7 ə	lâkkâ, 1, 2, <i>near</i>
8 æ	bârdne, 1, <i>son</i>
23 e	ælla, 1, <i>he lives</i>
25 e ₁	ædne, 1, <i>mother</i>
32 e ^l	jurdëlêt, 2, 3, <i>to think</i>
35 i	sivvo, 1, <i>diligence</i>
37 i	sivo, 1, <i>beaten way on the snow</i>
46 o ₁	dolla, 1, <i>fire</i>
55 o ^l	gonagas, 1, <i>king</i>
58 u	ruðak, 1, <i>money</i>
63 u ^l	jukkim, 1, <i>I parted</i>
68 æh	buörre, 2, <i>good</i>
18 'h	lokkat(), <i>to read</i>

b. Permian Sub-Family.

6. PERMIAN. 8 vowels.

1 a	ma, <i>honey</i>
28 e	Jen, <i>God</i>
34 x ₂	kyk, <i>two</i>
37 i	bi, <i>fire</i>
46 o ₁	zon, <i>son</i>
58 u	jur, <i>head</i>
74 œ ^l	ötyk, 1, <i>one</i>
18 'h	mort(), <i>man</i>

7. VOTIAK. 11 vowels.

1 a	zarni, 1, <i>gold</i>
25 e ₁	nil'ati, 2, <i>fourth</i>
28 e	pel, <i>ear</i>
34 x ₂	ym, <i>mouth</i>
37 i	in, <i>heaven</i>
46 o ₁	vor, <i>thief</i>
50 oh	ös, <i>door</i>
58 u	jurt, <i>house</i>
65 y	üi, 1, <i>night</i>
71 œ	tödy, 1, <i>white</i>
18 'h	berkut(), <i>eagle</i>

c. Volgaic Sub-Family.

i. Tsheremissian Branch.

8. TSHEREMISSIAN, dialect of the right bank of the Volga. 10 vowels.

1 a	mam, <i>but</i>
23 e	ergä, 2, <i>son</i>
28 e	edem, 1, 2, <i>man</i>
37 i	vid, <i>water</i>
46 o ₁	kokta, 2, <i>two</i>
50 oh	töre, 1, <i>peace</i>
58 u	Juma, 1, <i>God</i>
65 y	kü, <i>stone</i>
74 œ ^l	nör, <i>field</i>
18 'h	olat(), <i>they are</i>

II. Morduin Branch.

9. MORDUIN, dialect Ersä. 8 vowels.

1 a	ava, 1, 2, <i>woman</i>
25 e ₁	käd, <i>hand</i>
28 e	lem, <i>name</i>
34 x ₂	syrne, 1, <i>gold</i>
37 i	ki, <i>who</i>
46 o ₁	on, <i>dream</i>
58 u	ukska, 1, <i>wasp</i>
18 'h	kot(), <i>weaving</i>

d. Ugrian Sub-Family.

i. Hungarian Branch.

10. HUNGARIAN or Magyar. 13 vowels

1 a	kár, <i>to injure</i>
25 e ₁	nyelv, <i>tongue</i>
28 e	veres, 1, <i>read</i>
29 e	szél, <i>wind</i>
37 i	hid, <i>bridge</i>
43 A	kar, <i>arm</i>
51 o	pók, <i>spider</i>
54 uh	nol, <i>where</i>
58 u	tudom, 1, <i>I know it</i>
65 y	fű, <i>grass</i>
71 œ	ökör, 1, 2, <i>ox</i>
72 œ	fő, <i>head</i>
18 'h	atyát(), <i>father, in acc.</i>

II. Vogul Branch.

11. VOGUL, dialect of the Konda. 8 vowels.

1 a	katš, <i>brother</i>
25 e ₁	üt, <i>hair</i>
28 e	ne, <i>wife</i>
37 i	ini, 1, 2, <i>thorn</i>
49 o	chotel, <i>day</i>
58 u	chulp, <i>net</i>
65 y	püv, <i>son</i>
18 'h	kat(), <i>hand</i>

III. Ostiac Branch.

12. OSTIAC, dialect of Surgut. 13 vowels.

1 a	ârex, 1, <i>song</i>
8 æ	âdhlañ, 2, <i>morning</i>
23 e	[known to exist, but no example known]
25 e ₁	pet, <i>nest</i>
29 e	pêthleñ, 1, <i>cloud</i>
33 y	jig, <i>father</i>
37 i	jiipel, 1, <i>shade</i>
43 A	päs, <i>glove</i>
46 o ₁	nok, <i>above</i>
58 u	sugus, 1, 2, <i>autumn</i>
65 y	mül, <i>cap</i>
71 œ	kör, <i>oven</i>
18 'h	kât(), <i>six</i>

N.B.—Finnish, Esthonian, and Livonian, differ from Lap nearly as Greek from Latin. Similarly for Tsheremissian in relation to Morduin, and for Hungarian, Vogul, and Ostiac among one another.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|--|
| β. | <i>Samoyedic Family</i> | } with their
sub-families
and
branches. |
| γ. | <i>Tartaric Family</i> | |
| δ. | <i>Tungusic Family</i> | |
| ε. | <i>Mongolic Family</i> | |

C. DRAVIDIAN STEM, etc.

D. WESTERN CAUCASIAN STEM, etc.

E. EASTERN CAUCASIAN STEM, etc.

F. G. H., etc., etc. OTHER STEMS differing greatly from each other, but belonging to this first class.

CLASS II.

A. INDO-GERMANIC STEM.

[N.B.—The dead languages are placed, and their names printed in italic capitals, but no pronunciation is given.]

a. *Celtic Family.*

i. Gaelic Branch.

13. GAELIC. 22 vowels.

N.B.—The letters S, M, indicate Scotch and Manx Gaelic respectively.

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| 1 a | adharc, 1 [pronounced (aiærk)],
<i>horn</i> |
| 2 a _i | math, S, <i>good</i> |
| 7 ə | déanta, 3, <i>done</i> |
| 8 æ | glas, <i>green</i> |
| 11 œ | laogh [1, 2], S, <i>calf</i> |
| 12 œ _i | maodal [1, 2], S, <i>tripe</i> |
| 25 e ₁ | féar [1, 2], <i>grass</i> |
| 26 e _{1i} | freumh [1, 2], S, <i>root</i> |
| 29 e | céim [1, 2], <i>step</i> |
| 34 y ₂ | daor [1, 2], <i>dear</i> |
| 35 i | mil, <i>honey</i> |
| 37 i | rí, <i>king</i> |
| 38 i _i | sinnsreadh [letters 2, 3, 4], S,
<i>ancestors</i> |
| 43 A | árd, <i>high</i> |
| 46 o ₁ | son, S, <i>sake</i> |
| 47 o _{1i} | didomhnaich, 2, S, <i>sunday</i> |
| 51 o | ór, <i>gold</i> |
| 58 u | cúl, <i>back</i> |
| 59 u _i | déanadh [3 last letters], <i>doing</i> |
| 72 ə | leigh, 1, M, <i>law</i> |
| 74 œ ₁ | keayn [letters 2, 3, 4], M, <i>sea</i> |
| 18 'h | mallacht(), <i>curse</i> |

II. Breton Branch.

a. Welsh.

14. WELSH. 8 vowels.

- | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 a | bardd, <i>bard</i> |
| 28 e | nerth, <i>strength</i> |
| 33 y | dyn, <i>man</i> |
| 37 i | gwin, <i>wine</i> |
| 49 o | môr, <i>sea</i> |
| 58 u | cwmwl [letters 2 and 4], <i>cloud</i> |
| 68 əh | dynion, 1, <i>men</i> |
| 18 'h | bot(), <i>round body</i> |

b. Cornish.

15. CORNISH, as spoken in the XVIIIth century, now extinct. 9 vowels.

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 a | hâv, <i>summer</i> |
| 28 e | pedn, <i>head</i> |
| 35 i | guydn [letter 3], <i>white</i> |
| 37 i | piji, 1, <i>prayer</i> |
| 43 A | bôz, <i>to be</i> |
| 46 o ₁ | kylobman, 2, <i>pigeon</i> |
| 51 o | mor, <i>sea</i> |
| 58 u | gubar, 1, <i>wage</i> |
| 18 'h | bohojok(), <i>poor man</i> |

c. Breton.

16. BRETON. 18 vowels

N.B.—The letter V indicates the dialect of Vannes.

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| 1 a | mâd, <i>good</i> |
| 3 aA | hañ [letters 2 and 3], <i>summer</i> |
| 25 e ₁ | dervez, 1, 2, <i>day</i> |
| 26 e _{1i} | keñta [letters 2 and 3], <i>first</i> |
| 29 e | éva, 1, <i>to drink</i> |
| 30 eA | éñv [letters 1 and 2], <i>heaven</i> |
| 31 e ¹ | mané, 2, V, <i>mountain</i> |
| 37 i | tî, <i>house</i> |
| 39 iA | iñtañv [letters 1 and 2], <i>widower</i> |
| 46 o ₁ | tomm, <i>hot</i> |
| 48 o _{1A} | moñt [letters 2 and 3], <i>to go</i> |
| 51 o | gôlô, 1, 2, <i>cover</i> |
| 58 u | gouzout [1, 2], [3, 4], <i>to know</i> |
| 65 y | dû, <i>black</i> |
| 69 əh | eunn [1, 2], <i>a</i> |
| 72 ə | keñneud [1, 2], [3, 4], <i>firewood</i> |
| 16 'h | câret, 2, V, <i>loved</i> |
| 18 'h | kaout(), <i>to have</i> |

B. Greco-Latin Family.

i. Albanian Branch.

17. ALBANIAN, Guègue dialect. 14 vowels.

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1 a | amë, 1, <i>mother</i> |
| 3 aA | bâni, 1, <i>he did</i> |
| 27 e _{1A} | l'ëng, 1, <i>let</i> |
| 28 e | et, <i>thirst</i> |

(17. *Albanian*, continued.)

- 37 i bîr, *son*
 39 ia vîng, 1, *they come*
 48 o_{1A} ðōng, 1, *they do*
 49 o zot, *lord*
 57 u burre, 1, *husband*
 60 ua ã, *hunger*
 65 y krûpe, 1, *salt*
 66* y_A hûni, 1, *he entered*
 16 'h nde, *in*
 18 'h dielit(), *of the sun*

II. Greek Branch.

18. *ANCIENT GREEK*, dead.19. *MODERN GREEK*. 5 vowels.

- 1 a φεγγάρι, 2, *moon*
 28 e νεφέλη, 1, 2, *cloud*
 37 i ψωμί, 2, *bread*
 49 o χρόνος, 1, 2, *year*
 58 u πουλί [1, 2], *bird*

III. Latin Branch.

a. Latin.

20. *LATIN*, dead.

b. Italian.

21. *ITALIAN*. 9 vowels.

- 1 a gatto, 1, *cat*
 25 e₁ sella, 1, *saddle*
 28 e sellaio, 1, *saddler*
 29 e stella, 1, *star*
 37 i fine, 1, *end*
 46 o₁ bosco, 1, *wood of trees*
 49 o boschetto, 1, *grove*
 51 o bocca, 1, *mouth*
 58 u buco, 1, *hole*

22. *SPANISH*. 5 vowels.

- 1 a madre, 1, *mother*
 28 e mujer, 2, *woman*
 37 i hijo, 1, *son*
 49 o plomo, 1, 2, *lead n.*
 58 u luna, 1, *moon*

23. *PORTUGUESE*. 20 vowels.

- 1 a más, *bad*, fem. pl.
 3 a_A lâ, *wool*
 8 æ mas, *but*
 9 æ_A cama, 1, *bed*
 25 e₁ sé, *see n.*
 27 e_{1A} sempre [letters 2, 3], *always*
 29 e sê, *be*, imperat. sing.
 30 e_A senha, 1, *sign*
 31 e¹ cear, 1, *to sup*
 37 i vicio, 1, 2, *vice*
 39 ia sim [letters 2, 3], *yes*

(23. *Portuguese*, continued.)

- 46 o₁ avô, 2, *grandmother*
 48 o_{1A} som [letters 2, 3], *sound n.*
 51 o avô, 2, *grandfather*
 52 o_A sonho, 1, *dream*
 54 u_h o, *the*
 57 u soar, 1, *to sound*
 58 u túmulo, 1, 2, *tomb*
 60 u_A um [both letters], *one*
 16 'h se, *if*

c. French.

24. *FRENCH*. 18 vowels.

- 1 a chat, *cat*
 3 a_A dent [letters 2, 3], *tooth*
 20 a diable, 2, *devil*
 25 e₁ père, *father*
 27 e_{1A} vin [letters 2, 3], *wine*
 28 e musette, 2, *bagpipe*
 29 e dé, *die*, n.
 37 i if, *yew-tree*
 46 o₁ botte, *boot*
 48 o_{1A} bon [letters 2, 3], *good*
 51 o beau, *beautiful*
 58 u poule, *hen*
 65 y lune, *moon*
 69 æ_h veuf [1, 2], *widower*
 70 æ_A un [both letters], *one*
 72 æ feu [2, 3], *fire*
 16 'h cheval, 1, *horse*
 18 'h fat(), *foppish*

25. *ROMAN*, Catalan. 10 vowels.

- 1 a casa, 1, *house*
 8 æ casa, 2, *house*
 25 e₁ net, *nephew*
 29 e nèt, *clean*
 37 i cosí, 2, *cousin*, male
 46 o₁ dona, 1, *woman*
 51 o mòlt, *much*
 58 u jutge, 1, *judge n.*
 16 'h pare, 2, *father*
 18 'h foch(), *fire*

26. *RHETIAN*, Oberland dialect. 13 vowels.

- 1 a bab, *father*
 8 æ essan, 2, *we are*
 23 æ ä_r, *field*
 25 e₁ pumèr, 2, *tree*
 28 e valèr, 2, *to be worth*
 29 e vènder, 1, *to sell*
 35 í figl, *son*
 37 i masira, 2, *measure*
 46 o₁ bov, *ox*
 58 u bun, *good*
 71 æ oegl [1, 2], *eye*
 16 'h lader, 2, *thief*
 18 'h uffont(), *child*

d. Wallachian.

27. WALLACHIAN. 9 vowels.

[There are three orthographies in use, Cyrillic, Mixed, and Roman or etymological. The words are here given in the most esteemed form of the last, and the pronunciation of each word has been added in full.]

1 a	acü, 1, (ak'), <i>needle</i>
21 æ	tată, 2, (ta,tæ), <i>father</i>
25 e ₁	versü, 1, (ve ₁ rs), <i>verse</i>
32 e ¹	bine, 1, (be ¹ ne ₁), <i>well adv.</i>
34 r ₂	pâine [1, 2], (pæ ₂ ne ₁), <i>bread</i>
37 i	vinü, 1, (vi'n'), <i>wine</i>
46 o ₁	omü, 1, (o ₁ m'), <i>man</i>
58 u	ulmü, 1, (u ₁ lm'), <i>elm</i>
18 'h	bărbatü, 3, (bærba,t'), <i>husband</i>

γ. Germano-Scandinavian Family.

i. German Group.

a. Extinct.

28	GOTHIC, dead
29	OLD HIGH GERMAN, dead
30	OLD LOW GERMAN, dead
31	ANGLO-SAXON, dead
32	FRIESIAN, dead

b. German.

33. HIGH GERMAN. 12 vowels.

1 a	mann, <i>man</i>
25 e ₁	fett, <i>fat</i>
29 e	ehre, 1, <i>honour</i>
37 i	milch, <i>milk</i>
46 o ₁	Gott, <i>God</i>
51 o	ohne, 1, <i>without</i>
58 u	buch, <i>book</i>
65 y	brüder, 1, <i>brothers</i>
71 æ	böcke, 1, <i>roe-bucks</i>
72 æ	könig, 1, <i>king</i>
16 'h	mutter, 2, <i>mother</i>
18 'h	gut(), <i>good</i>

34. LOW GERMAN, dialect of Holstein. 15 vowels.

1 a	dat, <i>the</i>
20 a	maken, 1, <i>to make</i>
25 e ₁	het, <i>he has</i>
29 e	leed [1, 2], <i>song</i>
37 i	wien [1, 2], <i>wine</i>
43 A	wo, <i>how</i>
46 o ₁	kopp, <i>head</i>
51 o	moder, 1, <i>mother</i>
58 u	kuss, <i>kiss</i>
65 y	küssen, 1, <i>to kiss</i>
69 æh	aver, 1, <i>over</i>
71 æ	döchder, <i>daughter</i>
72 æ	könig, <i>king</i>
16 'h	hütten, 2, <i>huts</i>
18 'h	hart(), <i>heart</i>

35. DUTCH. 14 vowels.

1 a	vlag, <i>flag</i>
8 æ	kerk, <i>church</i>
25 e ₁	bel, <i>bell</i>
29 e	nemen, 1, <i>to take</i>
31 e ¹	ik, <i>I</i>
37 i	titel, 1, <i>title</i>
46 o ₁	top, <i>top</i>
51 o	komen, 1, <i>to come</i>
58 u	zoet [1, 2], <i>sweet</i>
65 y	u, <i>you</i>
69 æh	durven, 1, <i>to dare</i>
72 æ	beuk [1, 2], <i>beech</i>
16 'h	bode, 2, <i>messenger</i>
18 'h	kat(), <i>cat</i>

36. MODERN FRIESIAN, western dialect. 14 vowels.

1 a	makke, 1, <i>made</i>
20 a	âld, <i>old</i>
25 e ₁	sette, 1, <i>to set</i>
29 e	leech [1, 2], <i>low</i>
31 e ¹	stik, <i>piece</i>
37 i	wit, <i>white</i>
43 A	moarn [1, 2], <i>morning</i>
46 o ₁	lot, <i>lot</i>
51 o	doge, 1, <i>to be worth</i>
58 u	hûs, <i>house</i> } indifferently
65 y	hûs, <i>house</i> } (u, y)
72 æ	guds, <i>horse</i>
16 'h	mûsen, 2, <i>to mouse</i>
18 'h	doopt(), <i>baptized</i>

c. English.

37. ENGLISH [see remarks on Smart (1199, a')]. 21 vowels.

1 a	father, 1
4 æ	the book, 1
6 ah	ass
7 æ	character, 2
8 æ	man
10 æ	pollute, 1
13 æ	bird
14 ɪ	ea()r
28 e	bed
35 i	milk
37 i	bee
40 'j	ga()te, pronounced (gee'jt)
41 o	God
43 A	all
49 o	more, 1
51 o	omit, 1
57 u	book [1, 2]
58 u	pool [1, 2]
61 'w	ho()me, pronounced (hoo'wm)
16 'h	open, 2
18 'h	bit()

(37). SCOTCH, Southern dialect. 14 vowels.

4 æ	to turn, 2
8 œ	men
20 a	man
25 e ₁	way
31 e ¹	siller, 1, <i>silver</i>
32 e ¹	there, pronounced (dhee ¹ r)
36 i ¹	fishes, 2
37 i	to leave [2, 3]
49 o	God
55 o ¹	folk, pronounced (foo ¹ k)
58 u	house [1, 2]
75 a ¹	guid [1, 2], good
16 'h	gaed, pronounced (gee ¹ d), <i>went</i>
18 'h	that()

II. Scandinavian Group.

a. Icelandic.

38. ICELANDIC. 14 vowels.

1 a	maður, 1, <i>man</i>
25 e ₁	hestur, 1, <i>horse</i>
29 e	bein, 1, <i>bone</i>
35 i	vita, 1, <i>to know</i>
37 i	rikur, 1, <i>rich</i>
40 'j	bein, 2, <i>bone</i>
46 o ₁	opinn, 1, <i>open part</i>
51 o	góður, pronounced (goo'wdhur), <i>good</i>
57 u	hún, <i>she</i>
58 u	úngur, 1, <i>young</i>
61 'w	góður, [see 51]
71 œ	smjör, <i>butter</i>
75 a ¹	sumar, 1, <i>summer</i>
18 'h	lopt(), <i>air</i>

b. Modern Scandinavian.

(39). NORWEGIAN. The literary 'conventional dialect of Aasen,' which, though founded on the various Norwegian dialects, and used in some printed works, is, nevertheless, the creation of an individual author. 17 vowels.

1 a	hat, <i>hatred</i>
25 e ₁	klæde, 1, <i>to clothe</i>
28 e	lesa, 1, <i>to read</i>
29 e	kne, <i>knee</i>
32 e ¹	time, 1, <i>hour</i>
35 i	skir, <i>to clean</i>
37 i	liva, 1, <i>to live</i>
46 o ₁	maane [1, 2], <i>moon</i>
49 o	skot, <i>shoot n.</i>
55 o ¹	stor, <i>great</i>
57 u	sumar, 1, <i>summer</i>
63 u ¹	hus, <i>house</i>
65 y	by, <i>town</i>

(39). Norwegian, continued.)

71 œ	dökk, <i>dark</i>
72 a	lök, <i>brook</i>
75 a ¹	stytt, 1, <i>to shorten</i>
18 'h	hatt(), <i>hat</i>

39. SWEDISH. 18 vowels.

1 a	all, <i>all</i>
7 a	saker, 2, <i>things</i>
25 e ₁	ära, 1, <i>glory</i>
28 e	meja, 1, <i>to mow</i>
29 e	leda, 1, <i>to lead</i>
35 i	vinna, 1, <i>to win</i>
37 i	vin, <i>wine</i>
46 o ₁	sofva, 1, <i>to sleep</i>
51 o	kol, <i>cole</i>
56 u ₁	stor, <i>great</i>
62 u ¹	skuld, <i>cause</i>
64 u	hus, <i>house</i>
65 y	fyra, 1, <i>four</i>
69 øh	först, <i>firstly</i>
71 œ	kött, <i>meat</i>
72 a	dö, <i>to die</i>
75 e ¹	syster, 1, <i>sister</i>
18 'h	hatt(), <i>hat</i>

40. DANISH, according to Mr. Henry Sweet. [Trans. of Phil. Soc. 1873-4, p. 103.] 17 vowels.

N.B. These do not always correspond with those assigned by the Danish Grammarians.

5 a	mand, <i>man</i>
7 a	mane, 1, <i>to conjure</i>
25 e ₁	hest, <i>horse</i> [Mr. Sweet writes (E)]
28 e	læse, 1, <i>to read</i>
32 e ¹	een [1, 2], <i>one</i>
35 i	spille, 1, <i>to play</i>
37 i	hvid, <i>white</i>
41 o	folk, <i>people</i>
46 o ₁	maane [1, 2], <i>moon</i> [Mr. Sweet writes (A _o)]
55 o ¹	stor, <i>great</i> [Mr. Sweet writes (o _u)]
58 u	ugle, 1, <i>owl</i>
65 y	skylle, 1, <i>to rinse</i>
67 i	nyde, 1, <i>to enjoy</i>
69 øh	størst, <i>greatest</i> } [latest ortho-
71 œ	dør, <i>door</i> } graphy ö for ø]
72 a	han døer, 3, <i>he does</i>
18 'h	hat(), <i>hat</i>

δ. Slavo-Lettish Family.

1. Slavonic Branch.

a. Slave.

41. OLD SLAVE, dead.

42. RUSSIAN. 9 vowels.

[The pronunciation of each word is added.]

- 1 a ПАКА, 1, 2, (pa'ka), *stick*
 8 æ МЯСО, (miasa), *meat*
 29 e ДЕРЕВО, 1, 2, (de'reva), *tree*
 34 y₂ МЫ, (my₂), *we*
 37 i МІРЪ, (mir), *world*
 43 A ХУДО, 2, (khu'da), *ill adv.*
 51 o БОЛНА, 1, (vo'lna), *wool*
 58 u МУЖЪ, (muzh), *man*
 18 'h ХВОСЪ, 2, (khvos't'), *tail*

43. ILLYRIAN. 7 vowels.

- 1 a brada, 1, 2, *beard*
 28 e peta, 1, *heel*
 37 i riba, 1, *fish*
 49 o noga, 1, *foot*
 58 u ruka, 1, *hand*
 18 'h vrat(), *neck*
 'r prst, *finger*

44. NEW SLOVENIAN, Wendish. 10 vowels.

- 1 a dati, 1, *to give*
 7 ə dober, 2, *good*
 25 e₁ jê, *he is*
 29 e jê, *he eats*
 37 i mir, *peace*
 43 A bôb, *bean*
 51 o zôb, *tooth*
 58 u ura, 1, *hour*
 18 'h brât(), *brother*
 'r hrt, *greyhound*.

45. BULGARIAN. 8 vowels.

- 1 a bába, 1, *grandmother*
 7 ə dùp, *oak*
 25 e₁ bânè, 2, *bath*
 28 e déte, 1, *child*
 37 i zímù, 1, *winter*
 49 o zlató, 2, *gold*
 58 u kúkù, 1, *hook*
 18 'h brat(), *brother*

ò. Polish.

46. POLISH. 11 vowels.

- 1 a sam, *alone*
 25 e₁ teraz, 1, *now*
 27 e_{1A} będe, *I shall be*

(46. Polish, continued.)

- 31 e¹ chléb, *bread*
 34 y₂ byli, 1, *they have been*
 37 i pili, 1, 2, *they have drunk*
 47 o₁ jada, 2, *they go away*
 51 o pogoda, 1, 2, *fine weather*
 54 uh Bóg, *God*
 58 u cud, *miracle*
 18 'h grzmot(), *thunder*

47. BOHEMIAN. 11 vowels.

- 1 a skála, 1, *rock*
 25 e₁ led, *ice*
 29 e mléko, 1, *milk*
 37 i víra, 1, *faith*
 46 o₁ zvon, *bell*
 51 o ó, o
 58 u duch, *spirit*
 67 i kdy, *when*
 18 'h kohout(), *cock*
 'l vlk, *wolf*
 'r prst, *finger*

48. LUSATIAN, Sorbian, Wendish. 11 vowels.

- 1 a trawa, 1, 2, *grass*
 25 e₁ jehò, 1, *of him*
 29 e zemja, 1, *earth*
 31 e¹ wěra, 1, *faith*
 37 i figa, 1, *fig*
 43 A wono, 1, *thing*
 51 o woko, 1, 2, *eye*
 54 uh dwór, *court*
 58 u huba, 1, *lip*
 67 i zyma, 1, *cold n.*
 18 'h dórtek(), *mouthful*

49. CASSUBIAN, a still-existing dialect of the extinct *POLABIC*. 16 vowels.

- 1 a gadac, 1, 2, *to talk*
 25 e₁ mech, *moss*
 27 e₁ gęba, *mouth*
 29 e zjê, *evil*
 35 i łacinski, 2, 3, *Latin*
 43 A jôd, *venom*
 46 o₁ pòmòc, 1, 2, *aid*
 47 o₁ kąt, *corner*
 51 o dobri, 1, *good*
 52 oA dôm, *house*
 54 uh Bóg, *God*
 58 u szum, *rush*
 60 uA kunszt, *art*
 65 y hysop, 1, *hyssop*
 16 'h nêkac, 1, *to bear down*
 18 'h czart(), *devil*

II. Lettish Branch.

a. Lithuanian.

50. LITHUANIAN. 9 vowels.

1 a	bálkis, 1, <i>beam</i>
25 e ₁	vèžti, 1, <i>to drive</i>
29 e	dèžė, 1, 2, <i>box case</i>
35 i	kirvis, 1, 2, <i>axe</i>
37 i	yrà, 1, <i>he is</i>
49 o	momà, 1, <i>mother</i>
57 u	neszù, 2, <i>I bear</i>
58 u	pùlti, 1, <i>to fall</i>
18 'h	kù-met(), <i>at which time</i>

b. Prussian.

51 PRUSSIAN, dead.

c. Lettish.

52. LETTISH. 8 vowels.

1 a	gars, <i>spirit</i>
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(52. Lettish, continued.)

25 e ₁	mettu, 1, <i>I throw</i>
29 e	séja, 1, <i>seed</i>
37 i	bitte, 1, <i>bee</i>
49 o	lōki, pronounced (luoaki), only the (o) is referred to, <i>leeks</i>
58 u	blussa, <i>flea</i>
16 'h	méle, 2, <i>tongue</i>
18 'h	tizzét(), <i>to believe</i>

B. SEMITIC STEM,

admitting, as I do, the correctness of Ascoli's opinion as to the connection of the Indo-European and Semitic stems, although it is disputed by the majority of modern linguists.—L.L.B.

iv. On Vowel Fractures and Junctures.

The word *fracture* here introduced is of course imitated from Grimm's *brechung*, but it does not in any respect imply his theory of length (1265, *b.* 1270, *b*). By *Fracture* will be meant the replacement of one vowel by two, more or less closely connected by a glide. By *Juncture* will be meant, conversely, the replacement of two vowels, generally gliding on to one another, by a single vowel, either one of the two original, or some sound developed in the glide which originally joined them. As to the comparative lengths of the one and the two elements, no theory is started. As to the absolute monosyllabic character of the fractures, no assumption is made. As a general rule, the speaker feels the fracture as monosyllabic, he actually often feels it as containing only one vowel; so that it is only with difficulty, after much hesitation, and frequently unwillingly after strenuous denial, that he comes to recognise the fractured character. It requires generally a fresh ear or a tutored ear to recognise them at all. The fresh ear, if not tutored, is apt only to recognise some peculiarity, without stating its nature, and when it attempts to state it, is often ludicrously incorrect. These statements are the result of experience, not theory. The knowledge of fractures is rather new to myself. There were many ways of speech to which I was well accustomed, without having the least idea that they belonged to this class. Dialectal fractures I scarcely appreciated at all, except as sporadic curiosities, till quite recently; yet they are most conspicuous characters of our northern and south-western dialects. And extending my view from English to other European languages, I seem to see them largely developed even in written tongues, while the unwritten dialects abound in them. It is therefore necessary to form some classification, pointing out their typical characters. But this must be taken as provisional, requiring probably years of research into living uses, to verify, correct, and replace. If philology is worth anything, the labour of investigating

fractures, and their corresponding junctures, will not be thrown away, for they are vital points in the consideration of vowel relations. It would be quite premature to propound any theory for their origin. The phenomena themselves are not sufficiently known and grouped, and the circumstances under which they arise, although attempted in certain cases to be determined, by Grimm, are far too vaguely felt, or too loosely stated, or too imperfectly ascertained, to render a general theory possible. The diversity of local habits, and even of habits within the same district, as to words used on different occasions, either of collocation of words, or of relations of the speaker to the listener, throws great difficulties in the way of any physiological or even subjective theory. Our present business is, therefore, simply to propose a rough classification of the phenomena, to assist in grouping. The subsequent dialectal examples will furnish numerous instances.

Fractures may be divided into two classes, according as the adventitious vowel is *pre-fixed* (*Prefractures*) or *suf-fixed* (*Suf-fractures*). The original vowel may be *graded* (1290, *c*) in any way at the same time.

Prefractures are *weak* or *apertive* when the *prefixed* vowel has a greater closure formed by the tongue or lips than the original vowel, so that the result is a progressive opening. Its types are (ia, úa, íu), with the first element under the stress, but varying as (iá, uá, uf). It is the first form (ia, úa) which is so conspicuous and remarkable in our northern dialects. The second, which often develops from the first, as (iá, uá), has a wide range in the literary languages of Europe.

Prefractures are *strong* or *clausive* when the *original* vowel has the greater closure, so that the result is a progressive closing. Its types are (ái, áu, úi), and do not, at least commonly, vary as (aí, aú),¹ although (uí) is not uncommon.

Suf-fractures take either of the above forms, that is, may be either *apertive* or *clausive*, or may be simply *continuant* or *laxative*, the opening of the mouth continuing much the same throughout, or merely relaxing into some of the easy positions, giving obscure resonance, such as (ə). The first element is, however, the original, or one of its gradations, and the second the adventitious. In the types, then, the first element is marked long, as (éci, óou, áaa). The two first types have crept into received English pronunciation. They are largely developed in Icelandic. They probably were so in old Norman, and have doubtless influenced our Early English forms. The last type (aaa) is widely developed in our dialects.

Omissive suf-fractures arise from the suppression of a consonant, or

¹ Here (aí, aú) must not be confused with Grimm's Gothic "broken vowels" *ai*, *au*, where "i and u, losing their purity, pass over into a mixed sound" (D.G. I³, 50), supposed to be different from the usual Gothic *ai*, *au*, which he writes *ái*, *áu*, and takes as (ái, áu), see

table in (561, *b*). My use of the acute accent in the notation of diphthongs (419, *c*) was suggested by Grimm's, but in palaeotype (aí, aú) are real diphthongs, and not any "mixed sound," whatever Grimm may have conceived that expression to imply.

its gradual change into (i, u, ə). The types are (ái, áu, áə), and they have been largely developed in the received dialect, or its early forms, by the suppression of *g* and *r*, and sometimes *l*.

False fractures are such as have been simply developed recently by mere imitation, or false analogy. They take any of the above forms. Thus the Londoner's (naa'ə) for *gnaw* comes from the analogy of his omissive fracture (maa'ə, maa') for *more*, replacing (moo'), and similar words.

Junctures arise from the substitution of a practically intermediate sound for a fracture of any sort, or from the suppression of an element, thus (ái, áu) may give (e, o) as intermediates, or (a) by suppression; both cases occur.

The most important point to be determined in examining a fracture relates to the original vowel, and, as that vowel is frequently gradated even to obscurity, it is frequently not recognisable without comparison of the forms of a word in various dialects. When the original vowel reaches obscurity, it is necessarily disguised in ordinary alphabetic writing, and will appear under one of the forms *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, quite independently of any variety of sound, according to the fancy of the writer at the moment, partly swayed perhaps by etymological considerations.¹ I am not inclined to give mediæval writers credit for greater exactness than their modern followers, especially when they had absolutely no sign for an obscure vowel. I do not see why an Anglosaxon scribe in the *x*th century should not have used *ea*, *eo*, precisely as I find modern dialectal writers actually employ them, so far as the second element is concerned. If they had been able to write (eə) in both cases, they would probably often have done so. Not having this power, however, the signs remain ambiguous, and either (éə) may have been meant, or really (éa, éo).

It was in the Cumberland dialect that the *apertive prefractures* first presented themselves to me in recognisable purity. It was impossible to hear (fiás, díal, líat) for *face*, *dale*, *late*, and (briád, stían) for *broad*, *stone*, with a perfectly distinct (a), and to observe *fool*, *look* vary from (fiúl, líuk), through (fiəl, líək), to (fiə'l, líə'k), without recognising that the original (a, u) had been introduced by an adventitious (i), which, usurping the accent, occasionally obscured the other vowel. The subsequent comparison of three Yorkshire forms of speech with the Scotch led me to formulate the process thus. *Speakers in different districts have a tendency to introduce an opener vowel by a closer.* The tendency varies very much, even in contiguous districts, even in different speakers within the same district, even in the same speaker on different occasions. The introducing vowel generally usurps the stress, and thus obscures the original vowel, but this obscuration does not always follow, and the stress sometimes passes to the original vowel, or its gradated representative, shewing that this was a subsequent process, as the gradation, especially when amounting to obscurity, was more likely to occur

¹ Compare the "etymological" ä ǣ ȳ graphy, in the examples, p. 1304, ö ȳ of the Roman Wallachian ortho- language 27.

without than with the stress. The original vowel being of the (e) class, the introducing vowel was of the (i) class; but when the original vowel was (a), the introducing vowel was either (i) or (e). The North Mid and Mid Yorkshire forms of speech, hereafter adduced, are distinguished by this difference. The introducing vowel might also be (u) in this case, but this is not so frequent for an original (a) as for an original (o). The types (ie, ia, éa, úo) are the most general. But as long as the stress remains on the first element, the second is very difficult to hold distinctly, and rapidly passes over into (ə); thus the forms (iə, éə, úə) are the most frequent forms of the preceding types. When this stage is reached, the tendency seems to be to drive the obscuration further, by shortening the second element, till it becomes a mere voice-glide, connected so closely with the preceding vowel as to seem rather to generate a new sound than to remain a mere appendage. Thus arise the *close fractures* (i', i', e', e', u', u'), of which (i', u') are of constant occurrence in Scotch, where they have been written by Mr. Murray, in his historical orthography (*op. cit.* p. 103), as *ea*, *uo*, the very signs adopted by mediæval writers for related phenomena. The following are Mr. Murray's remarks on these two fractures. "This, the *ea*, *ea*, in *leade*, *breae*, is a very difficult sound to analyse. When pronounced leisurely, however, the main element will generally be recognised as the long of the English *i*, heard in singing *bit* to a long note *bi-i-i-t*, this sound gliding or opening at the end into the *e* in *yet*, Scotch *y* in *byt*, or perhaps the mid-mixed vowel (ə) in the second syllable of *real*, which occupies a mid position between the Scotch *y* in *myll* (mel) and *u* in *mull* (mæl). I often hear the identical sound in English, when the word *real* (rii'əl) is carelessly pronounced, as (riəl, ri'l). When rapidly pronounced, the glide is scarcely heard, and the two sounds seem to mix into an impure *ee* (i) or close *ai* (e)." (*ibid.* p. 105.) Mr. Murray's (i') is rather deeper than mine, and sounds to me generally like (i₁) or (e'), so that his (i') approximates closely to an (e), but a remarkably altered (e). As respects *uo*, Mr. Murray says: "This vowel bears precisely the same relation to *oo* (u) and *o* (o) that *ea* does to *ee* (i) and *ai* (e). When pronounced leisurely, the main element will be heard to be the same as the English 'wide' *oo* (u) in *book*, *poor*, but this sound opens and glides towards the *u* in *gun* (æ). When rapidly pronounced, however, the effect of the glide is scarcely felt, and we seem to hear only a very close *o*, almost falling into *oo* (u), and nearly, if not quite, identical with the Italian *o chiuso*, representing a short Latin *u*, as *dolce*, *rompe*, *somma*." (*ib.* p. 111.) These introductions of (e, a, o) by (i, e, u) consequently lead directly to the substitution of (i) for (e) or (a), (e) for (a), and (u) for (o). In fact, an unpractised ear receives (i', e', u') for (ii, ee, uu).¹ *Stone*, ags. (staan), which is (stian) in Cumberland, becomes (sti'n) in Teviotdale, and we hear of (steen) in "general Scotch," and (stiin) in Aberdeen.

The most remarkable of these prefractures is (iu), where (u) is a

¹ German *lieben* and such words have (ii) for (i'), see Grimm (I³, 227).

gradation of (o). In Cumberland I was for a long time puzzled with what appeared from description to be a peculiar (y, u) sound. Subsequent hearing shewed me that it varied as (iu, io, io'), and was in fact a real prefracture of (u). In Norfolk the custom varies, (iu, iú, iy, y, y₁, ø) being used as substitutes for (uu); this is even the case in a few words in Kent. In Devonshire, while (y, y₁, ø) are generally acknowledged, see p. 636, note, yet the fracture (møæn, møy'n) may be noticed. The sounds (y, y₁, ø) as used in these dialects could not be a Norman introduction, as they occur in words where Normans have (uu). They are not a necessity of Scotch pronunciation, for the Scotch retain the (uu) sound where it was received from Anglosaxon and French. Hence I am led to consider this (y, y₁, ø) as in all cases a *juncture* arising from the *fracture* (iu, io) differently developed in different districts, according to a native custom of pronunciation, and to be in no respects a foreign importation. That the real French (y) which was introduced in French words, as *nature*, followed the course of the native fracture, is very probable, and this may account for the simultaneous existence of (iu, y) in the mouths of Wilkins and Wallis, just as we have seen they long afterwards co-existed sporadically.¹ It is also possible that the puzzling use of *u* in the XIIIth century (424, *b*), which finally introduced *ou* for (uu), may have been due to a similar prefracture. Even the short *u*, which interchanges with *i*, *e* (300, *a*), may be due to a very close (*i'*, *e'*) form of this fracture. The consideration of fracture at any rate introduces a new consideration depending upon a native existing habit, with whose various forms the old orthography was powerless to deal. For example, the open (éø) could not be orthographically distinguished from the close (e'), except by leaving the former as *ea* or *eo*,² and the latter as *e*. This may account for the remarkable treatment of *eo*, *e*, by Orrmin (487, *cd*). The hesitation of that writer brought to light by the condition of his manuscript is quite familiar to all those who try to fix a speech on paper. The analysis of fractures is always especially difficult, and the Latin alphabet had made no provision for it. With regard to the particular tendency to interpose (i) before (u), I have been lately struck with its comparative frequency in educated pronunciation, where the speaker would probably have been much offended had any such tendency been hinted at. The (i) is generally (*i*), and very light, and sometimes varies with (*y*). Thus I have heard *room* vary as (rum, r₁iúm, r₁yúm), so that there would be clearly very little difficulty in reaching (rym, ry₁m, røm).

When the original element is retained distinctly, the position of

¹ The real French (y) in France itself is derived from an original Latin (u), and the process of derivation may have been precisely the same, from (iu). We find numerous proofs of the existence of the types (ia, úa) in French, so that this hypothesis has an historic foundation.

² The Anglosaxon fractures *ea*, *eo*—to which perhaps the confusion of *ea*, *ae*, with each other and with *a*, will allow us to add *ae*, too cursorily treated on p. 511—will be reconsidered in Chap. XII. Among dialectal writers I have found the utmost confusion in respect to *ea*, *ae*, in the forms (*i'*, *e'*).

the stress is very uncertain. Hence (ia, ua) are as apt to become (iá, uá) as (íá, úá). They are, as it were, in a state of unstable equilibrium. This I state from my own personal feelings in listening to Cumberland sounds. But the choice once made has a considerable effect on subsequent development, and either position of the stress may be originally developed. Initially, that is with no preceding consonant, the stress falls on the second element or original vowel, and then, in accordance with present English habits, the introducing (i, u) become the consonants (j, w). But that this was the Anglosaxon custom there is considerable reason to doubt (p. 511), either as to the position of the stress on the second element, or as to the consonantal development of the first element.¹ At present, even in Scotland, we have (JEN, JÉ'b'l, JÉk, JÉt) for *one, able, oak, oat* (Murray, p. 105), all being cases of (iá) in the gradated form (iē'). Mr. Murray even writes (HJEM) where I seemed to hear him say (Hhiém).² In general I think that the jerk or aspiration acting on the initial (i) or (u) saves it from becoming (j), but that is a matter of theory, very difficult to decide practically. We have also in Scotch (wārtshet, wārp'i lif, wā'pen) for *orchard, orpine, open*. And similarly to the (HJ), Mr. Murray writes (Hwāl), where I suspect (Hhual'), for *hole*, etc., which is consistent with his secondary historical form *huōle*, etc. (*ibid.* p. 112.) The greater number of dialectal writers use *y, w*, in these cases, even after a consonant, as *Jwohn* in Cumberland, implying (Dzhwon), which is to me a very difficult combination; but I seem to hear (dzhúón), which is easy enough. Even in this word I doubted the stress, and thought at first that it lay on the introducing vowel, thus (dzhúón). This is mentioned first to shew the vowel character of the first element, and secondly the instability of the position of stress. There was no approach, however, to (dzhúæn), compare the English pronunciation of *Juan* (dzhun'jæn). In our received pronunciation we have the fracture (uá) in *one* (wøn). The oldest form of this fracture which I have been able to cite is Jones's (wæn), at the close of the XVIIth century, *suprà* p. 1012, for which a little later, in the XVIIIth century, we have (wøn, wān, wən), see (1079, *a*), while at the present day both (wøn) and (wən, wān) are heard (1091, *d.* 1097, *a*). The fractural character and its recent development are therefore well established.

These prefractures often re-act powerfully on the preceding consonant. Where the aspirate exists we ought to have (jh, wh), but these do not seem to be developed. More frequently the aspirate is lost, and (iá, uá) are treated as initials, thus (jep, jed, wæm) occur for (Hhiép, Hhiéd, Hhuám), *heap, head, home*, in Shropshire. When there is a preceding (t, d), the fracture is apt to

¹ We have here the same controversy as on pp. 1092-3. With regard to Salesbury's *vvyth* (762, *b.* 763, *c*), I was much struck by hearing Dr. Benjamin Davies (769, *c*) read the Welsh *wyth*=8, distinctly as (úyth), without

a trace of (wyth), on 6 Feb. 1874; yet I have not noticed this peculiarity in his pronunciation of English *with*.

² Sometimes the word comes to me as (Hhié'm), sometimes as (JHem), and may possibly vary as (JHJEM).

change it to (tsh, dzh), as (tshem, dzhel) for (tiém, diél) *team, deal*, also in Shropshire. This happens in the received pronunciation. The terminations, *-ture, -dure*, once (-tyyr, -dyyr), as imported words, split into two directions. In the xviith century the remission of accent introduced the ready gradations (-tuɹ, -duɹ), whence (-təɹ, -dəɹ), which became the rule in the xviiith century. But orthography having crystallised, the final *-e* reminded readers, and especially teachers, that *u* must be "long." Now the old (yy) seems never to have died out, but the modern (iú) may not so much be a fracture evolved from it as a false orthographic fracture, not however without opposition, see Webster (1070, *b'*). Once introduced, however, (-tiúɹ, -diúɹ) passed easily through (-tiə'ɹ, -diə'ɹ) into (-tshəɹ, -dzhəɹ), precisely in the same way as in Shropshire. And the alteration of even accented (siú, tiú, diú) to (shu, tshu, dzhu) is of the same kind. This became strongly developed among the Irish in the xviiith century. See the words beginning with (*su-, tu-*) in the vocabulary, *suprà* pp. 1081-2.

In the Romance languages the weak (i, u) prefractures play a great part. Thus in French, (shaɹ) *champ* is (kiám-pum) altered, and (rwa) older (rœ') is (ruɛɛ-gem), for (reɛ'gem), Latin *regem*. We have this even initial as in Italian (uó'vuh) *uovo*, Spanish (ué'vo) *huevo*, Latin (oo'vum, uó'vum), Lat. *ovum*. In Slavonic the (i) introductions are constant. The fusions of the introduced (i, u) with the consonants as (j, w), which is a preparation for subsequent gradations, need only be mentioned. The especial tendency of (k, g) to (ki-, gi-), producing (kj, gj), and thence (.sh, zh, t.sh d.zh, sh zh, s z) on the one hand, and (ku-, gu-), producing (kw-, gw-), and thence (w, wh, bh), and conversely, on the other, are well known. It is evident that the tendency towards (ki-, gi-) must have been felt very strongly by a man who could say, like Walker, "When the *a* is pronounced short, as in the first syllable of *candle, gander*, etc., the interposition of the *e* (i) is very perceptible, for though we can pronounce *guard* and *cart* without interposing the *e*, it is impossible to pronounce *garrison* and *carriage* in the same manner." (Dictionary, Principles, art. 92. See *suprà* 206, *c.*) It is curious that under these two words in his dictionary he gives no notice of introduced (i), and does not refer to this dictum in his principles.

The *clausive prefractures*, (ái áu), have long been recognized. The *guṇa* of the Sanscritists brought them prominently forward, and the later Sanscrit pronunciation developed the conception of the corresponding junctures (*ee, oo*), or (*ee, oo*), the exact vowel being at present doubtful, but the latter were always to my mind most probable, see also Mr. Gupta's unmistakable pronunciation, (1137, *a*). But *guṇa* was a grammatical or accentual, at any rate not a clearly dialectal, transformation of (i, u), and we were so little prepared to accept such a transformation in English during the xvth century, that perhaps no theories propounded in this book were more counter to general feeling than that the original sounds of English *i, ou*, were (*ii, uu*). Yet the change is

precisely of the same nature as that of (a, o) into (ía, úo), and the changes follow an analogous course in both English and German, where a similar feeling was generated at the same time. In the next chapter I shall be able to produce new evidence, through the kindness of Mr. Murray, for the original (*ii*) value of English *ī*. But the dialectal treatment distinctly points to the same conclusion. The change of (i, u) to (ái, áu), in various gradations, is a mere fracture, exactly comparable to the apertive prefractures. Where long *ī* was gradated, or shortened, the tendency to fracture did not act. But when (ái, áu) were once established, the second element became often obscured, and we find dialectally (áo) or (a') for both, so that both sink into simple juncture (aa). The pronoun *I*, originally short, as in (*itsh*) *ich*, was treated as long (*ii*), and fractured to (ái), which is constantly (aa) dialectally, and similarly *while* is (waal) in Leeds, and *five* is (fa'v) in Mid-Lothian. The word *house* is retained without fracture in the Scotch (hhus), and generally becomes (háus) in some gradated form, but in Leeds sinks to (aas), while in the North of Yorkshire it fractures differently, and gives (*ii*'s) from (íus), the old (*uus*) remaining as a refined form. This is a remarkable illustration of the comparatively recent development of fracture in both forms, furnishing an explanation of such apparent anomalies as the "change" of received (hháus) into (iis, aas, uus), as they would be naturally but incorrectly conceived by those who only recognise received pronunciation. The Yorkshire lists of words will supply numerous instances. A remarkable confirmation of this view is afforded by the treatment of the high German *ei*, *au*, which 500 years ago were (ii, uu), as is undisputed in Germany, in the Bavarian dialects (Schmeller, *Mundarten Bayerns*, art. 236–245, 157–163, see *ai*, *ei*, in No. 8 of this section). Many of these dialects retain the old (ii, uu) untouched, and in the refined pronunciation of almost all, the modern literary (ái, áu) are heard, with various gradated forms, as (*ái*, *éi*, *éi*; *óu*), which are also common in English, but the mere obscuration (áo) does not seem to have been observed in this particular case.

These clausive prefractures are very widely developed in high and low German, but have not penetrated into Scandinavian, and are generally unknown in Romance. A curious example near Cherbourg is however given (460, *d'*). The prefracture (uí), in the form (ué), subsequently gradated to (uá), is originally rather a clausive prefracture than an apertive, as it now appears, and in that form is frequent. The Spanish (ué) form is perhaps to be considered as originally a suffrature (ué), a gradation of (óe) from Latin (o). When a dialect has once seized a sound, the distinction of prefracture and suffrature, which is merely one of origin, becomes lost, and the phonetic development proceeds according to the usual habits of the dialect.

Suffratures, however, play an important part in the development of new sounds. They consist essentially in vanishes, which seem to arise from the inconvenience experienced by the organs of speech in prolonging any sounds. The tongue taught to rise from its

position of rest for (e) rises further to (i); the lips closing for (o) close further for (u); and hence arise (éi, óu), of which, however, at least at first, the suffractal character is shewn by the complete subordination of the suffixed to the original element, so that (éei, óóu) are the original types, which only gradually reduce to (éi, óu) when they become readily confounded with the clausic prefractures (ái, áu). The development of (éi) from (e), which has taken place in almost received speech, at any rate in the speech received by Mr. Melville Bell, plays a great part in our Yorkshire dialects, and it is possible that some of the difficulties in older rhymes *e, ei*, as in *Havelok*, *suprà* p. 473, may be solved on the supposition of double forms (ee, éi), such as the following tables will shew to actually exist in kindred dialects. It must be also remembered that suffratures of the type (éi, óu) are largely developed in Icelandic. Corresponding to this (éi, óu) type, is the (áo) form, which slightly elevates the tongue, but rather brings the organs to a state of repose. Now this (ə) had no alphabetic symbol but (e), or in Scotch *i*, which has the sound of (e), and represented apparently (ə) as well. The combinations *ai, ei, oi*, would then represent (áo, éə, óə), and readily became forms for long (a, e, o). See (410, *é*. 637, *é*. 1085, *e*. and *Murray*, p. 52). But the suffratures (éə, óə) have another tendency. The neutral position of the (ə) allows either an (u) or an (i) position to be readily assumed, and hence we obtain the suffratures (éo éu éy, ói óe óy), and the three last may also appear as (úi úe úy). Now this would give the developments (éo éu), gradating to (ío íu), which would connect (e) with well-known diphthongs in a simple manner. The suffrature (ói), as in (*góid*) *good*, really occurs frequently in Yorkshire, but I cannot recall an example of (úi).¹ The types (ii' ee' aa' oo' uu') are frequent. These are all simple suffratures, arising merely from the feeling of the speaker, precisely as the prefractures arose, and, like them, co-exist not unfrequently with non-fractured forms.

Omissive suffratures, arising from the suppression of *r*, are common in the received dialect, as (ii' ee' oo' uu'), see (1099, *a'*). In the corresponding (aa', AA'), the suffrature reduces to the juncture (aa, AA). Even in (ee', oo') the suffrature is very close, and is barely recognised, so that (oo') often falls into the juncture (AA), or else (ee', oo') are reduced to two syllables, as (eeə, ooə), to "make the *r* distinct," by substituting a clear ungliding (ə) for a trill. This suppression is carried out thoroughly in the south-western dialects, and more or less pervades the northern, exclusive of the Scotch, where the trill never fails. The treatment of *r* in the Bavarian dialects is very similar (Schmeller, arts. 621-637, and under *r* in No. 8 of this section), by the introduction of an (ə) before the trill when preserved, causing suffratures; by its general omission before consonants, and in final syllables when not before vowels; and even by its euphonic insertion, of which Schmeller gives

¹ In the Forest of Dean I have heard the suffrature (ái) as in (náim) for *name*, compare (253, *c*), remember-

ing Gower's probable extraction (726, *ð*), and that S. Western English is spoken in Gowerland.

numerous instances. Such instances shew that, in order to get at the laws of phonetic change, a comparative study of dialectal usages will be necessary, and that we must not be in a hurry to generalise. These considerations have induced me to give an abstract of Schmeller's observations, which are unfortunately but little known to English philologists, in No. 8 of this section.

In the early English we recognised a suppression of (g), or rather its mutation into (i, u), generating diphthongs, which did not form a part of the older language (213, a). These diphthongs are real suffratures (ái, áu), and hence different in origin from the prefractures (ái, áu), or the suffratural (éi, óu), already considered. But once received, they are treated phonetically in the same way, for the organs of speech deal with existent sounds, which, when identical, affect them identically, independently of origin. The case of speaker and hearer is in this case identical. There is no intuitive historical appreciation. The history has to be discovered by slow degrees. Those who stamp their own provisional, and hence generally incorrect, notions of the history of a word upon its visible form, by the adoption of a so-called historical or etymological spelling, which designedly misleads as to the real constitution of the word, its audible sound, and very often indeed undesignedly misleads as to its descent, are throwing unnecessary obstacles in the way of philological investigation. The blunders and contrivances of the early scribes are more instructive than the systematic orthographies of later theorists. The (ái, áu), as derived from *ag*, *ah*, should then appear not only in their original form, but as (áə, aa), as well as in junctures (aa, ee, AA), and this is found to be the case. The (áu) form, however, comes from *ag*, through the (gwh, wh, w) transformations of *g*, and hence we must expect it to follow the same fortunes as suppressed *w*. Thus *endwian* gives (naa', naa', naa, naa), as well as (nóou, náo, náo'w); *dohtor* appears as (dóu.təi, dá'u.təi, dáu.təi, daa.təi, dae'təi); *weg* assumes the forms (wái, waa', waa, wii', wee', wee, wee', wéi, wéi, wéi, wéi).

Suffratures appear in the received dialect by the obscuration of a following vowel, which ceases to form a distinctly separate syllable. The terminations *-ea*, *-eal*, *-ial*, *-ual*, constantly lead to these suffratures, which are sometimes so close that the fractural nature is difficult to discern. Thus *idea*, *ratafia*, through (é'idii', rætəfii'), lead to (é'idii', rætəfii'), of which the first is considered ludicrous, the second is received. *Real* (rii'l) is constantly miscalled (riil),¹ and *really*, which is pronounced as *rearly* formed from *rear*, that is (rii'li), rhyming to *nearly*, is miscalled (rii'li). A comparison of the following words will bring out the fractures really heard in ordinary speech. Many persons are apt to make the second words, which have no fracture, and are printed in roman letters, identical or rhyming with the first, which have a more or less distinct frac-

¹ Thus (rii'l), having a well-known S.E. Yorkshire fracture, "genteel" speakers in Hull are horrified, and say (riil), as I have been told by Rev.

Henry Ward, who is well acquainted with the district, and to whom I owe the specimens of S.E. Yorkshire in Nos. 11 and 12, variety 15f.

ture, that is, which are always intended to be dissyllabic, and are printed in italics.

Ideal deal, *real* reel, *really* mealy, *dial* crocodile, *vial* vile, *denial* Nile, *trial* rile, *diet* indite, *quiet* quite, *riot* rite, *triad* tried, *dyad* died, *Dryad* dried, *diamond*, *dire* moaned, *die* moaned, *bias* bice, *lias* lice.

The termination *-ual* is rather (-u'l, -iú'l) than the theoretical (-ú)l, -iú)l) in *gradual*, *individual*, *manual*, *continual*, *annual*, *casual*, *visual*, *usual*, *actual*, *effectual*, *intellectual*, *punctual*, *perpetual*, *habitual*, *ritual*, *spiritual*, *virtual*, *mutual*. In some of the commonest of these words, especially when *-ly* is subjoined, the fracture reduces to a juncture, as (-ul, -ol, -'l); thus *actually*, *individually*, *mutually*, *punctually*, *usually*, are constantly called (æ'ktsh'lí, indivi'dzh'lí, miú'tsh'lí, pə'qktsh'lí, juu'zh'lí), in place of the more theoretical and not unfrequent (æ'ktiú'lí, jiúu'zhiú'lí), etc. It is by a consideration of such words that those who use received pronunciation may attain a proper conception of such close fractures as (i', u'). See (1310, c).

v. *Bearings of Modern Dialectal Vowel Relations on the Investigation of Older Pronunciation.*

The illiterate peasant, speaking a language entirely imitative, unfixed by any theoretic orthography, untrammelled by any pedant's fancies, is the modern representative of our older population, which, confined to small districts by feudal superiors, the custom of villanage, and the difficulty of travelling, and entirely untaught, kept up their language by the mere necessity of talking, with no conception of a literature, or prevision of the importance which would be subsequently attributed to their natural utterances. The priests and scholars who, desirous of communicating with them, attempted to reduce their utterances to writing, on the model of the literatures, Latin, Norman, and Saxon, with which they were more or less acquainted, for the purpose of instructing them ecclesiastically, or, as in Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, delighting them with literature, in some degree resembled those country clergymen and literary men who have attempted to collect and fix our present dialects by writing. The strictly dialectal writing of past ages must be judged of as that of to-day, by taking the normal alphabet (which was then Latin, with Norman proclivities), and supposing that the writer endeavoured, with insufficient knowledge and insufficient means, and hence with a vacillating pen, but with a good conscience, to record what he heard. Hence it is necessary to compare the spelling actually used by good dialectal writers with the sounds actually heard by good phonetic observers. This I am not able to do as accurately as I could wish, because I have very seldom been able to compare the sounds heard with the words written in the district for which they were written. But I am able to approximate with sufficient closeness to bring out the principle, and make it intelligible. As our studies of the older English dialects, as such, are as yet quite in their infancy, though taken up by good heads and hard workers, the importance of these considerations is manifest.

Next, by a comparison of different dialects as really spoken, we have to discover, so far as possible, the dialectal treatment of sounds originally more closely related. It would be rash to assume that they were originally the same as now, because the Saxon and Danish tribes which came to our shores of course already spoke dialectally, and present habits are the result of a fusion, subject to many influences through many generations. The general character of such treatment has just been roughly sketched. We are as yet far from having data to complete the picture, and the imperfect materials whence the sketch was drawn will be found below. But enough exists to shew that received English, as a spoken language, is only one dialectal form among several, although it has been more controlled than the others, through having become the dialect of the court, of government, of established priesthood, of law, of the schoolmaster, of the higher social ranks, and of literature. All these influences have often been brought to bear upon it with the iron hand of a prejudice, which, unillumined by any sound philology, regarded all other dialects as barbarous, and proceeded to deck out its victim according to fancied notions of propriety. But they cannot disguise its dialectal character, and hence cannot prevent our seeking in a comparison of the living dialects a confirmation of the results obtained by an examination of traditional literature.

One result of this is that the primitive character of the sounds represented by *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, cannot be mistaken. The present forms are clearly seen to be either gradations of these, as in *a*, *e*, *o*, or fractures, as in *i*, *u*.

A. The dialects point to an original (a) for *a*, both long and short. This is shewn by the existence of the (a) sound almost universally in the dialects, by its occasional gradations into (ah, æ, e) or (A, o, o), and by its prefractures into (ia, i', éa, e'), and its suffratures into (áo, ái). The hypothesis of (a) explains all these cases satisfactorily; the hypothesis (ee', j, æ) would lead to endless difficulties.

E. An original (e) for modern *e*, *ea*, is likewise a necessity of the constant existence of long (ee), with its possible variety (ee), and occasional gradation (ii), a gradation occurring in cases where it does not occur in the received dialect, as in (wii', dhii', griit, briik) for *where*, *there*, *great*, *break*; and of its frequent prefracture into (ii') or suffrature into (éi), which remarkable form is probably more properly connected with (e) than with (i) in numerous instances. The variations of the short sound, generally (e, ɛ), but gradating into (æ), or even (a) before *r*, on the one hand, and (i) on the other, point the same way. As no one could think of (i) as the original short sound of *e*, so the conception of (ii) becomes impossible for the original long sound. The possibility of an original distinction such as (e, e) or (e, ɛ), both long and short, but principally long, though not apparent, is possible. We require, however, much more accurate and extensive observations than we yet possess before we can take any point so delicate into consideration. As far as my kind helpers go, I find a difficulty in getting the (ee, ɛɛ, ɛ) recognised at all at first, as distinct from (ee, e). Most dialectal observers have

been educated to consider (*ee*) as the long and (*e*) as the short sound. Many do not hear a difference of vowel quality in *whale where, ale air*; many are not aware of the *é fermé* and *è ouvert* of the French, the *e chiuso* and *e aperto* of the Italians. The triple distinctions (*e*, *e*, *ɛ*) require an educated ear. I have found some who at first heard (*ee*, *e*) always, come round to (*ee*, *e*) always, which may be equally incorrect. Again, the sound recognised as (*ee*) in Scotland, is so much deeper than my usual (*ee*), that I should at first hearing put it at (*ee*), though not (*EE*). It is possible that many (*EE*) sounds occur which have not been noticed. At present, therefore, with our imperfect means for taking observations, we can only say that dialectal studies do no more than point to *e* having belonged to the (*e*) group of sounds. In the next chapter we shall see reason for supposing that the old difference was not sufficient to prevent inter-rhyming, but that is hardly a satisfactory criterion, for though it applies in French, it would entirely fail both in modern German and in Italian. To suppose that an original Gothic *i*, *e*, should be the parent of two (*e*) sounds (*e*, *ɛ*), is very seducing, especially when put beside the Italian practice. In old high German the rhymes separate the sounds strictly, as in modern French (Grimm, D.G. I³, 74), but this only refers to the *short* vowels, whereas Englishmen feel the difference especially in *long* vowels. As to old Saxon and Anglosaxon, Grimm (I³, 233, 333) confesses to great difficulties in finding any distinctions, and remarks that the middle low German and ags. dialects seem to neglect the difference more than the high German (*ib.* 233). As regards middle high German, he observes (*ib.* 139) that, in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, the difference of the two sounds, *e* broad (*e*, *ɛ*, *æ*), and *ë* narrow (*e*, *i*), was very strictly observed, although with exceptions there given; but in the XIVth century *e*, *ë*, began to rhyme more freely, which Grimm laments. But coming to his own day, he says (*ib.* 220) that the difference *e*, *ë*, remains in pronunciation, "at least in the principal cases: *legen* ponere sounds to us quite different from *gelegen* positus, *regen* movere different from *regen* pluvia: but our present poets are so hard of hearing, or so accommodating, that they rhyme both vowels together." Now Schmitthenner (Dictionary) writes *rêgen* for both the last words, but Hilpert (German Dict.) distinguishes *rêgen* to move, with the close sound, from *rëgen* rain, with the open sound. The distinction depends on locality. Grimm was born and lived chiefly in the Electorate of Hessen Cassel. Now Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 85), after dividing the custom of modern German pronunciation into *three* systems, of which the six characteristics are, 1) the treatment of *e*, 2) of the diphthongs, 3) of the relations between long and short accented vowels, 4) of *g*, 5) of *s*, and 6) of *ng*, locates the first system, which he calls the "orthographical," in the north-west, embracing Cassel, and says that all *ä* which evidently come from *a*, and all *é* which come from *i*, are thrown together as *ä*, and such *é* as thence appear to be radical remain. Here *ä*, *é*=(*EE*, *ee*) or (*ee*, *ee*), use varying. The separation is not quite that of Grimm, which was of course influenced by

his studies. Here are the words in Rapp's example (*ib.* 87), the derivations go. gothic, ohg. old high german, etc., are from Schmitt-henner :

ä = (ee).

ê = (ee).

seele, goth. saivala
erden, go. airþa
er, ohg. ar, ir, ur
vergebens (geben, ohg. *kēpan*)
anbete, ohg. anapēton
verklärter (from *klar*, from lat. *clarus*)
der, ohg. der
beben, ohg. pipēn
leben, ohg. lēpēn

ewig, ohg. ēwa
gegen, ohg. kakan
dem, ohg. dem
edel, ohg. adal

The same so-called "historical *ä*" is found in the second or "historical" system stretching over the North of Germany to Russia, and in some isolated spots in the middle provinces, on the lower Rhine, by Fulda, etc.; and in the whole South-west of Germany. The following are additional words from Rapp's example to this system (*ib.* 89):

ä = (ee).

ê = (ee).

wer, ohg. huēr
nebel, ohg. nēpal
sehen, ohg. sēhan
schwert, ohg. suērt
säbel, french sabre
drehen, ohg. drāhan
weht, ohg. wahan or wejan
sehr, ohg. sērō
nährt, go. nasjan, ohg. nerjan
fehlte, ohg. vēlahan
thräne, ohg. trahin
erzähle, ohg. zellan

entgeht, (gehen, ohg. kân, kankan)
wenig, ohg. wēnac
elend, ohg. elilenti

It is evident that though these systems distinguish *e*, *ê*, in one sense, they confuse *e* from *a* and *e* from *i* altogether, and that they are not even consistent in so doing. It is a relief to Englishmen, then, who wish to pronounce German intelligibly, to learn that the third or "practical" system, which extends over the whole middle part of Germany, uses (*ee*) for all long and (*e*) for all short *e*, as in English. It is no wonder, therefore, that Modern German poets are so "hard of hearing." No one in Germany seems to hear as Grimm's theory requires. Whether anything will be hereafter discoverable in English dialects, it is difficult to say; at present I see nothing certain in the distinctions apparently made between (*ee*, *ee*). To my ears (*ee*) is more frequently used by English dialectal speakers than (*ee*), but my experience is limited. The distinctions between (*e*, *e*) are still more uncertain.

O. An original (*o*) is more difficult to determine. The sound (*o*) itself is decidedly heard in our dialects, but, owing to the habits of received English, hearers naturally confuse (*aa*, *oo*) and (*o*, *o*), and, when the long sound does not appear yet to have reached (*aa*), it is put down as (*oo*). The prefractures of (*oo*) would be (*io*, *ío*, *iu*, *iü*; *éo*, *éo*, *éu*, *ee*'), and (*oo*) would gradate so easily to (*oo*, *uu*, *uu*) that I can only express my general conviction and not any certainty.

That the (o) was not (uu) when long admits of no doubt, but that it may have been (o, u, u⁴, u) when short, in various cases, at an early time, seems probable. It is more likely that the fracture (u') is due to (úo) than to anything else, but of course (úo) is quite possible. Although o has a double source, from a and from u, yet there does not seem to be anything in the dialectal treatment to justify the assumption of (o, o), which is not even made by Grimm. The double sounds exist in Germany, but do not co-exist in the same system of pronunciation. Schmeller, however, has a few instances of (o) in Bavarian dialects (*ib.* art. 319, see art. 68, and see o in No. 8 below). The regular sounds seem to have been (oo, o) universally at an earlier period. It will be shewn in Chap. XII. that the rhyme usages of our older poets are not enough to separate them. It is only when we find *au* (AA) written for long o in our modern dialects that we can feel sure of a difference having been felt.

I. That long *i* was originally (ii, ii') appears dialectally from the preservation of that sound in many words (291, e), and from its clausive prefracture (ái) in various forms, which sometimes becomes the juncture (aa) even when (ii') exists in the same dialect. Long *i* might indeed be (aa) under these circumstances, but no one has probably ever imagined such a thing.

U. By the long *u* I mean the original sound, afterwards represented by *ou*. This appears to be (uu) by the preservation of that sound throughout the Northern dialects, and by its prefractures (áu, íu), degenerating into (aa, ii'). Of course it would be ridiculous to suppose that *u* was originally either of these latter sounds. The short *u* may have been the close fracture (i', e') when it interchanged with *i*, *e*, and finally necessitated the use of *ou* for (uu) as a mark of distinction. Owing probably to the existence of the sign *ou*, the prefracture was always assumed to be (óu, á'u, ó'u) by our older phonetic writers, and not (áu). Of course the labial (u) tends to work back on the prefixed (a) by transmutation, and thus labialise it into (o), so that the change of (áu) into (óu), or the original formation of (óu), is quite natural. In Devonshire, after *u* had been conceived as (y) in some form, the transmutation of (o) into (œ), producing the fracture (œ'y), was equally natural. The use of *u* in French words was a foreignism. In dialects this *u* is a fracture (íu, iú), and varies as such a fracture.

AI. AU. The combinations *ai*, *au*, seem by the dialects to be treated as (ái, áu), whether as prefractures of (i, u), or as suffratures of (a). The persistence of (ái), not merely in the South-Western dialects, but in the Eastern and South-Eastern, and the mode in which the (ái, ee, ii) sounds are mixed up together within the same dialect, seem to be inexplicable on any other hypothesis but an original (ái, éi). The forms of (áu) as (AA, oo, oo) tell a similar tale.

EW, OW, were also fractures (éu, óu), arising from the disappearance of *w*, or occasionally *g*. That *laugh*, when gradated from (laawh) to (lowh), and thence passing to (low, lóu), might have become (luu) or even (lii), would not be surprising, when we find a

bow appearing as (*biu'*, *buu*, *bou*) within the same (North Yorkshire) dialect.

Double Forms. One of the most interesting points forced on our attention by dialects is the great variety of co-existing forms within the same or closely-connected districts, and also the fact that a word alters its sound according to its position in a sentence, and according to the meaning of the sentence. In old pronunciation we were continually puzzled by a similar variety of form, of which we have not many relics in received speech, as *either* (i-i'dhæ, æ'i'dhæ), so that it seemed like begging the question to assume it. But the present investigations make such assumption far less bold than the alternatives to which we should be otherwise forced.

E final. The controversy respecting final *e*, to which we shall have to recur in the next chapter, makes it important to discover any traces of its pronunciation. As yet none have been discovered. This refers to pure *-e*, and not to *-e* as the representative of *-en*. The pure *-e* seems to have altogether disappeared, but though *-e* as a form of *-en* does not appear to be known, *-en* itself is still preserved in the usages of several dialects. Now, as the absence of *-en* in some dialects is thus seen *not* to prove the original absence of *-en* in others, so the absence of *-e* in some dialects at an early period, as in the Northern Hampele, would not disprove its contemporary use in some other dialects, as in the court language of Chaucer and Gower. Just in the same way, the universal reduction of *-ed* to *-t*, *-d*, in speech, far more than 50 years ago, would not disprove the universal pronunciation of *-ed* as a distinct syllable by clergymen when reading lessons from the Authorised Version of the Bible in church, *within* the last 50 years, even in such cases as *crucified* and *buried*, as marked by Bishop Wilkins (998, *d*) more than 200 years ago, and by Gill, 250 years since, *suprà* pp. 855-857. Indeed some clergymen have not even yet given up a practice which had an air of solemnity resulting from archaism. It is a very familiar reminiscence to myself. The transmutation of *-ed* into *-t*, *-d*, sounded almost *heretical* when I first heard it.

We cannot be surprised at the absence of *-e*, which disappeared from our versification nearly 300 years ago. We should be more surprised at the preservation of *-en*, for we know that in most cases *-en* degenerated into *-e*, and then disappeared. The modern dialectal absence of any sound does not establish its original absence; but the dialectal presence of any sound either establishes its original presence, or the original presence of a sound from which it could be derived, according to the ordinary usages of speech. Now with regard to *-e*, there is no doubt whatever of its lively presence in high German at the present day. It is part and parcel of usual speech. It is not confined to poetry or music, as the French *-e*. It is really used on every prosaical occasion by every prosaical speaker. Three years' residence in Germany has brought this fact so many thousand times before my ears, that no doubt in the world can exist in my own mind. As all the world knows and admits the fact, it would seem superfluous to attest it so explicitly from personal

knowledge. But there are some deniers of English *-e*, who insist that people could not have used it, simply on account of the absurd waste of time and energy in pronouncing it. Hence it is necessary to establish the fact that another great nation does not find its use involve an absurdity. As, however, the modern English final *-a*, *-er*, are pronounced generally (*-ə*) or (*-e*), much as the final German *-e*, and as the old final English *-e*, if pronounced, was most probably so called (119, *b*), and as we should not find it either elegant or particularly time-saving and energy-sparing to omit this sound and say *pic'*, *Americ'*, *armad'*, *panace'*, *ide'*, *are'*, *naphth'*, *acaci'*, *cyclopædi'*, *umbrell'*, *vanill'*, *vill'*, *scroful'*, *uvul'*, *dram'*, *anathem'*, *enigm'*, *stigm'*, *dogm'*, *dilemm'*, *comm'*, *hyen'*, *duenn'*, *Chin'*, *er'*, *chimer'*, *oper'*, etc., or *peculi'*, *pill'*, *angul'*, *mast'*, *mist'*, *doct'*, etc., etc., etc., it is evident that such an argument is hardly worth consideration. To such vile uses we may come at last, but we have not yet reached Chinese monosyllabism, much as we may have spoiled our language by mere pruning. The reason, however, why I especially insist on the lively use of *-e* in high German is, that this *-e* has *disappeared in many high German dialects*, except as the representative of *-en*. The preservation of *-e* in any form, or even of *e* in the prefixed *be-*, *ge-*, is extremely *rare* in all the Bavarian dialects, although the sound of *-e* is used for *-en* in about half, the other half reducing *-en* to a vowelless *n*. See the instances in Schmeller (arts. 209–235, 572–592, and under *e* final in No. 8 below).¹ We have herein the positive proof that the dialectal disappearance of *-e* is compatible with the co-existence of its dialectal use, which may or may not be fixed by literature.² It is, therefore, a perfectly justifiable view to take, that final *-e* may have disappeared in some dialects in Early English and have existed in others. Moreover, this disappearance or use cannot be proved by manuscripts, because we find scribes who spoke different dialects transcribing the same original, and preserving their individual orthographic habits. It can only be established by habits of internal versification, not even by rhyme endings, and the inquiry into its use in the middle of lines is rendered wonderfully difficult by the uncertainty of readings, and the recklessness of scribes, so that single manuscripts are by no means conclusive. In the next chapter this point will be examined, with especial reference to Robert of Brunne's Chronicle.

¹ Remarking on this loss of flexional form, which in literary high German had been already reduced to *-e*, Schmeller says (on his p. 51) that "this does not prevent these same dialects from having more or less evidently preserved isolated remarkable forms belonging to the older or even oldest phases of the language, which, when literary speech was fixed, were not admitted, owing to the prevalence of certain views or fashions."

² Dutch is often quoted as a tongue allied to English in which final *e* is

lost. See Mr. Sweet's remark on the preservation of its sound in (1292, *c*). In *Johan Winkler's* *Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesch Dialecticon* ('s Gravenhage, 1874), giving 186 versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son into as many Low German dialects, final *e* seems to crop up somewhere in every example. At the same time it flits in and out, so that we may feel prepared for similar uncertainties in our own dialects, especially about the beginning of the xvth century. Even if poets were careful, copyists were not.

No. 7. DIALECTAL CONSONANT RELATIONS.

The relations of consonants in our dialects are altogether simpler than those of vowels, although they present some peculiar points of difficulty. The distinction of *voiced* and *voiceless* is very generally kept up. It is only in the southwest that (f, th, s, sh) become (v, dh, z, zh) with tolerable regularity. But the same dialects do not confuse (p, t, k) with (b, d, g). This is singularly in opposition to German habits, which are uncertain of the explodents, but certain of (s, z). The continuants (th, dh, zh) not occurring in German, and (bh), not (v), being used in middle Germany, which is most addicted to the interchange of (p b, t d), there is no opportunity of examining the continuants further. The (th, dh) are sometimes confused in the north of England. Thus *though* is (thoo) in Scotch, and the usual *the* (dhe) is voiceless and vowelless (th-) in South Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and elsewhere. This seems to confirm Mr. Sweet's view of an original (dh) which became (th) in isolated cases (p. 541, n. 2); thus both (dh) and (th) are found in South Derbyshire. In the North again a (z) appears where the received use is (s) in (prisái'z, dezɛ'mbər, nhæz) for *precise, december, us*, and other words, and a (v) for an (f) in (kaav) *calf*, etc., so that the confusion of hisses and buzzes is not exclusively southwestern.

The interchange of (b bh, g gh) is not to be looked for, as (bh, gh) do not occur, at least consciously, in our present dialects. The (d dh), which do occur, are not perfectly related, as (d) is not, at any rate generally, dental, although the fact of dentality may have been often overlooked. In the southwest (d) replaces (dh) initially, especially before (r), as (druu, drii) *through, three*, and occasionally elsewhere, as (dis'l) *thisle* in East Cornwall. I have not been able to ascertain if the (d) is then dental as (druu, drii). Medial substitutions of (dh) for (d) are not uncommon, and have even crept into older received orthography, as *burthen, murther*, now *burden, murder*. In Norfolk *three* becomes *tree*. This again raises the question as to whether (t d) in English were not originally dental (t d), as in Celtic, and on the continent generally.

This inquiry is, however, complicated by the acknowledged existence of (t d) in some northern dialects, but almost, if not absolutely, exclusively before (r) or the syllable (ər) or its substitutes. This dental, or something like it, is also found in Ireland in the same places (1239, a'). There are even phases of dialect which are distinguished by having the usual coronal (t d) in precisely the same situations as those in which related phases use the dental (t d), for example the Chapel and Taddington varieties of the Peak of Derbyshire, the first having (t d), the second (t d), and similarly in Yorkshire. This singular distinction entirely corresponds to the Sanscrit, which occasions such difficulty to Englishmen and Germans (p. 1096). The area and origin of the English coronal (t d) require strict examination, but so few Englishmen hear the distinctions (t t, d d) that the inquiry is beset with as much difficulty as that of the distinction between (v bh) in Germany. See Mr. C. C. Robinson's observations on Yorkshire usage in No. 11, below.

In connection with this must be noticed the occasional assimilation of (dh) to (t), after a following (s) or (t), as (нѣастѣ) for *hast thou?* and even of (th) in Derbyshire, as (i-stondz et-'t-bak-ə aar waa), *he stands at the back of our wall*, where (et th-bak) would have been the regular form. In the example of W. Lincolnshire given below, it will be observed that *the*, which had the regular form (dh-) before vowels, varies as (th-), and even (t) and (d), according to the adjoining letters. This is similar to Orrmin's custom (490, b), and must not be confounded with the use of vowelless (t) for the article in Yorkshire and Cumberland. Is this last (t) the degeneration of (th), which is itself an altered (dh), or an independent formation? This is a matter of controversy. But that the (t) *may* be the degeneration of (th, dh) is certain, because in the Orkneys and Shetlands all (th, dh) have become (t, d) or (t, d), and in Kent and E. Sussex *th* in *the, this, them, those, there*, that is, (dh) in certain words, is always (d); while we have seen that neighbouring consonants in many places reduce the (th, dh) to (t, d). The pronunciation of this vowelless (t) when used as the article is most singular. To my ear it does not in native speech run on to the *following* vowel, but is, if possible, connected with the preceding word.¹ When it stands initially in a sentence, so that this connection is impossible, as when it precedes a voiced consonant, as (b, d, g), *t' dog*, or stands between two voiced consonants, as in *t' backhouse*, or stands between two similar consonants, as *at t' time, at t' door*, the method by which its effect is made evident—and it is always evident—seems to be mainly by a slight *implosion*, as ('t), see (1097, c'). Both Mr. C. C. Robinson and Mr. Hallam, to whom this *t* is vernacular, accept this theory. There is, however, a certain holding, and a certain delay, in passing from the presumed implosion to the following consonant, giving a little catch or hesitation, so that it is difficult to determine the precise sound. Yet the existence of a distinct syllabic (t), which is certainly *not* ('ht, t'h, t'þ), is a remarkable phenomenon, well deserving of most careful investigation. Our old 't for *it* is not comparable, for it always glides on to a preceding or succeeding letter. The Slavonic preposition (v) is a voiced consonant, and hence quite pronounceable. The manner in which the French *de, te, je, re-*, are spoken, when they seem to be entirely swallowed, and yet produce a most sensible effect to French ears, comes perhaps still nearer to it. To merely write (t), or the etymological *t'*, *t'*, according to the difference of view as to the *the* or *et het* origin of this *t'*, is of course helpless. I have, however, generally adopted (t) in the following examples, and left the reader to glide it on to the preceding letter, or to make an implosion, as the case may be.

The interchange of (t, k) is well known among children, and some Polynesians could not get nearer than (Tu-te) for Captain Cook's name. The use of (tl, dl) for initial (kl, gl) is very general,

¹ Mr. Hallam felt the same difficulty in marking this (t) in the Chesterfield variety of Derbyshire. On referring

to his notes he finds the (t) grouped to the preceding vowel in nearly half the cases which he wrote from observation.

even among educated people,¹ and in some dialects my authorities adopt it regularly. Though (k) has generally disappeared before (n), Cumberland, as will be seen, retains traces of it, as (nhn-), and even (tn-), where the change is similar to that of (kl-) into (tl-), and may be regarded as a prospective transmutation, occasioned by preparing the organs for following (l), whereas in Italian, (l) sinks by retrospective transmutation to (i), making way for (k, g), as in *chiamo ghiaccio* (kiá'muh giá't.t.shuh). In (lɔk) for (lɔt) in Cumberland, the opposite tendency appears.

The effect of an unaccented (i)-sound, generally a fractural prefix, upon a preceding (k, g), frequently shews itself in the dialects, by generating (t.sh, d.zh). In Scotch (k, g) generally remain, but in English this is quite the exception. The same cause sometimes, but not always, makes (t, d) into (t.sh, d.zh), and (s) more generally into (sh). The (zh)-sound is not very frequent, it is generated in words, as *vision, azure*, which are not dialectal. As the *-ture, -sure*, endings do not generally develope a fracture, they more often remain as (-tɔɪ, -sɔɪ, -zɔɪ), but being altogether strange are treated very irregularly; compare Yorkshire and Shropshire. Mr. Murray (*op. cit.* p. 85) informs us that in the central valley of Berwickshire initial *ch*, that is (t.sh-), is pronounced as (sh-) simply. It would be worth while ascertaining distinctly whether this is (sh) or (,sh). It may be simply the latter, and hence the inhabitants of (Shi.r'set) *Chirnside* (56n48, 2w12) may be as much maligned as the inhabitants of Rome, for using (sh) in place of (tsh). But the intermediate sound is worth noting.²

The habits of speakers in different localities differ very much respecting ease and difficulty in consonantal combinations. The (-mr-) frequently develope (-mbr-), by dropping the nasality of (m) before releasing the lips, and thus we have our received *timber, chamber, number*. Our dialects, however, do not patronise this, and (tɪ'mɛɪ, tshɛ'mɛɪ, nɛ'mɛɪ) consequently occur. The name Hamilton is often (ɪhɛ'mb'lten) in a Southern mouth, but the Scotch are content to call *Campbell* (kaɛ'm'l). Similarly (-nl-) often generates (-ndl-), but dialects generally content themselves with (-nl-), as (ɪhɛ'n'l) *handle*. There is indeed a constant inclination to carry on the nasality of (m, n) until the contact is released, and thus substitute simple (m, n) for (mb, nd). The participles in *-ing* in the received dialect, which were originally in *-nd*, consequently appear

¹ When I was a boy at school, I suddenly became conscious that I pronounced the radical forms *κλάω* and *τλάω* in the same way. It cost me much trouble and years of practice to obtain (kl-) with ease and certainty, and the same for (gl-). As a consequence, my attention has been constantly drawn to this defect of speech in others. The Welsh (ll) heard at a distance from a crier shouting out *Llandudno* at Rhyl sounded to me much more like (tl)

than (thl), with which Englishmen generally confuse it.

² The demonstration of (,sh), see (1104, d'), makes it possible that the French may not have developed (t.sh) at first, as has been thought, but only (sh), and this may have generated (t.sh) in Norman mouths, whence its English form, but have reduced to (sh) in French. See (207, a). This is merely thrown out for consideration; indeed (kj) may have come first (1120, d').

as (-in) in most dialects. Of course this is not the reason why the gerund or verbal noun in *-ing* has also fallen into (-in) in most dialects. In Southern Scotch the distinction is made in the vowel, not the consonant, (-ən) participle, and (-in) gerund (*Murray*, p. 211), but the other dialects confuse the two cases. This may have been an assimilation. There is no powerlessness to pronounce (q), which some dialects even take as (qg) final, not (qk). Medially they seem as a rule to prefer (q) to the occasional (qg) of the received dialect, saying (fi'qər) rather than (fi'qgər). Before (th), the (q) sinks very generally to (n), in (lenth, strenth).

L and R are the two most vowel-like consonants, forming distinct syllables of themselves. In this respect they differ materially from (w, ʃ), which, if really prolonged, are almost as unvowel-like as (z), but in consequence, perhaps, naturally and easily gradate to (u, i). If R is untrilled, the resulting (r_o) instantly gradates to (ə), and thence to some other obscure vowel. L obstructs the cavity of the mouth by its central contact, much more than (r_o), but still it is very apt to gradate to (ə), and thence be entirely lost. Sometimes in Romance languages it passes rather into (i) or (u), according to the tendency of the people to raise the middle of the tongue, or somewhat round the lips to improve the resonance. In the dialects both *l*, *r*, are apt to disappear entirely after (aa, ʌʌ). Indeed, received pronunciation adopts the same habit in *balk*, etc. After (oo) the *l*, by prospective transmutation, inclines to (ul, u), and the diphthongs (oul, ou) result, the foundation of (ə'u, ɛ'u, ʌu), in *roll*, *shoulder*, etc., which were once received, but are now only dialectal, and not unfrequent in dialects. After the other vowels (l) does not seem to have the same tendency to disappear, though (uul, ul) degenerate to (uu).

LD final seems to be a distasteful combination, either *l* or *d* being frequently dropped. The *d*-closing of the passage by the sides left open for *l* requires an amount of pressure apparently inconsistent with the lazy ease of dialectal speech.

R is treated very variously. In Scotland it is a distinctly and rather harshly-trilled (r), but how far dental I know not. Where Scotland breaks into England, just about Berwick, the uvular (r), which Southerners call the *burr*, and natives the (krup), begins, but marks out a very small district.¹ Coming more south, the initial

¹ "The northern limits of the *burr* (r) are very sharply defined, there being no transitional sound between it and the Scotch r (r). From Carham [55 n 39, 2 w 23, the extreme N.W. point of Northumberland] eastwards, the boundary follows the Tweed, which it leaves, however, to include the town and liberties of Berwick, which in this, as in other respects, now adheres to the Southern in preference to its own side of the Tweed. Along the line of the Cheviots, the Scotch r (r) has driven the *burr* (r) a few miles back, perhaps

because many of the farmers and shepherds are of Scottish origin. In the vale of the Reed [which runs into the Tyne, 55 n 19, 2 w 22] we suddenly enter the *crhoup* (krup) country in the neighbourhood of Otterburn (otəhr-bəhrn) [55 n 15, 2 w 10]. In Cumberland, Westmorland, and the rest of the North Angle area, the r is now pronounced as in other parts of England." *Murray*, *op. cit.* pp. 86-7. There are apparently many varieties of the *burr*. The one I heard was (r), but extensive observation is necessary to determine this

trill is distinct, but not so powerful, and generally more or less of a trill exists, even when no vowel follows, but such trills seem never to be very marked. In S. Shields speech, remarkably similar to Southern Scotch in its general character, and close by the country of the burr, but where the burr is unknown, this final *r* seems entirely to disappear, or crops up as a faint (ə, ʋ, '), or perhaps a glottal (ɾ). But in Westmorland there is apparently an occasional, possibly dental (ɹ). Whether this (ɹ) appears generally after (t, d) is questionable. Mr. Hallam thinks the tongue in his *tr* is more advanced in the mouth than usual, and that he consequently really says (t, ɹ). Mr. Robinson finds a dental (ɹ) occasionally after (g) in Yorkshire. In Yorkshire this final *r* seems to be in a state of transition, sometimes appearing, often disappearing, and generally being rather permissive, as (ɹ), than obligatory, as (r). But there are times when the trill is indispensable. In Shropshire it is stated to be always felt, but to be slight. To speak of "feeling a letter" is sometimes misleading. A Spaniard once told me that his final *d* was rather felt by the speaker than heard by the listener. If the speaker confines himself to putting his organs into the proper position to articulate, but neglects to issue breath, vocalised or not, he may *feel* his words, but the bystander will be none the wiser. Schmeller, speaking of the initial *ge-* reduced to *g*, and lost before a following explodent (*op. cit.* art. 485), says that "it is not heard independently (*für sich*), but that we recognise the preparation (*Ansatz*) made by the tongue to pronounce it, by the greater decision (*Entschiedenheit*) with which the initial sound strikes the ear." Thus *gebunden* becomes (ˌbuˈnd'n), or perhaps (bʰuˈnd'n). The case of *t' dog*, already referred to, may be the same, (ˌdɔɡ) rather than (t' dɔɡ), and this is one of the points to which attention should be directed. In the same way, while pronouncing a vowel, even (aa, ʌa, æa), the speaker may feel the tongue *rise* at the end. It *may* only take the position (ə), the tip *may* rise to (r_o), it *may* give the slightest quiver ([ɹ]), and all this *may* be *felt* by the speaker, but it would be difficult for the listener to hear. The habit of writing, and moreover the habit of *not* trilling final *r*, nay, the incapability of trilling it, which is often experienced by Englishmen, and, finally, the habit of assuming the long-vowel glide in (bæd) to be a representative of an existing *r*, because it is felt to be so different from the stopped-vowel glide in (bəd, bædd), see (1156, *d'*), are all so misleading to an English observer, that I frequently mistrust the accounts given to me, thinking them open to these sources of unconscious error. People seem to be afraid of admitting that *r* is not sounded. Critics and reviewers laugh to scorn such rhymes as *morn dawn* (575, *d.* 593, *é.* 1195, *b'*. 1228, *b*), till the judg-

habit. Sometimes the sound seems to come up to (grh), sometimes to sink to (ɾ), and sometimes to reduce to (gh, g), or an hiatus of powerlessness. At other times the uvula is very sharply and brightly trilled. The sound seems also to differ in the pitch of the ac-

companying vowel. The subject is difficult, but the sound is so diffused, sporadically and unacknowledged, in England, France, and Germany, not to mention its acknowledged existence in Arabic, that it deserves attentive study by all philologists.

ment is confused, the nature of the trill is forgotten, the "something" usually uttered or positioned or imagined when *r* is seen on paper, is called an *r*, and final *r* is said to be distinctly pronounced, when it may be that a vowel is merely lengthened, or at most a suffrature introduced. When any one writes *larf brort* to indicate (*laaf braat*), in which words no trilled (*r*) was ever pronounced,—and such spellings are very common among writers of dialectal specimens,—the whole question is reduced to chaos. A trill is a succession of beats,¹ that is, of sounds of very different intensities in rapid succession; it is of no consequence how the beat is produced, but, unless at least two maximum and one minimum, or two minimum and one maximum, degrees of intensity have been heard, unless a succession of "makes and breaks" has been at least indicated, there is no *trill* in any one of the forms (*brh*, *u*, *ɹ*, *r*, *grh*, *ɾ*), all of which probably occur at some place, or at some time in different places, or among defective speakers, in England. And other *r*'s may occur, as the Irish rolling (*ˌr*), see (1232, *b*), a retracted (*ɹ*), see (1098, *b'*), and an *r* made by a striking of the tongue against the teeth, gums, or roof of the mouth, for which (*ˑr*) may be used, the difference between (*ˑr*) and (*ɹ*) being that between the actions of the clarinet and harmonium reeds. Anything, in short, which gives a final *roughness* (the characteristic sensation produced by rapid beats) will pass muster for an English *r*, and, what is more, be intelligible. See also (1194, *a'*).

But there are parts of England in which the disappearance of *r* is fairly acknowledged, namely in parts of the southwest.² The

¹ Donders (Sprakklanken, p. 19), referred to (1098, *c*), see also (1099, *c'*), gives some interesting drawings of the phonautographic curves produced by the trills (*brh*, *ɹ*, *r*), showing how the trill shuts off and opens out the voice some 20 or 30 times in a second. The lip trill (*brh*) produced long silences, and rather faint intermediate sounds. A fine voice and weak (*ɹ*) trill gives short weakenings of tone rather than complete silences interposed between bold sounds. A weak voice and strong (*r*) gave long silences and faint intermediate sounds. The same singer with a loud voice produced equally marked silences. A distinctly sounded tip tongue (*r*) gave sound and silence of nearly equal length, but made the sounds quite clear. The effect is nearly the same as when two tuning forks, sold as of the same pitch, but almost always slightly different, are struck and held over the same resonance chamber. The sound and silence follow one another with remarkable distinctness. It is not precisely that of a *shake* in music (It. *trillo*), but so like

it that I have known an excellent imitation of a shake produced on musical glasses by sounding two together which differed by half a note in pitch, and the *tremolo* stops on the harmonium and organ are produced in a similar manner. The exact cause of *tremulous* speech, as in emotion, or in that very disagreeable habit of *tremolo* singing, which may be noted as (*a₂*), etc., I am not yet able to assign. The bleating voice (*ɛ_a*) is another species of trill, the *snarl* (*ɛ_a*) another, "sonat hīc dē nāre canīna lītera," Pers 1, 109.

² The faith in a pronounced *r* dies hard. A great deal of difficulty is felt about Gloucester, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire. To my own ears the real sound of vocal *r*, that is, *r* when not preceding a consonant, is in these districts really a vowel, and that vowel much resembles (*æ*). But to say so seems to those who use the sound to imply that they do not pronounce *r* at all, whereas they know, truly enough, that they *do* make a great difference in speech according as *r* is or is not written, and hence they do pronounce

presumed transposition of *r* and the vowel, as *run urn*, *red urd*, reduces itself to the omission of *r* and obscuration of the following vowel with a long vowel-glide, as (*rən əən*, *red əəd*). The rationale of this, and of all similar cases, being the inherent difficulty of trilling without some perceptible untrilled vowel preceding and following, just as for the Sanscrit *ri* (1146, *d'*), as explained by the old grammarians. How can we tell that there is an interruption, unless there is a thread to interrupt? And then how easy to snip off the interruption and lengthen the thread! Certainly (*əən*) is much easier than (*.rən*), which readily becomes (*l̥ə.rən*, *ə̥l.rən*, *ər.n*, *əən*). And thus the Scotch (*.r*) finally disappears in Devonshire!

The *r* and *l* readily unite with a preceding consonant, but some forms are little found. Although (*bl*) is easy and common, (*vl*) is not found (it is common in Dutch), and (*wl-*) seems to have vanished, a faint reminiscence of (*w'l-*) existing in Scotch, with a problematic change to (*fl-*) in one word *funkey*. No labial (*lw-*) in place of (*wl-*) has been reported. On the other hand, (*w'r-*) is said to occur in Scotch, degenerating to (*vr-*, *bhr*) in Aberdeen, and the labial (*rw-*) and also (*w'r-*) are reported from Cumberland. There is really no more difficulty in the combinations (*ml-*, *mr-*) or (*wl-*, *wr-*) than in (*bl-*, *br-*), but they are simply unusual. In every case there is a tendency to simultaneous instead of successive utterance, when the organs can readily be posed accordingly, and this is especially the case for the (*t*)-series, so that (*lw-*, *rw-*) are more likely to be heard than (*w'l-*, *w'r-*), which rather resemble the efforts of a foreigner to pronounce an unusual combination, as in (1136, *c*).

The interchange of *W* and *V* is usually marked as a cockneyism, when occurring initially. Its American existence has been already shewn (1067, *d*. 1220, *d'*). In Norfolk, the change of initial *V* to *W*, according to one authority (see No. 11, below), is regular, and in Essex and Kent it is frequent, but the change from *W* to *V* is not so well known. The medial and final interchange also occurs, as in the Scotch (*sl̥a'u'en*) for *sloven*, and (*da'u*) for *dove*, and the Devonshire (*roov*) for *row*. The exact nature of the (*v*) in this case I have not been able to ascertain, because I have not examined 'un-corrupted' peasants. It would be interesting to know whether the change is from (*w*) to (*v*) direct, or through the mediation of (*bh*), as Dr. Beke asserts (1221, *d*). We have certainly a change of (*b*) to (*v*), or a sound which is taken to be (*v*), even if it were once (*bh*), in such words as (*maa.v'l*) for *marble*, which favours the original (*bh*) hypothesis; but this sound is such an incomprehensibility to most Englishmen, that it may be very long before anything satisfactory is discovered in this direction. For philological purposes, and for Latin and Italian¹ pronunciation, the fact that hearers

their own final *r*, and never having heard another they are utterly perplexed by being told that they utter a vowel and not a trill, and perplex me in turn by their observations. More of this hereafter when considering these

counties. The varieties of *r* are the most remarkable in English speech.

¹ In listening to a lecture delivered by Dr. Zerffi, on 15 March, 1874, in which the English pronunciation was generally very good, I noticed *wice*,

do generally assert an interchange of (w, v) is of real value, whatever be the means of transit. The fact also of the very different degrees of pressure of the under lip on the upper teeth, already alluded to (1102, *c.* 1103, *c.*), should be borne in mind, to which must be added the possibility of making a considerable buzz when saying (bh), by merely constricting the lips without touching the teeth.

The ear readily confuses hisses and buzzes arising from different sources. Those due to the central obstruction by the teeth in the case of (f) and (th)¹ are closely allied. Hence we must not feel surprised at the Scotch (threë) for *from*, or the Shropshire (thråks, fî's'lz) for *frocks, thistles*.² The change of (s) to a sound closely resembling (th) in the lisp arises merely from a defective organism or an affected advance of the tongue; it is not dialectal.

The gutturals (kh kjh kwk) are only heard in Scotland, and the two latter are almost confined to the southern counties. Their voice forms have quite perished out. In the north of England no gutturals are now heard, though they existed in Dent within the memory of an aged man of science, Prof. Adam Sedgwick, whose death we have had to deplore since my quotations from his book were printed (*suprà*, pp. 289, n. 4; 311, n. 1). But though gone they have left an impression, partly as (*i*), partly as (*o*, *u*), and partly as (f), even in the received dialect (213, *a*). This (f) is still more developed dialectally, and sometimes interchanges with (th). The old interchange with (s) has not hitherto been confirmed dialectally (464, *c*). The appearance of (dhon, dhon) for *yon*, ags. *geond*, both in Scotch and Irish English (1242, *b'*), is very remarkable, and ought to point to a previous (gh) form, which properly generates (j) initially, but it may be otherwise derived.³ A similar abnormal generation of (shuu, shii) from ags. *heó*, through (gheóo,

inwite, for *vice*, invite, with what sounded to me (and I was sitting very near to him) as a distinct (w); it may have been prefractural (u-), but it was certainly not (v), and it did not recall (bh). He called the *Védas* (ve'daz).

¹ The air escapes through a narrow central chink, of which one edge is sharp. The resulting sound is peculiar, and, according to Dr. W. H. Stone (lecture on *Auscultation*, delivered 22 Feb., 1874), immediately produces the effect called ægophony (or bleating sound) in the lungs, when examined stethoscopically, while a person is pronouncing the letter. These teeth-hisses consequently require much more attentive analysis to distinguish them from the sounds through a narrow, but unobstructed, central aperture, as (ph, s, sh, kjh).

² Mr. Hallam has also heard (fî's'lz) in the Peak of Derbyshire and in North

East Cheshire. It is the only instance he can recollect of the change of (th) into (f) in the Peak.

³ As *z* in Scotch words remains as the representative of *z*, that is ags. *g*, so *y* is the written form for *þ*, as we see by mutilating this letter to *p*, which in MSS. interchanges with *y* very often. We constantly write *ye* for *pe*=the. So *yon* in Scotch (and the Belfast use is mere Scotch) may stand for *þon*, and this for the accusative case of the ags. demonstrative pronoun, so that *yon man* when called (dhon man) may be like *them men* used for *those men*. This is merely thrown out as an alternative suggestion. A counter misreading of *þ* for *y* was suggested (639, *d'*), and has been confirmed by an actual inspection of the MS. by Mr. Murray in 1871. Hence the use of *dotted y* in old MSS., to point out that it did not mean *þ*.

gjhoo, gjhé, gjhe'), has been already suggested (489, *a*. 1142, *c'*). If this view be correct, the Lancashire (nhuu), the Leeds (shuu) and the received (shii) *she*, have the same ags. *heó* for their origin.

The aspirate, in the form (nh), seems to be invariably used where written in Scotland, and not to be introduced where not written, except in the predicative (nhaz) *us*. But we have scarcely passed the border before it darts in and out like sunlight on a cloudy day. Perhaps the intermediary is the simple jerk (h). But certainly in most of Yorkshire, in Shropshire, in Derbyshire, in the Midland counties, in Lincolnshire, in Essex, in Kent, and in the South-western counties, it is almost extinct. One might be inclined to think that it is only the classification of "dropping *aitches*" among social sins which keeps the aspirate alive in the received dialect. And even there (wh) has failed to make its mark. Although acknowledged and used among a large section of people, (wh) is almost solely an artificial sound in our language. Curiously enough, although it has nearly disappeared where written, it seems to reappear occasionally in some (u-) fractures, not merely as a remnant of *h*, as when ags. *hám* crops up as (whóo'm) *home*, but where there is no original *h*, as when ags. *áte* becomes (whóo'ts), *oats*. This is, however, not usual. The familiar dialectal writing *whoam*, *whoats*, of course proves nothing; but from Mr. C. C. Robinson, for Yorkshire, I heard a distinct (wh) in such words as he has so written below.

According to the same authority, there seems also to be in the very vulgar form of Leeds dialect an inserted (h) jerk after certain consonants, where (t, d) are lost in a permissive (x), see (1261, *d'*), and other curious phenomena occur, which will be detailed hereafter. This jerk (h) certainly often occurs after consonants in Irish, and requires careful investigation, in relation to the Indian post-aspirated consonants (1137, *c*), and their subsequent treatment in European languages.

Before (u, i), the consonantal (w, j) are very apt to disappear, and where that is the case, it may be rash to insist very strongly on the difference between these consonants, and the consonants, or prefractural (u-, i-). Where however (wu-, ji-) occur, the consonantal change is effected.

The contributions made to consonantal philology by the observations on dialects are therefore not either numerous or novel. They are chiefly confirmatory. The great points of interest are, the co-existence and distinct appreciation of (t t, d d) in the same or adjacent dialects; the vowelless syllable (t) in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Derbyshire; the treatment of *r*; the confusion of (w, v); the passage of the guttural into (f, th, dh); and the flitting treatment of *h*, *wh*.

The real bearing of these changes upon general philology can be distinctly felt only when something like a general survey of consonants and their relation to vowels has been obtained. Curiously eclectic as we have found languages to be in the use of vowels (1297, *a*), this is still more the case in relation to consonants.

Even the great relations between voiced and voiceless consonants are very insufficiently carried out in individual languages, and much curious information would result from "consonant identifications" in the various languages of the world similar to those "vowel identifications" previously furnished (pp. 1300-7). In default of this, some systematic arrangement must be attempted. It seems to me that we have not yet a sufficient knowledge of the relations of consonants to each other and to vowels to do this satisfactorily. At any rate, I have not been able to form any system satisfactory to myself, which should embrace the extremely complicated phenomena with which I have become practically acquainted, while numerous others, apparently still more complicated, remain so vaguely described or so inaccessible as to elude me altogether. Much is mere conjecture. I prefer then not to present any systematic arrangement of my own, but to give such an account of different systems formed by others as will assist the reader in understanding the nature of the present changes.

The distinction between vowels and consonants is not in general well understood. The word 'consonant' is used in the vaguest possible manner, sometimes, as appears to me, merely to designate diphthongising vowels which have not the stress, as (i) in the fractures (iá, ái), or (', ə), in (ii', íə), called *y*, *r*, respectively. The controversy as to where *h* is or is not "a letter," a vowel, or a consonant, points to this. Hence the importance of first inquiring what are the classes of sounds which we have to consider. I cannot suppose that the following analysis is exhaustive; but it will at least answer the present purpose better than any other which I could cite. For many details see pp. 1128, sqq.

Analysis of Speech Sounds.

The sensation of sound is due, generally, to an undulatory motion of the atmosphere striking the drum-skin of the ear. This motion itself is often called sound. The classes of sounds here considered are those in which the undulatory motion is produced by a speaker, through his vocal organs.

1. *Air independent of respiration.* The air within the mouth, not drawn in or driven out, and hence at rest so far as respiration is concerned, may be set in motion by *clicks* or *smacks* (ʈh), or *cheek puffs* (ɸ), as in using the blowpipe [the symbol (ɸ) typifies, by the upper and lower lines, the two cheeks pressing out a stream of air, the central line, between them], or *implosions* ('h), see (1128, b. c). All of these help to form consonants. The *clicks* and *puffs* form Prof. Haldeman's "independent vowels" (*Anal. Orth.* art. 445-8).

2. *Air inspired.* The air drawn into the mouth may meet with obstacles, or

pass through channels, creating sound-waves, in a way not at all peculiar to speech, which the resonance chambers of the mouth, etc., may sufficiently reinforce to be audible ('i), as in chirps, inspired whistles, sobs, gasps, etc., see (1128, a), and may be nasal, as in snuffling ('i_n), or orinatal (Λ) and fluttering (ɟ), as in snores ('iΛɟ), etc.

3. *Air expired.*

a. *Glottids* (1129, c'), including the bellows action of the lungs, continuous, varying in force, jerked (H), etc., and the motion of the vocal chords towards each other, or their retention in fixed positions, and the same for the *fissura laryngea* or cartilaginous glottis, and all modifications of expiration which take place within the larynx itself. These seem to have been first carefully considered and distinguished, as part of an alphabetic system, by Brücke (p. 10 of *op. cit.* on p. 1287, n. 2), and have already been dwelt upon at some length (1129, c'), but not exhaustively. Some

of these (h , h^{h} , h^{h}) have been usually considered as consonants.

b. *Undifferentiated Glottal sounds*, as flatus (h), wheeze (h), whisper (h), buzz (h), bleat (h), voice (h), nasal voice (h), nasal bleat (h). Of these (h , h), are usually taken as consonants (h , h).

c. *Differentiated Glottal sounds*.

i.). The differentiation takes place by the action of resonance chambers, as already explained (p. 1276), on its way to the external air *through* the open mouth, nose, or both, and meeting with more or less obstruction on the way.

When the resonance chambers are best suited to reinforce *voice*, the results are generally called *vowels*; when best suited for audible *flatus*, the results are called consonants. The vowel and consonant positions shade into each other insensibly, and any glottal sound may be modified by either set of positions. Between perfect vowel, as (a), and perfect hiss, as (s), there can be no mistake. The letters (r , l) and even (z) occasionally fulfil the linguistic function of vowels. The contacts between vowels and consonants are especially:

voiced (i , j , g^{h}) and flated (i , j^{h} , k^{h} , k^{h} , kh , k^{h}); and also through (k^{h}) to (sh , s), etc.;

voiced (u , w , v) or (u , v , g^{wh} , gw , g), or (A_u , bh , b); voiceless (u , wh , f), or (u , wh , k^{wh} , kw , k^{h}), or (A_u , ph , p), according as we start with English (u) having the back of the tongue raised, or German (A_u) with the tongue depressed; also voiced (y , wj , bh , b) and voiceless (y , wj^{h} , ph , p);

voiced (a , ə) lead to (r_c , r , r), and thence to (l , l), and so to (d) and the coronals and dentals, or through (a , ə) to lip, and even guttural consonants, etc., and when voiceless to (h , h^{h}), and thence either to (kh), etc., or to (j^{h} , sh), etc.

Note on Symbolisation.

Palaeotype is meant to be a mere convenient system of notation without implying any system. Thus (h) has been used as a mere diacritic without any constant meaning, and sometimes as an occasional mere supporter of signs which would otherwise become confused, as (h h h), etc. On the other hand, some diacritics, as (j w wj), have been used with tolerable consistency. Italics and small capital letters are used as convenience dictated and with no systematic feeling or intention.

ii.). *Glottal sounds* differentiated by passing into the closed mouth, so that they cannot be continued beyond a short time, because they condense the air too much, and when forced produce the *inflatus* of (1113, b). These are the *sonant consonants* (b , d , g), or (b , d , g), as distinguished from the imploded (p , t , k). They may also be *bleated*, as (sb , sd , sg).

d. *Non-glottal sounds* differentiated by resonance chambers, as in expired whistles, see also (2). When they reach the state of musical whistles, they cease to be real speech sounds.

e. All the above are distinguished by pitch, force, and length, and by continuous or discontinuous changes. The continued sounds, due to the maintenance of the same resonance chamber independently of pitch or force, and changing discontinuously, so far as the resonance is concerned, are the theorist's vowels and consonants, in this class; but even in these, pitch and force generally alter continuously. The changing or *gliding* sounds due to continuous change of form of resonance chamber are the most common in actual speech.

4. *Air checked*. The air passing through an opening is gradually totally shut off or obstructed, or a total obstruction is gradually removed. This may take place in the glottis (g), by closing the vocal chords or bringing down the epiglottis, or both, and in various ways in the mouth, producing the *mute* consonants (p , t , k), etc. These mutes make themselves felt solely by gliding differentiations of glottal sounds, due to continuous changes in the form of the resonance chamber passing from perfect silence for the mute, to perfect resonance for the vowel, and *vice versâ* (1111, c).

Whether there appear to be any systematic character or not in the sign, my own wish is that each symbol should be regarded as one of Linnæus's 'trivial names,' merely denotative, not connotative; shewing a fact, not suggesting a theory. My letter denotes a certain sound, or mode of utterance. How that sound or mode of utterance is to be systematically placed is a totally different question. My symbols lend themselves to any system, because they do not pretend to belong to a peculiar

system of their own. In this respect they differ essentially from Brücke's and Bell's, and even from Lepsius's and Prince L. L. Bonaparte's or the historical suggestions of Prof. Halde-

man. Palaeotype letters are then merely tools by which we may handle sounds on paper, pending our acquisition of sufficient knowledge to understand their systematic relations.

The classification of consonants generally relates to those in 3 and 4, and refers to the positions of the obstructive organs, and the accompanying flatus or voice, or absence of both. It is fortunately very easy to make a simple arrangement of this kind, which is essential as an elementary guide, but it is very difficult to fit into one scheme the immense variety of forms found in actual use, of which comparatively few are familiar to any one systematiser. In no language perhaps occur sufficient consonants to construct a perfect scheme. But in the old Sanscrit tongue, as reduced to the Devanâgarî character, there was a grand development of the surd (voiceless) and sonant (voiced) series of the classes in 4, and 3, *c*, *ii*. above, and a full conception of the differences of flatus, voice, and, as I think, bleat, as well as nasality. The Indian put the earlier European phonologists to shame in this respect. They were very acute, not merely in the analysis, but in the synthesis of sounds, and, as far as their means extended, did not hesitate to indicate every change, and even pointed out in their commentaries under what circumstances sounds were generated synthetically which had no alphabetic character. That this generative action is in full force in India at the present day we have already seen in remarkable instances (1138, *ḅ* to 1139, *ḅ'*). But the language was extremely deficient in vowels, in diphthongs, in buzzes, and in glottids, and hence was not suited as the basis of a classification which should include even Semitic sounds. Still, as one of the earliest, and down to the present day one of the acutest, and as embracing the earliest forms of speech to which our own language belonged, it should be first considered. If the old commentators had paid equal attention to the Indian dialects, little would have remained to be done now.

In the following table I have endeavoured to exhibit the old Indian classification, giving it first in the transcription of Sanscrit used by Prof. Whitney, and secondly in the palaeotypic equivalents which result from my own investigations (pp. 1136–1140, and places there cited). And as the old phonological treatises are not remarkably accessible, I give the text and translation of the rules bearing on this classification in Prof. Whitney's *Atharva-Vêda Prâtiyâkhyâ*, with additions from his notes. The general reader will thus, for the first time, be put into a position to understand an early native classification of an alphabetic system which is the foundation of his own.

In this classification the repetition of some letters in different classes is due to difference of opinion in native commentators. In the palaeotypic interpretation the cerebrals are still distinguished as (*ṭ ḍ ṇ Ṛ*), as proposed on (1096, *c'*). The *y v* are marked as (*ṣ ṡ*), but I believe them to have been originally diphthongising vowels, as (*ia ai, uâ au*), and to have been only recently squeezed into (*ṣ ṡ*), compare (1103, *d*). Also the (*ee oo*) are retained, because it is clear

that these junctures of (ái áu) were established at the time of the old rules cited, though the original diphthongal form admits of no doubt. When (ɽ i ii ee áai) come together, therefore, in this table, they properly illustrate the vowel (i) only, of which (ii) is the mere prolongation; (ɽ) and (áai) shew the initial and final diphthongising forms, and (ee) the juncture from (ái). Similarly for (v u uu oo áau).

Sanscrit systematic arrangement of the Alphabet, as deduced from the Rules of the Indian Phonologists.

(1.) *Prof. Whitney's Symbols.*

	Guttural.	Palatal.	Lingual.	Dental.	Labial.	
surd	k	c	t	t	p	
surd-aspirate and surd-spirant }	kh h̄k	ch ç	th sh	th s	ph hp	h
sonant sonant-aspirate, and sonant-spirant }	g a á r l	j y i i e ái	ḍ r r	ḍ r r l l	b v u ú o áu	
	gh	jh	ḍh	ḍh	bh	h
nasal	ṅ	ñ	ṇ	n	m	m̄

(2.) *Presumed Palaeotypic Equivalents.*

	Guttural.	Palatal.	Coronal.	Dental.	Labial.	Undifferentiated.
Mute	k	kɽ	ɽ	ɽ	p	
Flated	kɽh kh	kɽh jh	ɽɽh sh	ɽɽh s	pɽh ph	ɽh
Voiced	g a aa 'r 'l	gɽ j i ii ee áai	ɽ ɽ 'R	{ d r 'r } { l 'l }	{ b v u uu } { oo áau }	['h]
Bleated	gɽ	gɽɽ	ɽɽ	ɽɽ	bɽ	ɽ
Nosed	q	nɽ	N	n	m	(.)

Rules of the Indian Phonologists,

Taken, Sanscrit and English, from Prof. Whitney, *op. cit.* (1131, c'), the parts between inverted commas being the Sanscrit text transliterated as above and Prof. Whitney's translation, the rest (except references to this work, palaeotype, and parts included in [],) being an abridgment of some of the information in Prof. Whitney's notes on the rules. Only such rules are given as bear upon the classification, and they are referred to as i. 3, book the first, rule the third, etc.

i. 3. "*padāntyaḥ padyaḥ*. A letter capable of occurring at the end of a word is called a final (*padya*)."

i. 4. "*antkāraḥ svaraḥ padyaḥ*. Any vowel, excepting *l*, may occur as final." The Rik Pr. also excepts *r* long.

i. 5. "*lakāraḥ visarjanīyau ka*. Also *l* and *visarjanīya*."

i. 6. "*sparśāḥ prathamottamāḥ*. Of the mutes, the first and last of each series," that is, *k t p, ṅ n m*; *c* and *ñ* being excepted by the following rule.

i. 7. "*na cavarṅaḥ*. Excepting the palatal series," that is, *c* and *ñ*, the *ch*, *jh*, being excluded by previous rule.

i. 10. "*dvītyacaturthāḥ soshmāṇaḥ*. The second and fourth of each series are aspirates" [see (1131, c') for comments].

i. 11. "*uttamā anunāsikāḥ*. The last in each series is nasal." The Rik and Vāj. Pr. describe the nasal mutes as *anunāsika*, as does the Tāitt. Pr., including with them *anusvāra*.

i. 12. 13. "*cvāso-ghoshebhavanupradānaḥ; nādo ghoshavaṭṭsavareshu*. In the surd consonants the emission is breath; in the sonant consonants and vowels it is sound." [The literal rendering of

'surd,' root *çvas*, is 'breathed,' that is, 'flated;,' of 'sonant,' root *nad*, is 'spoken,' that is, 'voiced;,' of 'emission,' *anuprādāna*, is 'emitted material;,' of *aghosha*, is 'without sound,' that is, mute; and of *ghoshavant*, is 'sounding.' It is evident that where no voice was used, the result was not considered sound proper.] The commentator enumerates the sonants as vowels, sonant mutes, semivowels, *h*, and the *yamas* of *g* and *gh*. The *yamas*, or 'twins,' are thus defined in Tāitt. Pr.: "after a mute not nasal, when followed by a nasal, are inserted in each case nose sounds (*nāsikya*); these some call *yamas*," [that is, nasalised voice differentiated according to the preceding mute, before being differentiated according to the following, so that *atma* requires a generated *n* to be inserted between *t* and *m*, thus (*atnma*).]

i. 18. "*mukhe viśeṣhāḥ karaṇasya*.. In the mouth there are differences of producing organ." 'That is position (*sthāna*) to which approach is made; that is organ (*karaṇa*) by which approach is made,' according to the commentator.

i. 19. "*kanṭhyānāmādharaṇaṭhaḥ*. Of the throat-sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ." [See discussion (1134, b-1135, b).]

i. 20. "*jihvāmūltyānām hanumūlam*. Of the gutturals, the base of the jaw is the producing organ." The word translated gutturals means 'formed at the base of the tongue.' The commentator assigns as gutturals the *r* vowels, see (1146, c'), the guttural mutes, *k kh g gh ṅ*, the *jihvāmūliya* 'spirant,' or (*kh*), see (1134, a), and the vowel *l*. By *hanumūla*, 'root or base of the jaw,' must be here understood, it should seem, the posterior edge of the hard palate.

i. 21. "*tālavyānām madhyajihvam*. Of the palatals, the middle of the tongue is the producing organ." The commentator enumerates *e ḍi y, ç c ch j jh ṇ* and the vowel *i*. [The expression 'middle of the tongue' exactly corresponds to the modern sound described (1120, c); *tālu* is 'palate.']

i. 22. "*mūrdhanyānām jihvāgrām prativēṣṭitam*. Of the linguals, the tip of the tongue, rolled back, is the producing organ." [See the discussion (1094, a-1096, c).] The word *mūrdhan* means 'head,' hence an exact translation of *mūrdhanya* would be 'capital.' Müller holds *mūrdhan* to be used directly for

'dome of the palate,' but it must be so taken, if at all, indirectly, as the highest point of the head which the tongue is capable of reaching. [Hence my term 'coronal' (1096, c).] The commentator gives as this series *sh, ṭ ṭh d ḍh n*, and fortifies his assertion by adding the half verse *mūrdhasthānām shakārasya ṭavargasya tathā matam*. They are known in all the Pr. by the same name, and the Vāj. Pr. and Tāitt. Pr. describe them in the same manner. [The question of inversion or simple retraction of tongue—Prof. Whitney uses the ambiguous term 'reversion'—depends on the meaning of *prativēṣṭitam*=back-rolled. The term is too vague, and may mean a further retraction than in the English (*t*).] The semivowel *r* and vowel *r* are in the Paninean scheme.

i. 23. "*śhakārasya droṇikā*. Of *sh*, the trough-shaped tongue is the producing organ," from *droṇa*, a 'wooden tub or trough.'

i. 24. "*dantyanām jihvāgrām prastirṇam*. Of the dentals, the tip of the tongue thrust forward is the producing organ." The commentator gives the series *l s, t ṭh d ḍh n*, and the Vāj. Pr. adds *ḷ*. The Rik Pr. makes the class consist of *l s r, t ṭh d ḍh n*. The Tāitt. Pr. defines the same letters, except *r*, as formed, *dantamūleshu*, 'at the roots of the teeth' [that is, 'alveolar,' rather than 'dental'], the *t*-series, and *s* as produced by the tip, and the *ḷ* as produced with the middle of the tongue. [This ought to make it palatal = (*lj*).]

i. 25. "*oṣṭhyānāmādharaushṭham* (or *-oṣṭhyam*). Of the labials, the lower lip is the producing organ." The labials are *o āu, p ph b bh m*, the *upadhmanīya* spirant [(*ph*), see (1132, b)], and the vowel *u ā*. Here *v* is emitted, doubtless by fault of copyist, as it is not otherwise placed. The Vāj. Pr. adds further, that in the utterance of *v* the tips of the teeth are employed, and so in Tāitt. Pr., its commentator explaining that in the utterance of the letter the points of the upper teeth are placed on the edge of the lower lip. [See discussion (1103, c).]

i. 26. "*nāsikyānām nāsikā*. Of the nose-sounds, the nose is the producing organ." The commentator cites *ṇ ṇ n m, anusvāra*, and the generated nasals, that is, *nāsikya* after *h* i. 100, and *yamas* after mutes i. 99.

i. 27. "*anunāsikānām mukhanāsikam*. Of the nasalised sounds, the mouth and nose together are the producing organs." The Tāitt. Pr. says, "nasal quality is communicated by the unclosing of the nose."

i. 28. "*rephasya dantamūlāni*. Of *r*, the roots of the teeth are the producing organs." There is a considerable difference of opinion respecting *r* among Indian phonologists. Rik Pr. includes it among dentals as *dantamūliya* (see i. 24 above), but adds that others regard it as gingival. Vāj. Pr. makes it to be produced at roots of teeth by tip of tongue. Tāitt. Pr. by the tip and middle of tongue, close behind roots of teeth. The Paninean scheme makes it *mūrdhanya*. [See (1138, a). Probably several modes of forming *r*, dependent on the adjacent consonants, are confused under one symbol.]

i. 29. "*spṛṣṭāni sparṣānām karanam*. In the case of mutes the organ forms a contact." From this contact *sparṣa* the mutes derive their name [literally, 'contact letters'].

i. 30. "*īshatspṛṣṭamantaḥsthānām*. In the case of the semivowels, it is partially in contact." The Rik Pr. calls it *duḥspṛṣṭam*, 'imperfectly or hardly in contact.' The word *antaḥsthā*, 'intermediate, standing between,' as applied to the semivowels *y r l v*, is supposed to refer to their alphabetic arrangement, between the mutes and spirants, but more probably refers to their neither forming a complete contact like the mutes, nor an open position like the vowels.

i. 31. "*ūshmanāḥ vīrtam ka*. In the case of spirants it is also open." The *ka* should make these *īshatspṛṣṭam*, or partially open. The Tāitt. Pr. says the spirants, in their order, are uttered in the positions of the mutes, but with the middle part of the producing organ opened. The Rik Pr. includes the vowels *anusvāra* and spirants together, as produced without contact. The Rik Pr. makes the spirants to be *ḥ* (*visarjanīya*), *h ḥk* (*jihvāmūliya*), *ç, śh*,

s, and *ḥp* (*upaḍhmāniya*), and *anusvāra*; the Vāj. Pr. only *ç sh s h*; the Tāitt. Pr. omits the *visarjanīya* and *anusvāra*.

i. 32. "*svarānām ka*. In the case of the vowels also it is open."

i. 33. "*eke spṛṣṭam*. Some consider it as forming a contact." No one of the other treatises favours this obviously and grossly incorrect opinion.

i. 34. "*ekāraukārayorvivṛtatamam*. In the case of *e* and *o* it is very widely open." [That is, these were even at that time very open vowels, compare (1137, a).]

i. 35. "*tato-pyākārasya*. And even more so, in the case of *ā*."

i. 36. "*sañvṛto-kāraḥ*. The *a* is obscured." In Vāj. Pr. and Pāṇini, *a* is ordered to be treated as qualitatively the same as *ā*, implying that it was not so in practice. The Tāitt. and Rik Pr. do not notice any difference in the quality of *a*, *ā*.

i. 37. "*samspṛṣṭārephmṛvarnam*. The *r*-vowels are combined with an *r*." [This seems to give ('r) or ('r).]

i. 39. "*salakāramlvarnam*. The *l*-vowels are combined with an *l*." [This gives ('l).]

i. 40. "*samdhyaḥksharāṇi samspṛṣṭāvarṇānyekavarṇavadvṛttih*. The diphthongs are composed of combined vowels; their treatment is that of a simple vowel." Here *samdhyaḥkshara* is literally 'syllable of combination,' and is the usual name for a diphthong, and *samānāḥkshara*, 'homogeneous syllable,' is sometimes used for the simple vowel as opposed to the diphthong. The diphthongs are *e o āi āu*. [Of course originally (*āi*, *āu*, *āai*, *āau*).]

i. 41. "*nāikārāukārayoḥ sthānavidhāu*. Not so, however, with *āi* and *āu*, in a rule of position." The commentator's paraphrase is *āikārāukārayoḥ sthānavidhāne ekavarṇavadvṛttir na bhavati*. What the meaning and value of the rule is, is not altogether clear; it may forbid the inclusion of *āi* among palatals only, and *āu* among labials only, since they are also both throat-sounds.

Prof. Whitney, moved probably by his study of this classification, seems to have developed from it his 'unitary' arrangement (1289, *d*), which is here given from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 8, p. 372, first in his own letters, and then in their palaeotypic equivalents. His position of *h* depends upon his theory that it is "the common surd of all those sonant letters which are too open

to have each its own individual surd," see the discussion, beginning (1141, *d'*).

This scheme has the advantage of being a mere skeleton, and consequently evades most of the difficulties which arise when we attempt to clothe it in full. But as a skeleton, it will be found very useful and suggestive.

Prof. Whitney's Unitary Alphabet.										
Sonant	{	$\begin{matrix} & & a & & & \\ & e & \text{æ} & \text{ø} & o & \\ i & & & & & \\ y & r, l & & u & & \\ n & & & m & & \end{matrix}$						Vowels.		
								Semivowels		
								Nasals		
Surd	<i>h</i>							Aspiration		<i>ph</i>
Sonant	<i>γ</i>	<i>z</i>						Fricatives		<i>gh</i> <i>z</i> <i>v</i>
Surd	<i>x</i>	<i>s</i> <i>f</i>								<i>kh</i> <i>s</i> <i>f</i>
Sonant	<i>g</i>	<i>d</i> <i>b</i>						Mutes		<i>g</i> <i>d</i> <i>b</i>
Surd	<i>k</i>	<i>t</i> <i>p</i>								<i>k</i> <i>t</i> <i>p</i>
		Palatal series		Lingual series		Labial series				

No systematic arrangement can be complete which disregards the Semitic series of sounds; but at present there is so much division of opinion among phonologists respecting them, and they differ so widely from European usages, that it seems best to pass them over, especially as my own knowledge of them as heard from natives, is more than thirty years old, and was obtained at a time when my phonologic ideas were very crude. Lepsius, however, includes them in his general alphabet (*Standard Alphabet*, p. 76), which here follows in palaeotype, the Arabic sounds being given according to his (much disputed) theories. Lepsius's interest was chiefly transcriptive, and is only partly or incidentally physiological. He uses chiefly Roman, but some Greek and a few new characters, with diacritical dots, hooks, accents, marks, etc.

Consonants of Lepsius's General Alphabet.

	<i>explosivæ v. dividuæ</i>			<i>fricativæ v. continuæ</i>			<i>incipites.</i>
	fortes.	lenes.	nasales.	fortes.	lenes.	semi vocales.	
I. FAUCALES	g	;		h	hh		
		k					
II. GUTTURALES	k	g	q	kh	gh		r
III. PALATALES	kj	gj	qj	kjh sh shj	gjh zh zhj	j	lj
IV. CEREBRALES	t	ð	n	sh	zh		R L
(Indicæ)							
V. LINGUALES		d(t)		s	z, dh		
(Arabicae)							
VI. DENTALES	t	d	n	s, th	z, dh		r l
VII. LABIALES	p	b	m	f	v	w	

Brücke (1287, *d'*) has not given a tabular scheme, although he has developed a system of writing. His classification of consonants, in reference to his alphabetical signs, is here reproduced in brief, because it is strictly physiological, and because the state of the glottis is throughout carefully indicated.

1. Voiced consonants may be shut (*verschusslaut*), continuant or fricative (*reibungsgeräusch*), an L-sound, trilled (*zitterlaut*), or resonant in the nose (*resonant*), and may be articulated in three principal places:

a. With the lips, solely, or with lips and teeth.

b. With tip of tongue and palate, 1) *alveolar*, 2) *cerebral*, 3) *dorsal*, 4) *dental*.

c. With back of tongue and palate, 1) middle of hard palate, 2) back part of hard palate, 3) soft palate.

These are illustrated by signs, to be thus translated:

(b), lips shut.

(v), lips and teeth, fricative.

(m), lips, nasal.

(z), alveolar, fricative.

(dh), dental, fricative.

(l), dental, L-sound.

(r), dental, trill.

(j) back of tongue and middle of hard palate, fricative.

(r) back of tongue and soft palate, trill.

2 State of the larynx:

a. Closed glottis. Vocal chords in position for voice ('h); no sign.

b. Open glottis. Vocal chords apart as for breathing; its sign united with sign for (e) gives German *h* ('h); with sign for (b) gives sign for *p*, which is therefore (p**h**); with sign for (dh) gives sign for (th).

c. Position for the *whooshing* breath ('h), which is taken to have the chords 'nicked in' by the arytenoid cartilages, and hence to be different from that described by Czermak (1130, *b*).

d. Position for whisper ('h), see (1128, *c'*), which Brücke attributes to the Saxon letters regarded by Merkel as imploded (1097, *c'*).

e. Larynx closed by epiglottis and

arytenoid cartilages (;), united with those shut consonants which do not come under (*b*). The check (;) and clear glottid (,) are not distinguished (1129, *d'*. 1130, *a*).

f. Trill of glottis (τ).

g. The *ain*-action of glottis continued through the vowel (e), see (1134, *d'*), always united with a vowel.

h. Direction to put more metallic quality into the voice; [this affects the following vowel, and must be mainly contrived in the resonant chambers].

i. Direction to deepen, or put more roundness into the voice; [this is also mainly a question of the resonance chamber; these two last are for the effect of Arabic letters on the following vowel; the effect here intended seems to be the (2) of (1107, *c*), and is recognised as present in the Russian (x₂)].

3. Consonants with two places of articulation. "When a consonant has to be noted, for which there are two straits, one behind the other, either of which separately would give its own fricative, the signs for each are written in succession." Thus (zh) is written as alveolar, between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative; to which for (sh) is added: open glottis.

4 Consonants with double sound. As (grh), written: between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative, trill; to which in the case of (krh) is added: open larynx.

Compound sounds are expressed by groups of symbols; thus German *z*, taken as (t,s), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis+alveolar, fricative, open glottis; ancient Greek ζ, taken as (d,z), is: alveolar, shut,+alveolar, fricative. Italian *c* before *e*, taken as (tsh), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis,+alveolar, between back of tongue and back of hard palate, fricative, open glottis, etc.

This extremely ingenious and philosophical method of writing, of which various specimens are given in numerous languages, printed in movable types, becomes, in Dr. Brücke's words, at least for his consonants, *eine beredte Zeichensprache*, literally, "a speech-endowed sign-language"—a term closely approaching to that chosen by Mr. Melville Bell, whose "Visible Speech" has been so much used.

On (1121, *c*) I found it necessary to give a new palaeotypic symbolisation of Mr. Bell's columns 2 and 3, p. 15, and on pp. 1125-6 I had to reconsider some parts of cols. 5 and 9, which I have now still further studied. It will therefore be best to reproduce the palaeotypic equivalents of all his table on p. 15, except the vowels. In the following table I annex Mr. Bell's own nomenclature, which may be compared with Brücke's. The columns and lines refer to Mr. Bell's symbols (15, *a*).

Mr. Melville Bell's Consonants.

Voiceless.					Voiced.				
	Back.	Front.	Point.	Lip.	Back voice.	Front voice.	Point voice.	Lip voice.	
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
primary	<i>a</i> kh	jh	r _o h	ph	gh	j	r _o	bh	<i>g</i>
mixed	<i>b</i> kwh	s	sh	wh	gwh	z	zh	w	<i>h</i>
divided	<i>c</i> lh	ljh	lh	f	l	lj	l	v	<i>i</i>
mixed	} <i>d</i> lwh	th	th	fh	lw	dh	dh	vh	<i>k</i>
divided									
shut	<i>e</i> k	kj	t	p	g	gj	d	b	<i>l</i>
nasal	<i>f</i> qh	qjh	nh	mh	q	qj	n	m	<i>m</i>

Mr. Melville Bell's Aspirate, Glides, Modifiers.

	5	9	10	5	9	10	
	'h voice glide	x ₁ aspirate	· accent	'w round voice glide	ç trilled	'h' emission stopped	<i>g</i>
<i>b</i>	'r _o back glide	x ¹ throat	[doubled letter] length	'r _o w round back glide	'x ¹ throat voice	† suction stopped	<i>h</i>
<i>c</i>	'j front glide	; throat shut) hiatus	'wj round front glide	\ outer	† inverted [back]	<i>i</i>
<i>d</i>	'r _o point glide	nasal	· abrupt	'r _o w round point glide	inner	† protruded [lip]	<i>k</i>
<i>e</i>	'bh lip glide	Δ nasal mixed	· stopped	'w round lip glide	1 close	§ divided, and unilateral	<i>l</i>
<i>f</i>	'h breath glide.	'hw whistle	i suction	'x ¹ throat voice glide	1 open	* link	<i>m</i>

Mr. Melville Bell's consonant arrangement, as thus shewn, is based on the following distinctions. In the original symbols the open glottis is not considered in relation to the consonants, but *voiceless* and *voiced* forms alone are symbolised. He has subsequently added a mark for *whispered* as distinguished

from voiced forms, but he has not yet found it necessary to distinguish the open glottis, except by adding his 9a = (x₁) or 5f = ('h) to the (1127, *d*) shut consonant. Only four places of articulation are distinguished, col. 1 *back* of tongue and palate, col. 2 *front*, that is, middle of tongue and palate, col. 3

point, that is, tip of tongue and palate, and col. 4 *lips*. But by signs for *outer* or advanced (i) = 9i, and *inner* or retracted (i) = 9k, and for *open* (i) = 9m, or *close* (i) = 9l, these are practically extended to 20. Confining attention to the consonants:

The lines *a*, *g*, are continuants with "the organic aperture contracted to a central chink," *a* voiceless, *g* voiced.

Lines *c* and *i* are continuants with the "organic aperture divided by a central check." In the case of (l) this is very intelligible, but for (f) and (v), although there is the 'central check' in the shape of the teeth, this only acts as a sharp wind squeezer, and makes the hiss or buzz more decided. See Dr. Stone's observations (1331, *d*). The union of (l) and (v) in one class is liable to considerable reclamation. Line *c* is voiceless, and line *i* voiced.

Lines *b*, *d*, voiceless, and *h*, *k*, voiced, give peculiar means of obtaining the simultaneous action of two of the former positions, of which the first mentioned in each case is the most prominent. These signs might be entirely dispensed with, and thus answer really to Brücke's third series (1340, *c*). Thus for line *b*, (*kwh*) is taken to be (*kh*+*ph*), but (*wh*) to be (*ph*+*kh*), and again (*s*) = (*jh*+*r,h*), but (*sh*) = (*r,h*+*jh*). As respects these last, Mr. Graham Bell at least has just reversed the combination of the symbols (1121, *c*). Again, for line *d*, we must suppose (*lwh*) = (*lh*+*f*), but (*fh*) = (*f*+*lh*), and (*th*) = (*lh*+*lh*), but (*zh*) = (*lh*+*ljh*). The two last will probably be disputed. With regard to (*th*) Mr. Bell says (*V. S.* p. 58): "the 'front-mixed-divided' consonant (*th*) has its centre check at the *tip* of the tongue, and its apertures between the edges of the flattened point and the teeth or the upper gum:—the front of the tongue having considerable convexity within the arch of the palate." It is difficult to see how the form of the symbol and its relation to (*jh*) or (*lh*) shews this, unless (*lh*) is taken as very dental (i, *lh*). Although the back of the tongue is raised for (*th*) almost as much as for (*jh*), yet the action between the tongue and teeth is most marked, and the stream of air is only squeezed, not divided, by the teeth.

Lines *e* voiceless and *l* voiced are merely the ordinary shut positions, and lines *f* voiceless and *m* voiced the corresponding nasal positions.

For the aspirate, glides and modifiers, after again considering the discussion on pp. 1125–8, respecting 5 *a*, *f*, 9 *a*, *b*, *c*, *h*, *l*, *m*, and 10 *c*, *e*, *f*, I believe that the marks placed in the present table are the best palaeotypic equivalents of Mr. Bell's symbols, according to the principles developed in this chapter. Observe that the glides have all (') before them, which mark would be placed against or over the preceding or following vowel (1099, *d*). To agree with Mr. Bell's system of notation, voiced-consonant forms are given to all the glides, except 5 *a*, *f*, *g*, *m* = ("h, 'h, "w, "x"), the last of which I was never able properly to separate from 5 *a* ("h), even when I heard Mr. Bell pronounce it. I have, however, in practice generally thought it best to use vowel-signs as marks of his glides, thus (āa) for (ār), (āi) for (ār), (āu) for (āw). In fig. 4 of a plate accompanying Mr. A. Graham Bell's "Visible Speech as a means of communicating articulation to deaf mutes" (Washington, U.S. 1872, pp. 34), I find that in place of the glide 5 *l* in *pole*, (pówl) according to Mr. Melville Bell, Mr. Graham Bell writes a vowel-sign small, answering exactly to (pól). This was first suggested, I believe, by Mr. H. Sweet. The use of ("h) for 5 *f* is my last appreciation of this sign, and agrees in the main with (1127, *b*).

Mr. Melville Bell's Key-words.

The following list contains the examples by which Mr. Melville Bell illustrates these signs (*V. S.* pp. 93–4), and for convenience I give them in the order of the above table, referring to column and line and annexing the palaeotype. When two palaeotypic signs are given, the first accurately translates Mr. Bell's sign; and the second gives the form I usually employ for the sound indicated by the example.

Abbreviations.

a.	American	it.	Italian
c.	Cockney	p.	Polish
e.	English	pec.	peculiar
f.	French	sc.	Scotch
ga.	Gaelic	sp.	Spanish
ge.	German	w.	Welsh
h.	Hungarian	z.	Zulu
ir.	Irish		

Key-words.

- 1 *a*. (*kh*) *nach* ge., *pech* sc.
1 *b*. (*kwh*) *auch* ge., *sough* sc.

- 1 *c.* (ʰh) hiss of water fowl.
 1 *d.* (ʰwh).
 1 *e.* (k) *c*, *k*, *q*, *e*., (k) = my (kj) kind *e*.
 1 *f.* (qh) sink *e*., compare (1141, *a*).
 1 *g.* (gh) tage *ge*., (gh) = my (gjh) zeige *ge*., (gh_d) = my (grh) burred *e*.
 1 *h.* (gwh) variety of *g ge*., and of defective *r e*.
 1 *i.* (t) laogh *ga*., barred *l p*.
 1 *k.* (ʰw) labialised variety of *l ga*.
 1 *l.* (g) *go e*., (g) = my (gj) guide *e*.
 1 *m.* (q) sing *e*.
 2 *a.* (jh) ich *ge*. [I hear (ikjh), which would be Mr. Bell's (i_hkh)].
 2 *b.* (s) *s*, *c*, *e*., (s) ciudad *sp*. [doubtful].
 2 *c.* (lh) variety of defective *s*.
 2 *d.* (th) thin *e*.
 2 *e.* (kj) variety of *t*, see (1120, *b*).
 2 *f.* (qjh) variety of [voiceless] *n*.
 2 *g.* (j) yes *e*.
 2 *h.* (z) zeal *e*., (z) *d*, final, *sp*. [doubtful].
 2 *i.* (lj) llano *sp*., gli *it*. [These sounds are (lj) or (lj), not (lj), the distinction consisting in the tip of the tongue touching the palate or gums for (lj, lj), and being held down for (lj), the middle of tongue comes in contact with hard palate for all three.]
 2 *k.* (dh) then *e*.
 2 *l.* (gy) Magyar *h*. [properly (dj), see 2 *i*.]
 2 *m.* (qj) Boulogne *f*. [The French sound is neither (qj) nor (qj), but (nj) or (nj), see 2 *i*.]
 3 *a.* (r_h) théâtre *f*. [colloquially (r_h), never with untrilled, (r_h)], -*r_h* *w*. [never untrilled in Welsh].
 3 *b.* (sh) show *e*., chaud *f*.
 3 *c.* (lh) temple *f*. [colloquially (lh)], felt *e*., see (1141, *a*).
 3 *d.* (th) ll *w*., hl *z*., see p. 756, n. 2.
 3 *e.* (t) tie *e*. [The foreign (t, t_h) do not seem to have been noticed.]
 3 *f.* (nh) tent *e*. See (1141, *a*).
 3 *g.* (r_c) race *e*., (r_c) = my (r) *r sc. sp*., etc.
 3 *h.* (zh) pleasure *e*., jour *f*.
 3 *i.* (l) tie *e*. [The foreign (l, l) not noticed. See 3 *e*.]
 3 *k.* (dh) dhl *z*. See (756, *d*).
 3 *l.* (d) die *e*. [The foreign (d, d) not noticed. See 3 *e*.]
 3 *m.* (n) sin *e*. [The foreign (n, n) not noticed. See 3 *e*.]
 4 *a.* (ph) variety of *f* or *wh*. See (514, *c*. 518, *b*. 542, *c*. 1099, *c*).
 4 *b.* (wh) why *e*.
 4 *c.* (f) fie *e*.
 4 *d.* (fh) gutturalised variety of *f*.
 4 *e.* (p) pie *e*.
 4 *f.* (mh) lamp *e*. (1141, *a*), mhm *sc*.
 4 *g.* (bh) weg *ge*., b *sp*.
 4 *h.* (w) way *e*.
 4 *i.* (v) vie *e*.
 4 *k.* (vh) gutturalised variety of *v*.
 4 *l.* (b) buy *e*.
 4 *m.* (m) seem *e*.
 5 *a.* ("h) va'ry *e*. [that is (vé'e'h'r_i), for which I write (vee'r_i), with the reduction of ('h) to (') for convenience, and the trilled (r)].
 5 *b.* (r_c) are, smooth burr, *e*. dialects [that is (aar) or (aar), as distinct from (aa'r)].
 5 *c.* ('x) die *e*. day *e*. [that is (dár dé'r), which I write (dó'i dé'e'j)].
 5 *d.* (r_c) are *e*. [that is (aar_c), which I write (aa') or (aa), not distinguishing 5 *a*, and 5 *d*].
 5 *e.* ("bh) lui *fr*. [that is (lbhí) or (lbhí), in place of (lwjí) or (lyí)].
 5 *f.* ("h) p'aper *ir*. [that is (p'hææ-), where I hear (p'hææ-) or (p'hææ-); hence this is the sign for Sanscrit surd aspirates, see (1127, *b*)].
 5 *g.* ("w) now *a*. and *c*. [that is (ná'w)?, (or (næ''w) not quite (náu, næ'u)].
 5 *h.* (r_c w) not [exemplified, possibly a burred our (áur_c w)].
 5 *i.* ("wj) new north *ir*. [possibly (níwj) or (níy), found in Norfolk].
 5 *k.* (r_c w) our *e*. [that is (áur_c w), my (o'w)].
 5 *l.* ("w) now *e*. [that is (náu), my (næ'u)].
 5 *m.* ("x₁) are pec., "a semivowelised sound of 9 *h*." [See 9 *h*, the glide is shewn by the accent.]
 9 *a.* (x₁) he *e*. [The new symbol (x) is introduced to enable me to write Mr. Melville Bell's symbols 9 *a*, *b*, *h*, and 5 *m*, in accordance with his theories, which differ in this respect so greatly from my own that my symbols, although I use them freely in transliterating passages written phonetically by him, will not serve the present purpose, when everything turns upon representing his notion of the formation

of the sounds. The new symbol (\mathfrak{x}) represents the passage of flatus, with a moderate degree of force, through "the super-glottal passage," or pharynx (that is, between the epiglottis and the position for (\mathfrak{k}) or (\mathfrak{x}), whence the form of the symbol), independently of its subsequent differentiation. The open state of this passage is shewn as usual by adding on 9 *m* (\mathfrak{i}) thus: (\mathfrak{x}_1). Of course the effect of (\mathfrak{x}_1) is nearly (\mathfrak{hii}), or even (\mathfrak{hii}). No *jer*k (\mathfrak{h}) seems contemplated. See (1125, *c'*) for description.]

9 *b*. (\mathfrak{x}^1) vowel whisper. [See 9 *a*. Here the contraction of the super-glottal passage is shewn by adding 9 *l*. See description (1126, *b*). The effect is nearly (\mathfrak{h}) or (\mathfrak{h}). The distinction between (\mathfrak{x}_1 , \mathfrak{x}^1) is marked by Bell's circular and elliptic form of symbol, see p. 15.]

9 *c*. (\mathfrak{i}) *bü'er* for *butter*, west of Scotland

9 *d*. (\mathfrak{i}). This sign "applied to any of the preceding consonants shews that the breath flows through the nose as well as through the symbolised configuration. The effect is to dull the oral sibillation, and to deprive the transitional action of percussiveness," (*V. S.* p. 55.) "Partial nasality without guttural modification—such as is heard in some of the American dialects, and from individual speakers—is represented by the ordinary nasal sign (\mathfrak{i}) placed after the affected vowel." (*ibid.* p. 78.)

9 *e*. (\mathfrak{A}). "When the nasal valve is opened simultaneously with the formation of a vowel, the breath or voice issues simultaneously, partly through the nostrils, and partly through the oral configuration. This, with a degree of 'gliding' semi-consonant contraction in the guttural passage, is the formation of the common French sounds represented by *n* after a vowel letter. To indicate the 'mixed nasal' or *naso-guttural* quality of these elements, the special symbol 9 *e*

(\mathfrak{A}) is provided. This symbol [see its shape on p. 15] is formed by uniting 9 *a* (\mathfrak{x}^1) subordinately with the ordinary nasal sign (\mathfrak{i})." (*V. S.* p. 77.) Hence systematically it should be rendered by (\mathfrak{x}_1).

9 *f*. (\mathfrak{hw}) [no example].

9 *g*. (\mathfrak{j}). "Symbol (\mathfrak{j}) denotes a loose vibration or quiver of the organ to which the symbol applies. Thus the tongue vibrates against the front of the palate in forming Scotch or Spanish R," this would make them to result from a *striking* and not a *free* reed action, and be (\mathfrak{r}), but Mr. Bell writes the equivalent of ($\mathfrak{r}_{\mathfrak{j}}$); "the uvula vibrates against the back of the tongue in producing the French R '*grasseyé*' [literally, 'lispéd,'] or the Northumbrian '*burr*' (\mathfrak{r}). The lateral edges of the tongue vibrate in forming a close variety of L;" [this is apparently different from his 3 *i* = (\mathfrak{l}), and should be (\mathfrak{l}^1)]; "the lips vibrate when they are relaxed and closely approximated, (\mathfrak{brh}); and in the same way the edges of the throat-passage vibrate [? exact meaning], with a 'growling' effect, when the current of breath is intercepted by sufficiently close but loose approximation. Symbol (\mathfrak{j}) thus refers to the element after which it is written; as ($\mathfrak{h}_{\mathfrak{j}}$) a flutter of the breath; ($\mathfrak{h}_{\mathfrak{j}}$) a quiver of the voice; ($\mathfrak{x}^1_{\mathfrak{j}}$) throat vibration; a 'gruff' whisper; ($\mathfrak{x}^1_{\mathfrak{j}}$) hoarse vibratory murmur:—'growling.'" (*V. S.* p. 47.)

9 *h*. (\mathfrak{x}^1), variety of defective *r*, emission of voice with the throat contracted. See description (1126, *a'*). [See 9 *a* and 9 *b*, to the last of which (\mathfrak{i}) is prefixed to shew the buzz. See also end of last quotation about 9 *g*. The glide of this, of course, becomes (\mathfrak{x}^1), see 5 *m*.]

9 *i*. (\mathfrak{i}), see examples to 1 *e*, *g*, *l*, 2 *a*.

9 *k*. (\mathfrak{k}), see (1098, *b'*).

9 *l*. (\mathfrak{l}), see (1107, *b*).

10 *a* to *m*. [no special examples are given].

In the preceding systems we commenced with an acute ancient classification confined essentially to one language, but that the most important for European investigations, the Sanscrit; and from this proceeded to Prof. Whitney's skeleton arrangement, which contemplated some of the derived languages. Thence we passed to Lepsius's, which embraced the Semitic as well as the Aryan forms of speech, but was also incomplete and sketchy. From this we proceeded to two physiological arrangements. Dr. Brücke was mainly influenced by German habits, and, as shewn by his examples, his acquaintance with other European pronunciations, and even with middle and south German habits, left much to be desired. He had, however, endeavoured to examine the Arabic sounds with great care. His consonantal scheme professed to be purely physiological, and hence to be applicable to all languages, although his vowel scheme, founded on the triangle already exhibited (1287, *c*), was purely literary. Mr. Melville Bell's scheme is physiological both for vowels and consonants, and, though his physiological knowledge is of course greatly inferior to that of such an eminent professional physiologist as Brücke, and hence makes default in hidden laryngeal actions, he has produced a system which is admirable in its general arrangements. But it is quite impossible that any one with a limited knowledge of the living habits of speakers can succeed even in the analysis, much less in the synthesis, of spoken sounds. In pondering over the possibilities of vocal effects producible by our organs of speech, we are constantly liable to omit forms quite common to other nations, because they are totally unfamiliar to ourselves, while we may excogitate theoretical sounds which no one has ever adopted. I shall conclude, therefore, by giving two arrangements of consonants which have been chiefly formed by an examination of sounds heard, and not so much by hypothetical construction. Of course these two systems are not purely observational or purely literary. Both schemes inevitably contain some theoretical sounds suggested by others observed, and both classifications are more or less founded on the organs in or near contact.

The first of these is Prof. Haldeman's (1186, *d*), which has already been given for English only (1189, *c*), so that no long explanations will be necessary. The great peculiarities of Prof. Haldeman's investigations are—1) an examination of literary languages, when possible by personal audition; 2) an examination of many North American Indian languages, which other phonologists have disregarded, but which are full of curious phenomena; 3) great attention to the synthetic effects of speech sounds in modifying their character, and to synthesis in general; 4) in notation, an endeavour to make his symbols a real extension of the Roman alphabet, to the extent of not using any symbol in an un-Latin sense, according to his own theory of Latin pronunciation.

The following table is taken from Art. 577, compared with Art. 193a., of his *Analytic Orthography*. It was first published by him in the *Linnaean Record of Pennsylvania College*, for June, 1846.

Key-words and Explanations,

Arranged by the number of line and letter of column.

1 *a.* (w, 'w), nasal (w) as a separate element, and as a glide. "The effort to produce vocality may, perhaps, be transferred from the glottis to the contact, so that instead of (b, d, g), a modified (p, t, k) will occur, made with the points of contact (as the lips) flattened against each other, producing what we call a *flat* sound" (art. 181). In the case of the German, it is considered by Brücke as a whisper, and this notation is given by me, and by Merkel as an implosion (1097, *c'*). This is an element in Prof. Haldeman's classification, and he marks the lines 1, 2; 5, 6; 1', 2'; 5', 6', as having *flat* sounds, in his theoretical scheme, art. 193*a*.

1 *f.* (j₁), nasalised (j₁), or 5 *f.*, which see.

1 *g.* (j, 'j), nasalised (j) as a separate form, and as a glide. "Nasal (j) occurs in *Jakutisch*, we have heard it in Cherokee" (art. 546*a*).

5 *a.* (w 'w), the (w) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, *b'*).

5 *b.* (l), "formed by a light contact of the tip of the tongue at or near the base of the upper teeth" (art. 469 *a*).

(l_r), "an intermediate sound in Samojedic, which has more of the (smooth?) *r* than *l*, although both are heard simultaneously" (art. 477), see (1133, *a*). Prof. H. uses the capital symbol *l*, made by cutting an *h*.

5 *c.* (r *x* 'x), see (1194, *d*), where they are 16 *c*, 17 *c*, 18 *c*.

5 *d.* (l), Polish barred *l*, judged to belong to the Arabic.

5 *e.* (l), supposed Sanscrit *l* with inverted tongue.

5 *f.* (j₁), see (1195, *d'*).

5 *g.* (j 'j), the (j) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, *c'*).

6 *b.* (lhh), "a vocal aspirate lh, which we attribute provisionally to Irish, its surd cognate being Welsh" (art. 198). "We think it occurs sonant in Irish, where it is considered to be a kind of *d*" (art. 474). Hence it is assumed to be the same as the Manx (lhh), see (756, *d'*), where note that (lhh) is, through a mistake on my part, erroneously said to occur in Manx.

6 *c.* (rz_h), more properly (r_zh), the Polish *rz*, (art. 512), [considered as

(zh) with the tip of tongue trilled, as it seemed to me when I heard it, but I have since been assured, though I have not personally observed, that the (r) and (zh) are separate, and successive, not simultaneous].

7 *i.* (j), "hiatus is a break or pause commonly caused by dropping an intermediate element, and not closing the remainder" (art. 560).

8 *a.* (wh), see (1194, *b*).

8 *b.* (lhh), "the surd Welsh aspirate *ll*. We have heard the Welsh *ll* in Creek Choctaw and Cherokee" (art. 474), see therefore (756, n. 2). "The following are examples from the musical Creek (an English name), more correctly (maskoo'ki), in which the name of the 'large river,' Withlacoochee, and 'figured rock river,' Chhattahoochee, are respectively (újlhlaku'tsi tsətuŋhutsi); the former from (újwa) water, and (lhlhaki) large, (lhlhaki'ma-nhi) larger, (lhlhaki'a) largest. All the vowels are short." (art. 475). "We are doubtful whether the French *l*, *r*, of *simple*, *mattre*, are whispered or surd aspirate," that is, whether they belong to lines 7 or 8, "but we incline to the former" (art. 476). This would give 7 *b* = (lh), 7 *c* = (rh), and make 8 *b* = (lhh), and 8 *c* = (rhh), a corresponding sound.

8 *c.* (rhh). "The Welsh surd aspirate *rh* may be the smooth element" [that is, the *lenis* or 7 *c*]. "We do not remember its character on this point," see (p. 759, n. 1).

(rsh). The surd of 6 *c*, which see.

8 *f.* (j, h), see (1195, *d'*).

8 *g.* (jh), see (1194, *b*).

8 *h.* (jh), "the Sanscrit *visarga*" (art. 571), see (1132, *b'*).

8 *i.* (nh, h), see (1196, *a*).

1' *a.* (m), usual.

1' *b.* (n), usual, see 5 *b* for dentality.

1' *d.* (n), "Lepsius adds a (theoretic?) *n* to the [Arabic lingual] series" (art. 489).

1' *e.* (n), presumed Sanscrit cerebral *n* with inverted tongue.

1' *f.* (qj), "a Sanscrit letter, which should be located farther back than *r*, *s*. It may have been a French *j* nasal afflate ('zh,)" (art. 198). The Sanscrit character given is that which I now attribute to (qj), see (1137, *c'*).

1' *g.* (q), usual *sing*.

2' *b*. (nh). "Compare Albanian nj^h, (one) a nasal syllable" (art. 197). The character here given is chosen to harmonise with the sonant (/hh) = 8 *b*.

4' *a*. (mh), voiceless (m).

4' *b*. (nh), voiceless (n).

5' *a*. (b), usual.

5' *b*. (d), usual.

5' *d*. (d), Arabic lingual.

5' *e*. (ɖ), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.

5' *g*. (g), usual.

6' *a*. (bh), German *w*, Ellenic (Romaic) *β*, the sonant of *φ*. See (Arts. 126, 127, 451).

(v), English *v*.

6' *c*. (z), usual.

(ʒ), Polish *z'* (art. 490), see

8' *c*.

6' *f*. (zh), French *j*.

6' *g*. (g^hh), as *g* in *könige*.

(gh), as *g* in *betrogen*.

6' *h*. (gh), "the 19th letter, *ghain*, of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 549), considered as *vibrating*, but as related to (κ), that is our (grh) is made = (gh).

7' *a*. (p), usual.

7' *b*. (t), usual, for dentality see 5 *b*.

7' *d*. (t), Arabic lingual.

7' *e*. (ɽ), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.

7' *g*. (k), usual.

7' *h*. (κ), "the 21st letter of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 547).

(κ¹). "In the Waco of Texas, the entire surface, from the glottis to the (κ) position, forms a contact, which is opened suddenly and independent of the lungs, upon a vowel formation, producing a clack or smack like that which accompanies the separation of the closed palms when wet with soap and water. The preceding closure bears some resemblance to the incipient act of swallowing. We describe it from our method of producing it, and we were said to be the first person with whom it was not vernacular, who had acquired it," art. 573. The (κ¹) gives merely the position, (κ¹†) is the full click, which is abbreviated to (g) on p. 11. The following are examples: ('giti'gk¹†) eye, (ə'rsk¹†) foot, (esk¹†) hand.

7' *i*. (ʔ), "*hamza* is a closure of the glottis" (art. 568).

8' *a*. (ph), "It differs from (f) in not being made by the lower lip and the upper teeth, but by contact of both lips, as in blowing," art. 119.

8' *b*. (f), usual.

8' *c*. (s), usual.

(sj), Polish *ś*, considered as "between (German) *ssj* and *ssch*; we have heard such a one in the Waco (*wee'ko*) of Texas, as in (*iskweetsj*), five, a word derived from that for *hand*, as in (Lenaape) and Hebrew" (art. 490).

8' *d*. (s), Arabic lingual.

8' *e*. (sh), presumed Sanscrit cerebral *sh*, with inverted tongue.

8' *g*. (kjh), *ch* in German *ich*.

(kh), *ch* in German *buch*.

8' *h*. (kh), "the seventh Arabic letter" (art. 548), taken to be vibrated, and hence as my (krh).

In the scheme, theoretical sounds are excluded, and many minute varieties left unnoticed. I here put in such as I have noted in Chap. XV., on the consonants, but there are many scattered elsewhere, which I have probably overlooked.

Art. 451, Nos. 12 and 13, and arts. 452, 463. (prh, brh), "the labial trill, a rapid alternation between (b bh) or (p ph). . . . The sonant labial trill is used in Germany to stop horses, and we have known a child who emphasised the word *push* by trilling the *p*, when desirous of being pushed to the table after having climbed into his chair."

Art. 472. "The *t*, *d*, in *tsh*, *dzh*, are drawn back by the following palatal, and in fact they may be considered as the lenis forms of *s*, *z*," that is (*tsh*, *dzh*) are what he would write, see (1117, *d'*).

Art. 483. (nh), "surd *afflate*," or blowing of flatus through the nose, "we have heard in Cherokee, and a forcible sonant form in Albanian," see 2' *b*.

Art. 484-6. Indistinctness, for scarcely heard *m*, *n*, before *p*, *d*, etc. "We have heard this *n* in Wyandot (= wɔ'ndɔt), where the speaker denied its existence, and would not have written it had the language been a written one, as in (ɪndɔkhhk), four, and in the name of the town (ska'ɪndenh-tuti^h), beyond the pines, Skenectady, in New York, spelt *schenectady*, the *sch* being due to the Dutch. A slight (ɪn), not (ɪq), occurs before (g) in Wyandot (uuŋɪa;), nuts.

Art. 517. "In Sanscrit ऋ, according to Wilkins, 'is produced by applying the tip of the tongue to the fore part of the palate, and passing the voice as in pronouncing our *s*.'" "This," as Prof. H. observed in a letter dated 3 July, 1873, "would make it the true aspirate of *t*." See (1120, *c*).

Art. 525, Nos. 4 and 8, and art. 540. The Swiss and Modern Greek (krh, grh) are adduced, and an opinion is expressed that they are different from the Arabic sounds, which he writes (kh, ch), see 6' *h*, 8' *h*. The chief difference of the Swiss and Modern Greek sounds from the Arabic, to my ear, is that the former are much less forcibly pronounced than the latter. The Greek γ is very soft indeed, and might be written (lgrh).

Art. 563. "The sign (') represents a slight phase, whether aspirate, or independent, or even vocal, at the close of abrupt syllables." The "aspirate" is true ('h) coming from the lungs (1127, *b*'), and the vocal is ('h), see (1154, *b*), the 'independent vowels' are *clicks* (†h) or mouth puffs (‡), see (1334, *a*). Following Prof. H., but not entirely using his words or signs: (p'†) is breath drawn in on opening the lips, (p††) is "the sound made faintly by smokers when separating the lips under suction, (t.†h) one of the clacks, having force," etc. (art. 447). "In the (Nadaa'ko),—an English name, An-a-dah-has, of Schoolcraft,—a Texan language, we have heard such

a sound following *t*, with an effect as loud as spitting, and somewhat resembling it, as in (kaba't.‡o) thread, where the resonance is modified by an *o* cavity; (ne'st.‡a), paper; (t‡a'u'h), tooth, with final *h*, it may be considered a dissyllable; (uháw.t‡o), wind; — (k‡a'a's), thigh, a monosyllable, the vowel of medial length" (art. 447). There seems to be a little confusion between (‡) and (†), but the whole observation is important in observing sounds. I have used the subscript (_o, _a) in (‡_o, ‡_a), to shew the form of the resonance cavity, instead of subjoining (*o*, *a*) as Prof. H. has done.

Art. 551. "As independent (p‡_{ph}, t‡_{th}, k‡_{kh}) can be formed without air from the lungs, so in the Chinook of Oregon (k‡_{kh}) is similarly treated, according to the pronunciation of Dr. J. K. Townsend, which we acquired. In the following examples an allowance must be made for two personal equations: (beak‡_{kh}ee'k‡_{kh}ee), grandmother; (k‡_{kh}áw'k‡_{kh}áw'k‡_{kh}), yellow."

Art. 570. For "the Arabic and Hebrew *ain*, . . . the vowel is heard with a simultaneous faucal scrape, which may be regarded as a sufficient interruption to make it a modified liquid; and the vowel and scraping effect being simultaneous, they cannot be represented by a consonant character preceding a vowel one," as (ga), hence he writes a minute < below the vowel, answering to (ga), see (1130, *c*. 1134, *d*'. 1334, *c*).

The other of the two methods of arranging consonants previously referred to (1345, *c*), is by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. It is not only the most extensive, and travels over much ground not touched by others, but it proceeds upon a principle which I think it important to enforce. Instead of attempting, from the narrow resources of a few languages, to predict all sounds that could be made, and erect almost *à priori* a set of physiological pigeon-holes, into which each sound could be laid—or squeezed, the Prince has endeavoured to ascertain what sounds are really used in those languages to which he has had access, and, as we have already seen (pp. 1300–7), these are not few, although limited in area, not embracing the Indian, Semitic, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Polynesian, African, North and South American, and from each there is doubtless very much indeed to be learned, which may require new pigeon-holes to be constructed for their proper reception. The question with him was—and I trust it may become the question with phonologists generally, as thus they can chiefly secure the proper consummation of their own science, and render to philology the

assistance of which it now stands so sorely in need—the question was, not what sounds *may*, but what sounds *do*, exist? Having collected a large number of these, the next business was to arrange them, not *à priori*, but *à posteriori*, by an examination of actual characteristics, and finally to suit them with a notation agreeing with the arrangement.¹ Every one who attempts to classify natural objects—to which category speech-sounds are thus reduced—knows very well that the discovery of new objects is continually forcing him to change his arrangement. As in the old story, the giant grows too fast for the castle to contain him. Hence even the Prince's last effort, to classify about 300 consonants, is far from supreme. There may be 300 more yet to classify, though many of them will doubtless fit into his framework. Those who take up these investigations for the first time, or with a view of condensing the results into a short system, thinking that such will be “enough for all purposes”—an opinion generally entertained when very few purposes are known or contemplated,—may find in this extensive list a needless amount of repetition and circumstantiality. Granting that consonants may be labialised, or palatalised, or labio-palatalised, what need is there, they may think, to do more than adduce a few cases as evidence of the fact, or opinion? Granting that consonants may have moderate, or considerable, or very great, or very little, energy, what need to write down every case of the kind as a separate consonant? But it certainly *is* of scientific importance to know what cases of this kind actually occur, and when we come, years hence probably, to endeavour to understand and compare the various modes of synthesis (or syllabication) used by different nations, to understand the interaction of consonants, and their modifications by environment and habit of speech, we shall regard such distinctions as rather too few than too many. Again, in judging of the change of words in English dialects when properly attacked—scientific phonologists face to face with native, with no literary screen between them—an accurate knowledge of all these distinctions will be really needed. Again, in attempting to suggest origins and changes of words, even our best philologists are continually at fault, from supposing that what has happened under some circumstances will happen under others, not knowing how extremely eclectic different speech-forms are, not merely in the range of sounds used, but in the subjective assimilation of those sounds to sounds heard. Such lists as the Prince's are extremely valuable—but they are really only the preliminaries of scientific phonology.

In the following list I have endeavoured to combine the Prince's linear and tabular arrangements. The use of consecutive numbers—continued from the vowel-list on p. 1299—will enable any person to identify almost any European consonant, and refer to it simply as B 100, B 101, etc. Each consonant is accompanied by a key-word,

¹ A few theoretical signs occur in the following scheme furnished me by the Prince, and they were adopted mainly from my own list (*supra*, pp. 3-10),

where they had generally been taken either from Lepsius or Bell; but there are very few, if any, which the Prince inserted of his own accord.

pointing out the letters by which it is ordinarily spelled, translated, and referred to its own language, and this alone would make the list of great use. The systematic arrangement, however, shews how that sound appears to the Prince to be connected with other sounds, and thus, nearly in the same way as by his vowel triangle, he indicates his own view of the nature of the sound. His view may not agree with that taken by others, who derive theirs from different sources. It does not attempt, like Brücke's or Bell's schemes, to give an accurate physiological account of each consonant. But it *is* the view of a man, who, born in England, educated in Italy, a good Spanish scholar, speaking French by right of country, has for more than twenty years devoted himself to linguistic study, particularly to that of a language rich in strange sounds and numerous dialects, the Basque, which he has learned literally from the mouths of men, the peasants of each little hamlet, heard on the spot; and who has travelled, especially to hear sounds, over England and Scotland and other countries; who has familiarised himself more or less accurately with Celtic and most literary languages of Europe; who has entered minutely into the phonology and construction of English, French, and Italian dialects, by actual contact with natives and intercourse (often months of intercourse, obtained at great cost) with those who had studied them on the spot, causing extensive series of comparative specimens to be prepared for him, in the last few years taking up the remarkable series of Uralian dialects;—a man who, in all that he has done himself or through others, has worked not as a princely dilettante seeking amusement, but as a scholar, a man of letters, and a man of science, working for the end of men of science—the discovery of natural laws. However much any individual observer may, therefore, think him wrong in some details,—as in the classification of the sounds native to that observer,—or in some principle of classification, or in some identifications, or some analyses,—yet as the conscientious work of one observer, gathering sounds from sources often accessible with difficulty or not at all, and comparing them together with great care and thoughtfulness,—this system of consonants must remain for long a great mine whence to dig the materials for future phonologic edifices. I feel personally greatly indebted to the Prince for having placed his MS. at my disposal for the purposes of this work, and allowing me to edit it with the addition of my own palaeotypic symbols, which I have had greatly to augment in consequence. A few years ago, wishing to complete the table with which I began this work, and to identify my symbols with the Prince's as far as possible, I requested him to go over that list, mark his own symbols in the margin, and add notes of any sounds which I had omitted. This was the origin of the following list, which he began preparing as an arrangement of the other for a foreign scholar, and which finally grew to its present vast dimensions. Thus associated with the instrument which has rendered this work possible for the printer, it is in every way fitting that this phonologic system should take an honoured position in its pages. The two lists, of the vowels and of the consonants, together

form the most complete series of signs which has been constructed, and will, I hope, stimulate other phonologists to complete it, by the addition of extra European sounds, verified, like these, by actual examples, of which those collected by Prof. Haldeman from North American Indian languages may serve as a specimen.

PRINCE LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE'S CLASSIFICATION OF CONSONANTS.

See p. 1349. The numbers, which stand in place of the Prince's symbols, run on from the numbers of the vowels given on p. 1299, and are to be cited as B 76, etc. The original table was arranged in 19 columns, each consisting of 40 lines. The columns are here numbered and distinguished by headings, of which, to prevent mistakes, the original French is annexed. The class names thus introduced are often not the same as previously used in this book; this can hardly lead to confusion, however, except perhaps in the word *palatal*, which is synonymous with my *coronal* (1096, c). Several stages are also often distinguished where I had only one, thus *dentals* become *dentals*, *alveolar-dentals*, *double alveolars*, and *alveolars*, and so on. The lines are in the original divided into 10 groups of 4 each. These groups are here distinguished by italic letters prefixed to the first number in each, as follows:

<i>He</i> hard explosive, <i>explosives fortes</i> .	<i>Ne</i> nasal continuous, <i>continues nasales</i> .
<i>Se</i> soft explosive, <i>explosives douces</i> .	<i>Hl</i> hard liquid, <i>liquides fortes</i> .
<i>Ne</i> nasal explosive, <i>explosives nasales</i> .	<i>Sl</i> soft liquid, <i>liquides douces</i> .
<i>Hc</i> hard continuous, <i>continues fortes</i> .	<i>Ht</i> hard trill, <i>tremblantes fortes</i> .
<i>Sc</i> soft continuous, <i>continues douces</i> .	<i>St</i> soft trill, <i>tremblantes douces</i> .

where *hard* means 'voiceless,' and *soft* means 'voiced.'

As there are often several symbols in one line in the original, the first line of each group must be considered to begin with the above marks; the second with those involving the letter (j), the third with those involving (w), and the fourth with those involving (wj). These are the palaeotype symbols for palatalised, labialised, and labio-palatalised, or, *mouillées*, *veloutées*, and *mixtes*, formerly called *fuitées*, characters which distinguish the consonants in these lines (1115, a'). Several lines, and even groups of lines, are not unfrequently blank, and these are not entered in the list, as the position of those written is sufficiently distinguished by the prefixed and involved letters. They furnish positions for possible sounds not yet recognised in actual speech.

The palaeotype symbols have been identified by the Prince, as far as my original list of symbols extended (pp. 3-12), but I have been obliged to add many new ones, distinguished by *. In doing so I have been guided by the systematic forms of the Prince's symbols. The combinations are sometimes very clumsy, but they are adapted to the 'old types,' and hence can be printed by any printer, whereas the Prince's are many of them not cut or are else not available by "the trade" (1298, a). Where the palaeotype forms differ from those given on pp. 3-12 in this book, they must be considered as emendations.

The sign for "weakening the consonant" has been represented by a prefixed (l), a cut [, see (419, a).

The sign for "rendering the consonant energetic," by doubling it, see (799, a').

The sign for "rendering the consonant semi-energetic," by prefixing the strong mark (.), see (10, d), which is now never used for indicating dental consonants, (1095, c').

The sign for "rendering the consonant alveolar," or dental, or 'advanced,' is (,), and for rendering it 'retracted' is (,), and these signs are freely used.

The sign for "rendering the consonant semi-palatal," or *semi-mouillée*, an operation I do not perfectly understand, is represented by (j) an undotted (j), which is the usual sign for palatalising.

After the palaeotype is given an example of the word in its usual spelling

in Roman letters, followed by the combination of letters which indicate the sound in it, its meaning in italics, where the word is not English, and the name of the language, abbreviated as follows, and by any necessary remark, which, when not due to the Prince, is inclosed in [].

ab <i>abasian</i>	e <i>english</i>	hun <i>hungarian</i>	pr <i>portuguese</i>
al <i>albanian</i>	f <i>french</i>	i <i>italian</i>	rus <i>russian</i>
ar <i>arabic</i>	fin <i>finnish</i>	ir <i>irish</i>	sn <i>sanscrit</i>
da <i>danish</i>	g <i>german</i>	k <i>kasikumuk</i>	s. os. <i>surgut ostiak</i>
dr <i>dravidian</i>	ga <i>gaelic</i>	pl <i>polish</i>	sp <i>spanish</i>

1. Labials.

Labiales.

- He* 76 p pea, p, e
 77 pj* þorun, þ, *glass*, k
 78 pp* coppa, pp, *cup*, i
 79 p[h] pferd, pf, *horse*, bavarian
 [P (p[h] p[h] p[h])]
 80 [p]h* þe, þ, *side*, thush
 81 wh which, wh, e
 82 pj gap, p, *lounger*, pl
 83 pw pois, po, *pea*, f
 84 pwj* puits, pu, *well* n., f
Se 85 b bee, b, e
 86 bj* þar, þ, *pond*, k
 87 bb* gobba, bb, *hump*, i
 88 'p* saxon
 89 w wine, w, e
 90 bj jedwab, b, *silk*, pl
 91 bw bois, bo, *wood*, f
 92 bwj* buis, bu, *box* (wood), f
Ne 93 m me, m, e
 94 mj* m̄aq, m̄, *thirst*, k
 95 mm* fiamma, mm, *flame*, i
 96 mh tempt, m, e [after Bell
 (temht), see (1141, a)]
 97 b,* sebm, bm, *seven*, West-
 morland eng.
 98 w,* samrad, m̄, *summer*, ir
 99 mj* karm, m, *feeding*, pl
 100 mw moi, mo, *me*, f
 101 mwj* muid, mu, *hogshead*, f
He 102 ph [from my list]
Sc 103 bh haba, b, *bean*, sp
 104 bhw* an occasional, if not the
 standard Dutch w, be-
 tween sp. b and e. w
Ht 105 prh [from my list]
St 106 brh [from my list]
 107 w very, r, e [defective lip r]
 108 aw our, r, e [occ.]

2. Labio-dentals.

Labio-dentales.

- He* 109 p [theoretical, from my list]
Se 110 b [from my list, see (1292, d)]
He 111 f foe, f, e
 112 ff* schiaffo, ff, *slap in the face*, i
 113 f [theoretical, from my list]

- 114 fh [theoretical, from my list,
 where I took it from
 Bell, see p. 1343, 4 d.]
 115 fj* fyaiz, fy, *flee* (imperat.
 plur.) Guernsey norman
 116 fw foie, fo, *liver*, f
 117 fwj* fuite, fu, *flight*, f
Sc 118 v vine, v, e
 119 vj* warta, w̄, *plate*, k
 120 vv* avventura, vv, *adventure*, i
 121 [v]* kjöbenhavn, b, *Copenha-
 gen*, da
 122 v [theoretical]
 123 'v* an occ. if not the standard
 Dutch v
 124 vñ* [theoretical]
 125 vj* paw, w, *peacock*, pl
 126 vw voix, vo, *voice*, f
Nc 127 v,* féim, m̄, *mild*, ir

3. Labio-linguals.

Labio-linguales.

- He* 128 p* at'a, t', *hay*, ab
 129 p,p* yt'a, t', *sit down*, ab
Se 130 b* ad'y, d', *field*, ab
Sl 131 lw* lamh, l, *hand*, ga

4. Dentals.

Dentales.

- He* 132 t* talañ, t, *earth*, ir
 133 tj* tirm, t, *dry*, ir
Se 134 d* donn, d, *brown*, ir
 135 dj* dia, d, *god*, ir
Hc 136 th thin, th, e
 137 c existence doubtful, see (4, b)
Sc 138 dh thee, th, e
 139 c [existence doubtful, see
 (4, b)]
Ht 140 zh [theoretical, from my list]
Sl 141 z ooyl, l, *apple*, manx

5. Alveolo-Dentals.

Alvéolo-dentales.

- Hc* 142 c metsä, ts, *wood* (forest),
 West Nyland fin
 143 th* vizio, z, *vice*, i
Sc 144 c zot, z, *lord*, al
 145 dh lid, d, *lawsuit*, sp

6. Double Alveolars.

Alvéolaires Doubles.

- He 146 .s* lo zio, z, *the uncle*, i
 147 .s.s* pazzo, zz, *mad*, i
 148 .s* aca, c, *granary*, ab
 149 [f* ac'ábyrg, c', *truth*, Bzyb ab
 150 .f* ác'a, c', *wild cherry*, ab
 151 .fj* ċ'abu, ċ', *much*, k
 152 .sj* siac', c', *to sow*, pl
 153 .sw.sw* ac'a, c', *apple*, ab
 154 .sw* ac', c', *ox*, ab
 Sc 155 .z* lo zelo, z, *the zeal*, i
 156 .z.z* rozso, zz, *coarse*, i
 157 .zj* jedz', dz', *go* (imperat.),
 pl
 158 .zw* az'y, z', *some one*, ab

7. Alveolars.

Alvéolaires.

- He 159 .t tas, t, *heap*, f
 160 .tj* tai, t, *colt*, k
 161 .t.t* matto, tt, *mad*, i
 162 .tjh* til, t, *to*, da
 163 .tjh* jatolša, t', *red*, k
 164 .tjh* tuix, t, *salt*, thush
 165 .tj* ПУМБ, МБ, *way*, rus
 166 .tw toi, to, *thee*, f
 167 .twj* étui, tu, *case*, f
 Sc 168 .d* doux, d, *sweet*, f
 169 .dj* doxlu, d, *freshness*, k
 170 .d.d* Iddio, dd, *God*, i
 171 .d [from my list]
 172 .dj* ЛОШАДЬ, ДЬ, *horse*, rus
 173 .dw doigt, do, *finger*, f
 174 .dwj* conduire, du, *to conduct*, f
 Ne 175 .n* nain, n, *dwarf*, f
 176 .nj* ĥak, ĥ, *blue*, k
 177 .n.n* canna, nn, *reed*, i
 178 .d bean, n, *woman*, ir
 179 .nj* ЛИНЬ, НЬ, *tench*, rus
 180 .nw* noix, no, *walnut*, f
 181 .nwj* nuit, nu, *night*, f
 He 182 s so, s, e
 183 ss* cassa, ss, *box*, i
 184 .sjsj* šât, š, *hour*, k
 185 sh* ص ar
 186 sj kos', s', *mow* (imperat.) pl
 187 sw soie, so, *silk*, f
 188 swj* suie, su, *soot*, f
 Sc 189 z zeal, z, e
 190 zz* azzal, zz, *with the*, hun
 191 .z* zaqa, z, *how much*, ab
 192 zj lez', z', *go up*, pl
 193 zw rasoir, so, *razor*, f
 194 zwj* dixhuit, xhu, *eighteen*, f

- Ne 195 zh* [theoretical]
 Hl 196 lwh [theoretical]
 Sl 197 .l lait, l, *milk*, f
 198 lj* lap, l, *shine*, k
 199 .lj* stella, ll, *star*, i
 200 .lj* КОРОЛЬ, ЛЬ, *king*, rus
 201 .lw loi, lo, *law*, f
 202 .lwj* lui, lu, *him*, f
 St 203 .r rey, r, *king*, sp

8. Whishes.

Chuintantes.

- He 204 sh she, sh, e
 205 shj* šarabuču, š, *fellow coun-tryman*, k
 206 shsh* pesce, sc, *fish*, i
 207 shjshj* šoldi, š, *green*, k
 208 .sh* aša, š, *rope*, ab
 209 shj БОМЬ, МЬ, *louse*, rus
 210 shw choix, cho, *choice*, f
 211 shwshw* aš, š, *plane tree*, ab
 212 .shw* aš, š, *door*, ab
 213 shwj* chuinter, chu, *whisk*, f
 Sc 214 zh pleasure, s, e
 215 zhzh* a' zseb, zs, *the pocket*, hun
 216 .zh* aža, ž, *hare*, ab
 217 zhj jin, j, *come* (participle),
 souletin basque
 218 zhv joie, jo, *joy*, f
 219 zhwhzw* až, ž, *cow*, ab
 220 .zhw* žaba, ž, *ten*, ab
 221 zhwj* juin, ju, *june*, f
 Hl 222 rsh przez, rz, *through*, pl
 St 223 rzh [theoretical], see B 284
 (rhh)

9. Palatal Whishes.

Palato-chuintantes.

- He 224 .sh* pece, c, *pitch*, i
 225 .sh sh* caccia, cc, *hunting*, i
 226 .sh* ača, č, *quail*, ab
 227 [h]h* ač'y, č', *mouth*, ab
 228 .[h]h* ač'y, č', *horse*, ab
 229 .[h]j* čân, č', *early*, k
 230 .shj* НОЧЬ, ЧЬ, *night*, rus
 230" shw* choui, chou, *to cook*,
 Louisiana fr. creole
 230"' shwj* chuïte, chu, *to cook*,
 Trinidad fr. creole
 Sc 231 .zh* regio, gi, *royal*, i

- 232 zhzh* maggio, ggi, *may*
(month), i
233 zhj* espundja, dj, *sponge*, sou-
letin basque
233" zhwj* néruî, ju, *needle*, Louis-
iana fr. creole

10. Double Palatals.

Palatales Doubles.

- He 234 ʒs* otso, ts, *wolf*, basque

11. Palatals.

Palatales.

- He 235 t tea, t, e
236 ʎt* huset, t, *the house*, collo-
quial da
237 ʒh hue, h, e
238 tj tyák, ty, *hen*, hun
239 tjtj* a' tyák, ty, *the hen*, hun
Se 240 d do, d, e
241 dd* beddu, dd, *beautiful*, sar-
dinian
242 ʎd* lado, d, *side*, sp
243 ʎdʎd* Gud, d, *God*, jutlandish
244 ʒ yet, y, e
245 ʒʒ* ejjel, jj, *night*, hun
246 dj gyöngy, both gy, *pearl*, hun
247 djdj* a' gyöngy, *first gy*, the
pearl, hun
Ne 248 n no, n, e
249 nh tent, n, e [after Bell (tənht),
see (1141, a)]
250 ʒ,* azkoña, ÿ, *the badger*, ron-
calese basque
251 nj digne, gn, *worthy*, f
252 nʎnj* a' nyul, ny, *the hare*, hun
253 nʎh [theoretical]
He 254 s* su, s, *fire*, sp basque
Se 255 z* zagal, z, *young shepherd*, pr
Hl 256 ʎh felt, l, e [Bell's (felht),
see (1141, d)]
257 ʎh glas, l, *knell* (funereal),
saintongeais
Sl 258 l low, l, e
259 ʎj figlio, gli, *son*, i
260 ʎʎj* melly, ll, *which*, hun
Ht 261 gh [theoretical]
262 h* ʒ ar
263 hʎ* holu, h, *orphan*, k
264 hʎhʎ* h'i, h', *pigeon*, k
265 rH* h'aba, h', *fish*, k
St 266 r ray, r, e
267 rr* terra, rr, *earth*, i
268 ʒ ʒ ar
269 rj wuhor', r', *eel*, lusatian
270 rw roi, ro, *king*, f
271 rwj bruit, ru, *noise*, f

12. Ultra-palatals.

Ultra-palatales.

- | | | | |
|--------|---------|----|--|
| He 272 | t | sn | } [The whole of this set
of letters was taken
from my list, where
again they were taken
from Lepsius's Al-
phabet, and they must
be considered there-
fore as very doubtful.
For sn. see (1096, b',
1137. 1138); of dr.
I know nothing.
The (zh, rh) were
entirely theoretical
to match (sh, r).] |
| Se 273 | d | sn | |
| Ne 274 | n | sn | |
| | 275 nh | dr | |
| He 276 | sh | sn | |
| | 277 rhh | dr | |
| Se 278 | zh | | |
| | 279 dhh | dr | |
| Hl 280 | lh | dr | |
| Sl 281 | l | sn | |
| Ht 282 | rh | | |
| St 283 | r | sn | |
| | 284 rhh | dr | |

13. Gutturo-Labials.

Gutturo-Labiales.

- He 285 p [from my list, and that
from Lepsius] peruvian
286 wjh ih'y, h', *speak*, ab
Se 287 b [theoretical, from my list]
288 wj huile, hu, *oil*, f
He 289 fh [theoretical, from my list,
and that from Bell]
Se 290 vh [theoretical]

14. Gutturo-Dentals.

Gutturo-dentales.

[Note.—The marks over the *t* in the examples to B 291, 292, 293, and over the *d* in B 295, 296, 297, should properly go through the stem of the letters.]

- He 291 th kat, t̃, day, s. os. [See
Note.]
292 thth* wattax, t̃t̃, *without*, s. os.
[See Note.]
293 thj* sita, t̃, *gunpowder*, low
s. os. [See Note.]
294 thjthj* [theoretical]
Se 295 dh āđāñ, đ, *morning*, s. os.
[See Note.]
296 dhđh* waddax, đđ, *without*,
s. os. [See Note.]
297 dhj*sida, đ, *gunpowder*, high
s. os. [See Note.]
298 dhjdjhj* [theoretical]

15. Guttural Whishes.

Gutturo-chuintantes.

- He 299 „sh* la chjai, chj, *the key*,
tempiese sardinian
300 „sh„sh* vecchju, echj, *old*,
tempiese sardinian

- 301 „shwʃ* kyuir, kyu, *leather*, pi-
card
Sc 302 „zhwʃ* la ghjesgia, ghj, *the*
church, tempiese sardin-
ian
303 „zhwʃ, „zhwʃ* ogghji, gghj, *to*
day, tempiese sardinian

16. Gutturo-Palatales.

Gutturo-palatales.

- He 304 t ʔ ar
305 tʃ* ttorttoil, tt, *turtle dove*,
labourdin basque
Se 306 d ʕ ar
307 dʃ* yaun, y, *lord*, labourdin
basque
Ne 308 n [theoretical]
Hc 309 ʃ* [theoretical]
310 s su, s, *fire*, labourdin basque
Sc 311 ʒ* [theoretical]
312 z Jesus, *both s*, *Jesus*, soule-
tin basque

17. Double Gutturals.

Gutturales Doubles.

- Hc 313 kh mac, c, *son*, ga

18. Gutturals.

Gutturales.

- He 314 k key, k, e
315 kʲ korn, k, *nest*, k
316 kk bocca, cc, *mouth*, i
317 kʰh komm, k, *come*, upper g
[ʔ kh, kʲ, kʰh, kʰh]
318 kʲʰh kala, k, *white*, k
319 kʰh kok, k, *foot*, thush
320 hh hand, h, *hand*, g
321 hhkh ahhoz, hh, *thereto*, hun
322 h hand, h, e [pure jerk
(1130, b')]
323 ʕ ar [hamza]
324 kʲ la chiave, chi, *the key*, i
325 kʲkʲ occhio, cchi, *eye*, i
326 hhj la chiave, chi, *the key*,
florentine i
327 kw quoi, quo, *what*, f
328 hwh [from my list, but (ʰw)
is the new form (p.
1341, 9f)]
329 hw [from my list, (ʰwh) is
the new form (p. 1341,
9f)]
330 kwʃ* biscuit, cu, *biscuit*, f
Se 331 g go, g, e
332 gg* veggo, gg, *I see*, i
333 'g argem, g, *I sing*, os

- 334 h'w* huevo, hu, *egg*, sp
335 gj la ghianda, ghi, *the*
acorn, i
336 gjgj* ragghiare, gghi, *to*
bray, i
337 gw goître, go, *goiter*, f
338 gwʃ* aiguille, gu, *needle*, f
Ne 339 q singer, ng, e
340 qh sink, n, e, [Bell's (siqhk),
see (1141, a)]
341 h'h* haalk, h, *multitude*, scu-
tari al
342 qj sn [from my list, for which
I now use (qj), see
1137, c)]
Hc 343 kh dach, ch, *roof*, g
344 x [existence doubtful, see
(9, d), where it was in-
troduced because the
real sound of sp j was
unknown]
345 khkh* palchi, lch, *because*, sas-
sarese sardinian
346 khjkh* x'ot, x', *shade*, k
347 khh [from my list]
348 kjh milch, ch, *milk*, g
349 kwk loch, ch, *lake*, south scotch
Sc 350 gh tage, g, *days*, g
351 x [See B 344]
352 ghgh* olganu, lg, *organ*, sas-
sarese sardinian
353 gh [see B 347]
354 gjh selig, g, *blissful*, g
355 gwʰ [from my list, theoretical]
Ne 356 gh.h* ðonkodize, ð, *to snore*,
avarian
Hl 357 ʰh [theoretical, from my list]
358 lhh llaw, ll, *hand*, welsh
359 lhhj* [theoretical]
360 lwh [theoretical, from my list,
and that from Bell]
Sl 361 l lamac', l, *to break*, pl
362 ʰhh* [theoretical voiced Welsh
u. The Manx sound
spoken of as (ʰhh) in
(756, d') is properly B
141, a dental ʰ.]
363 ʰhhj* [theoretical]
364 lw [theoretical, from my list,
and that from Bell.]
Ht 365 krh ʕ ar
366 rh [theoretical, from my list]
St 367 grh ʕ ar
368 r rock, r, *Newcastle*
369 r* var, r, *was*, jutlandish
370 r* Paris, r, *Paris*, parisian
371 rr* irregulier, rr, *irregular*,
parisian

19. Ultra-gutturals.

Ultra-gutturales.

He 372 κ ق ar

373 κj* ḡapa, ḡ, *hat*, k

Sc 374 g [theoretical, from my list]

375 gw [theoretical, from my list]

Ne 376 q [theoretical, from my list]

He 377 kh nacht, *ch*, *night*, dutch378 khj* ḡort, ḡ, *pear*, k379 .kh* ḡ'ata, ḡ', *house*, k

380 kw̄h [theoretical, from my list]

Sc 381 gh God, G, *God*, dutch

382 gw̄h [theoretical, from my list]

Ht 383 th [theoretical, from my list]

St 384 τ ret, r, *right*, da385 1τ* var, r, *was* da

No. 8. GERMAN DIALECTAL CHANGES.

i. *Schmeller on Bavarian Dialectal Changes.*

In the present section, as in the former part of this work, reference has been very frequently made to the labours of Schmeller on the Bavarian dialects.¹ It seemed therefore that a complete systematic account of the variations of sounds he has observed would be the best possible introduction to the following fragmentary account of English dialectal usages.

Schmeller adopts a phonetic alphabet, of which the following seems to be the palaeotypic signification :

Vowels.

á (a), á or a (a), à (o), è (æ), é (e) and perhaps (e), é (i), i (i), ó or o (o), ö (œ), u (u), ü (y), ø (ø).

Sometimes his symbols indicate etymological relations, thus *æ* shews the (') sound before *l* which replaces *é* (e) and *æ* i an (i, i), which seems to have become some obscure palatal and may be vaguely represented by (j), as in (æ'j). [.] indicates an omitted vowel, [~] sometimes merely the nasalisation (,), sometimes also the omission of *m*, *n*.

Consonants.

g (g), *gg* (k), *gh* or *hh* (gh), *kh* (kH), -*l* (l), an (l) disunited from the preceding vowel; -*bm*, -*fm*, -*pm*, -*wm*, (-b'm, -f'm, -p'm, -bh'm) where (m) has arisen from *en*, -*chn*g, -*gn*g, -*kn*g (-kh'q, -g'q, -k'q), where (q) has also arisen from *en*, but after a guttural; *hr* (rh), *s* (z), *ff* (s), *sch* (zh), *fch* (sh), *z* (d,z), *tz* (t,s); ['] omitted *l*, [~] an unpronounced *m* or *n*, after a nasalised vowel, or after a vowel which cannot be nasalised in the dialect, that is (i, u, ø), so that *ai~* means (a,i); ['] an unpronounced *r*, (') any other omitted letter, or an omitted *m* and *n* after an unnasalised vowel which might have been nasalised.

¹ Die Mundarten Bayerns grammatisch dargestellt von Joh. Andreas Schmeller. Beygegeben ist eine Sammlung von Mundart-Proben, d. i. kleinen Erzählungen, Gesprächen, Sing-Stücken, figürlichen Redensarten u. dergl. in den verschiedenen Dialekten des Königreichs, nebst einem Kärtchen zur geographischen Uebersicht dieser Dialekte. München, 1821. 8vo. pp. 568.

Bayerisches Wörterbuch. Sammlung von Wörtern und Ausdrücken, die in den lebenden Mundarten sowohl, als in

der ältern und ältesten Provincial-Litteratur des Königreichs Bayern, besonders seiner ältern Lande, vorkommen, und in der heutigen allgemeinen deutschen Schriftsprache entweder gar nicht, oder nicht in denselben Bedeutungen üblich sind, mit urkundlichen Belegen, nach den Stammsyllben etymologisch-alphabetisch geordnet von J. Andreas Schmeller, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 8vo. vol. 1, 1827, pp. 640; vol. 2, 1828, pp. 722; vol. 3, 1836, pp. 691; vol. 4, 1837, pp. 310, xxx.

Unfortunately, in his verbal examples Schmeller generally confines his phonetic symbols to the point under consideration, and prints the rest of the word in ordinary gothic characters. Even in his literary examples, "in order not to render the text unnecessarily unintelligible, some letters, as *aū ei eu ö ü st*, etc., are *not always* translated into the peculiar forms belonging to the dialect," referring generally to the particular tables. This facilitates the reading of the *sense* to the detriment of the reading of the *sound*. The same feeling has unfortunately widely prevailed in writing English dialects, but it is altogether unscientific, and often produces the utmost bewilderment. It has materially added to the laboriousness and uncertainty of my own researches. The correct principle is to regard sound *only*, and when written words threaten to be unintelligible, on account of their differing so much from their ordinary appearance, the usual spelling should be given in addition, and sometimes a complete translation is requisite.

In the following notes the arrangement of Schmeller, arts. 102–691, has been followed. The whole is materially abridged. My own insertions are placed in brackets [], verbal translations between inverted commas. The numbers in parenthesis refer to Schmeller's articles. Sounds are given in palaeotype. Ordinary German spelling is given in italics, or capitals, large or small, and in the latter case *ä ö ü* have been resolved, as usual, into *æ, œ, ue*. Schmeller uses an etymological spelling, which is not generally followed, but will be explained as it arises. When some letters are put in a parenthesis in the midst of a German word, these only are in palaeotype, as *a(f)er*, for *aber*. This is to imitate Schmeller's notation, and to avoid the errors which I should almost certainly commit in attempting to give the whole word in the dialectal form, when there was no authority for the other sounds in his book. The particular localities of each pronunciation are omitted. But the following abbreviations will be used:

gen. generally, *fr.* frequently, *sm.* sometimes, *rr.* rarely. 1, 2, 3, etc., *pl.*, in one, two, three, etc., places. N. E. W. S., North, East, West, South of Bavaria. *tn.* town, *cn.* country, *ed.* educated.

Vowels.

A (102–123) is:—(*aa, a*) *gen.* in non-German words, *casse* (ka'sə), *rr.* in a few German words, before *m, n, r*, and others, *gans, spass, arg* (*gans, shpas, arg*):—(*aa, a*) *gen.* in common non-German words, as *Max* (maks), and *W.* in all German words, but *E.* only before two or doubled or strong consonants, *acht* (ækht); which *rr.* becomes (o), *graf* (groof):—(o) *fr.* before *l* and single or weak consonants, *alt, sagen* (olt, zoo'ghən), *sm.* otherwise:—(áu) *sm.* when long, *blasen* (bláu'zən), or as (áuə) before *r*, *haar* (háuər):—(óu) 1 *pl.* even before 2 consonants, *appel* (óu'pfəl):—(áo) before lost *n* 1 *pl.*,

before *r fr.*, before lost *ch* 1 *pl.*, and when long 2 *pl.*, *sanft* (záaft), *arm* (áarm), *nacht* (náat), *schaf* (sháaf):—(e) in a few scattered words, *alles arbeit hart nah acht* (e'les erbet hert nee ekht):—(i) *rr.*, in *sontag* (zu'ntigh):—(úə) 2 *pl.*, especially before *r*, *arm* (úarm), *halb* (húəlb):—(ə) *sm.* in unaccented syllables *sontag Laibach, davon* (zu'ntə Laa'bə dəfo). "If the pronunciation of high German by educated low Germans, or by educated upper Saxons, is to be taken as the rule, *a*, to be free of all provincialisms, should be (*a*)."

AE (124–139) short, and long, "in

good high German pronunciation *sm. ē* (ē, EE), and sometimes *ē* (ē, ee), is:—(a, aa) 3 *pl.* in various primitives *hächsen* (hā·khsən), derivatives *wächse* (bha·khsən), subj. pret. *ich nähme* (naam), diminutives *mädlein* (ma·d'l), plurals *plätze* (plaa·ts), etc.:—(ē, ē) *fr.* in most of the above cases:—(ē'ā) 2 *pl.*, *später* (shpē'ā'tər):—(ē'i) 2 *pl.*, *gnädig*, *ich thäte*, *mäen*, *säen* (gnē'i·di, i tē'it, mē'i'ā, sē'i'ā) [observe, for English]:—(i) *fr.* in plurals, *kälber* (käl·bər), comparatives and superlatives, *ärger*, *der kälteste* (i'rgər, käl'test), and conjugational forms, *er fällt* (fält):—(iā) *fr.* before *r*, *ärger*, *du fährst* (iā·rgər, du fiārst):—(i) 2 *pl.* in a few words, *wächsen* (bhi·khsən):—(æ) *rr.*, *kälter* (kæ'l'tər).

AI (140–156), usually written *ei*, derived from original *ei*, gothic *ai*, “in good high German pronunciation (āi),” is:—(aa) 3 *pl. tn. cn.*, *breit fleisch klein* (braad flaash klaa.), and by *umlaut* becomes (ē) in a few cases, *breiter kleiner* (brē'tər klē'e·nər):—(āi) *gen. tn.*, hence ecclesiastical *geist*, *heilig*, and terminations *heit*, *keit*, have (āi) *gen.*:—(a, o) 2 *pl. tn. cn.* in uninflected forms, especially before *l*, *m*, *n*, *bein* (baa, boo), *stein* (shtaa, shtoo):—(di, di) in inflected forms, although the inflection is *gen. lost*, *der kleine* (klā·i), *mit dem steine* (mi·t'n shtō·i), *breiter* (brōi·tər), *weinen* (bhō·in), and 1 *pl. cn.* in uninflected forms, *fleisch* (flōish):—(dā) *fr.*, *klein*, *beiner* (klā·p, bā·nā), which by *umlaut* becomes (ē'ā), *breiter* (brē'ā·dər):—(EE) *fr.*, *flesch* (flee·sh):—(ee) *fr.*, *klein* (kleē), *leib* (leeb):—(ēi) 2 *pl.* in inflected forms, *reife* (rēif):—(i) 2 *pl.*, in certain forms of verbs, replacing *ag*, as *du saist* = *sagest* (du zist):—(ūi) 2 *pl.* before *m* and *n*, *eins* (ūis), *heim* (hūi):—(ə) *gen.* in unemphatic article *ein*; and *fr.* in other unaccented syllables, *arbeit* (a·rbat), *gewohnheit* (gbhoo·nēt); or is quite lost, *vorthell* (vo·rt'l).

AU (157–163), original U, “in good high German pronunciation (āu),” is:—(a) *sm.*, *aus dem hause* (aa·s'n hhas), especially before *l*, *m*, as *faul* (fā'l):—(āu) *ed. gen.* except W.:—(a) 1 *pl.* (aa·s'n hhas):—(āu) or (ōu) W., *haus* (hōūs):—(uu) according to origin in SW. and N., *auf brauch faust* (uf bruu·kə fausht), but in N. often (ūi), *braut faust* (brūt fāist).

AEU, the *umlaut* of AU (164–170), “in good high German pronunciation (āy),” is:—(āi) *fr.*, *häuser*, *mäuse*

(hāi·zər, māis):—(āy) *sm.* “more careful pronunciation *tn. cn. ed.*,” (hāy·zər, māys):—(āi) 1 *pl.*:—(EE) 2 *pl.*:—(ē'i) 2 *pl.*, *träublein* (trē'i·b'l):—(ēi) W., *mäuse* (mēis):—(yy) where *au* from *u* is still (uu), which in SW. becomes (ii), *fäuste* (fyst), *häuser* (hūi·zər).

AU, or *au*, older *ou*, gothic *au*, which in Scandinavian, low German, on upper Rhein, and in most high German dialects, is almost always distinguished in pronunciation from the former AU (171–178) “in good high German pronunciation (āu), the same as the former *au*,” is:—(aa) E., *auch baum staub traum* (aa baam staab traam):—(āu) W. and *ed. gen.*:—(aa) *rr.*, *glauben* (glāa·bē), *baum* (baam):—(du) 5 *pl.* (boom):—(ōu) 2 *pl.* (bōum):—(EE) 1 *pl.* in several words when (aa) is not common, *glauben* (glēeb); 1 *pl. gen.* *staub* (shtēeb):—(ē'y) 1 *pl.* in some forms where (ōu) is not heard, *glauben* (glē'yb).

AEU = *deu*, the *umlaut* of the last AU = *au* (179–182), is not distinguished from *au* where the latter becomes (aa, EE, ē'y); where *au* = (āu), *deu* becomes (di); where *au* = (oo), *deu* becomes (ee, ææ), where *au* = (ōu), *deu* becomes (ē'i, ee).

E (183–208), “in those words where good high German pronunciation has (ē, EE),” is:—(a, aa), as *sehen* (zaa), *geschehen* (gshaa), *geben* (gaab gaa); and 2 *pl. rr.*, *feld* (fald).

E, “that long *e* of certain words, which, from the most ancient times in all high German dialects, although not in the same way in all, is distinguished from the usual short *e*,” “in good high German pronunciation (ee),” “the *e* *aigu* of the French” (art. 71) [with which (e) seems to be confused], is:—(āi) 2 *pl. cn.*, *klee*, *schnee* (klāi, shnāi), *ich gehe* (i gāi), and 1 *pl. for* (E) before *ch*, *hexe*, *schlecht* (hāi·ks, shlāikht):—(E, EE) *fr.*, *beten*, *lecken* (bē'tən, lē'kan):—(E) *gen.* before [lost] *m* and *n* “observed by nasalisation,” *mensch* (mē·sh):—(E) *gen.* before *r*, *herr* (hēr):—(ē'i) 2 *pl.*, *ehe* (ē'i), *reh* (rē'i):—(ē'ā) *sm.* short *e* before *r*, *erde* (ē'ārd), and 1 *pl.* before *l* and other consonants, *geld pfeffer* (gē'āld pfē'ā·fər):—(ē'ā) *fr.* long *e*, *klee* *schnee* (klē'ā shnē'ā):—(ē, ee) E. *gen.*, even “in those words which Adelung pronounces with (EE); educated people of our parts pronounce almost all *e* like (ē),” and *sm.* before *l*,

"when it is not pronounced in conjunction with it (mit diesem verbunden)," as *gelb* (geelb):—(ə) before *l*, *gen. E.* even *ed.*, *feld*, *geld* (fēld, gēld), and even (*l*) alone in 1 *pl.*:—(ee) before *r* in 1 *pl. en.*, as *ernst* (eernst):—(ei) *rr.*, as *beten* (beiten):—(i) *E. tn. en.*, "in most words which Adelung classes as (ē)," as *geben* (gi'ban), *blech* (blēkh), "some of these words are peculiar to small districts":—(i'), "before *l*, the (*i*) is mutilated in a peculiar way, which cannot be described, and must be heard." *E.* in several *pl.* even *ed.*, as *stellen* (sht'j'l'n), *zählen* (ts'j'l'n); and *rr.* before (*r*), *herbst* (hē'jrbst):—(i), obscurely by nasalisation before *m* and *n*:—(é,ə) before *m* and *n* 2 *pl.*, *dem* (dé,əm):—(i) 1 *pl.*, *esel*, *heben*, *leder* (i'z'el, hēi'ban, li'dər):—(ii, i, iə) for *e* long, in several *pl.*, *schnee* (shni, shniə), *gehen* (giin):—(ə), or lost "in unaccented root syllables" *E. en.*, *erd-beer* (erpə), *tagwerk* (ta'bhə), *herberg* (hē'rbə).

E in initial syllables (209-216). *Be-*, *ge-*, have generally (ə). *Be-* is *sm.* only pronounced before explodents, as (be, bi, bi), and is otherwise lost, as *B(e)GEHREN*, *B(i)DEUTEN*, *B(i)K(ee)REN*, *B(i)HALTEN*, *rr.* (bi) long and accented, (bi'faq, bi'hhaq, bi'klēm). *Ge-* is *fr.* (ge-, gi'), "only in substantives, adjectives, and adverbs before explodents," otherwise (g); *fr.* also the *e* being lost, *g* itself disappears before explodents, as *BIET*=*gebiet*, etc. *Ent*=*(int-, unt-) sm.*, and *rr.* (*a'nt-*). *Ver-* very often (*vor-*).

E final (217-235). *E*, as ending in nom. sing. of subst., "in good high German pronunciation unaccented (-e)," is lost, *gen. en. tn.* and *fr.* when used for *-en* fem., and *sm.* when used for *-en* mas.; but *-e* from old *-iu* is kept as (-e, -i) in *menge süsse kürze länge güte*, but it is omitted in *N.* *E*, as ending in dat. sing. and nom. and acc. pl. of subs., is *gen.* lost. *E*, as uninflected ending of some adjectives, as *böse enge müde öde*, is also lost. *E*, as old adverbial ending for adjectives and participles, on the Danube is (ə), on the Lower Inn (i), (*ga'ntsə ga'ntsə*) entirely, (*nē'tə*) neatly, etc. *E*, as nom. ending of *adj.* after *der*, *die*, *das*, is lost, *gen. tn. en.*, but *rr.* kept as (i, ə). *E*, as fem. ending of *adj.* derived from old *iu*, is (iə, i, i) *sm.*, *eine rechte* (ə rē'khtə, ə rē'khtə), more *fr.* (ə rē'khtə), and *sm.* lost, *eine gute* (ə guut). *E* in nom.

and acc. pl. neut. derived from *iu*, and of mas. and fem. derived from *e* and *o*, remains *fr.* as (e), *gute herren* (gū'ə'de), and *fr.* as (ə), (guutə). "On the upper Nab, *tn. en.* the remarkable distinction is made, that *e* neut. from *iu* is (ə), and *e* mas. and fem. from *e* and *o* is lost, (dēi)=*diese herren, frauen*; (dēiə)=*diese weiber*; (gōud shēi o'ksən, kēi), *gute schone oehsen, kühe*; (gōudə shēi'nə pfaa), *gute schöne pferde*. Question: *Wie viel Ochsen, Kühe*? Ans.: (féiə fi'mf zē'ks). Qu.: *Wie viel Pferde*? Ans.: (féi'rə fi'mfə zē'ksə). Traces of this very old distinction are found elsewhere. Between the Lech and Inn uneducated countrymen, to the questions: *Wie viel äpfel, wie viel birnen*? will reply, (fiər fy'mf zē'ks); but to the question: *Wie viel häuser, kinder*? reply, (fiərə fy'mfə zē'ksə). *E*, as ending of the 1 pers. sing. pres., and 1 and 3 pers. pret. ind., and 3 pers. sing. pres. subj. of verbs, is lost, *gen. tn. en.*, as *ich esse, suche, möchte, könnte, machte* (i is, zū'agh, mēkht, kunt, makht). *E* in *-el, -em, -en, -er, -es, -et*, is *sm.* (a), more *fr.* (ə), or is quite lost, depending on preceding consonant, see under *l, m, n, r, s, t* below; "certain participles in *end, et*, by retaining *e* in pronunciation, have passed entirely over into the class of *adj.* and subs., *E. tn. en.*, as *das* (rē'nəd, shi'əsəd; gshē'kət)." [The important bearing of this German final *e* treatment on English final *e* has made me give this account at greater length.]

EI, derived from original *i* (236-245), Gothic *ei* [for the other *ei* see *AI*], "in good high German pronunciation (āi)," is:—(aa) *rr.* in a few words, *sei* (saa); *E.* regularly before *l*, as *weil* (bhaal):—(āi) *E. gen. tn. en. ed.* in more careful pronunciation:—(di) in 1 *pl.*:—(ē) in 3 *pl.*, *weiss, ihr seid* (bhēēs, iir zēet):—(ē'i) 1 *pl.*:—(ēi) *W. gen. tn. en. ed.*, *drei* (drēi):—(ii) according to origin *S.*, and *rr.* in other places, as *drei* (drii), *schreiben* (shrii'ba):—(o) 1 *pl.* in *hey mir* (ho mīa).

EU (246-261), see also *AEU*=*äeu*, "in good high German pronunciation (āy)," is:—(aa) *E. rr.* before *l*, as *neulich* (naa'lo); and in neut., *drei* (draa):—(āi) *E. gen. tn. en. ed.*, as *neu* (nāi):—(āu) 1 *pl.*, *es reut* (rāut) *mich*:—(āy) on lower Mayn, especially *tn.*, *feuer* (fāy'ər):—(di) *fr.*, *deutsch* (dāitsh):—(dā) *sm.* before *n*, *freund* (frādā):—(ē) 2 *pl.*, *neu deutsch* (nēē dēetsh):—

(éi) lower Mayn, *tn. cn. ed.*:—(iu) 1 *pl.*, *neu* (niiu):—(ii), properly (yy), 2 *pl.*, *deutsch* (diitsh):—(i) short 2 *pl.* in pronoun *euch*, when forming an unaccented suffix:—(iu) *sm.*, *neu* (niiu):—(ói) *sm.*:—(óu) 1 *pl.*:—(úí) *sm.*:—(yy) 1 *pl.* “In none of these cases does *eu* sound according to its constituents, as the Spaniards pronounce it in *Europa*, namely (éu),” the Spanish sound is, I think, (éu).

I, and also where *ie* is usually written for a merely long old *i* (262–293), is:—(ái) *E. cn.* in *Katharina* (Katrái), *Quirinus* (Kirái), *anis firniss horniss paradis* (a'náís fir'náís hhu'rnáís pa'ra-dáís), in *der stadt* (á.i də shtod, á.i d shtod). [The interest attaching to the change of (ii) into (ái) induces me to add the following note at length]:—“Manuscript of the book of laws (*Recht-buch*) of 1332: EIN DER STAT, EIN DI STAT, for *in der Stadt*, *in die Stadt*. The form *ein* for the original *in* has maintained itself in the written language only in composition (as *hinein*, *eingehen*). Written language has generally restored the original long *i* in many forms in which—following a high German inclination which was active even in very early times (*nach einem schon sehr frühe wirksamen hoch-deutschen Hange*)—*i* had been resolved into *ei*. Thus, in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, not only was the present diminutive termination *lein* called LEIN, but also the adjective terminations *-lich* and *-in* were pronounced *-leich* and *-ein*, as: MINNIGLEICH, HERLEICH, WEIBLEICH, — AULDEIN, HULZEIN, HURNEIN. Just as now we say *latein* from ‘latin,’ so formerly they said: MARTEIN for ‘Martin,’ CHRISTEIN for ‘Christina;’ and as we now have *Arzeney*, *Probstey*, they formerly used: SOPHEY, MAREY, PHILOSOPHEY, etc., resolving the termination *i* of ‘i-a,’ *i-e*, *i* into *ei*:”]—(é) before *r sm.*, *mir* (mér):—(i) before *n* and *m fr.*, *blind nicht nichts* (blind nit niks), and in end of unaccented syllables, *habe ich* (hha'bi), *ewig* (eə'bi):—(i) in cases not included under (i):—(j) before *l*, “a very peculiar indescribable sound; like the second syllable of the words *hasel sattel*, when pronounced without *e*,” *E.*, as *still*, *will*, *spielen* (sht'jl, bh'jl, shp'jl'n), but it is *sm.* so purely pronounced that it seems quite unconnected with the *l*, as *still* (shti:jl); the same (j) sound *sm.* occurs before *r*, as *kirche* (k'j-rəkh):—(iə)

before *r gen.*, *mir* (míər), *hirsch* (hhiərsh), but is *sm.* pure, as (mii, hhiish); *sm.* in other places, *nicht* (niət), *nichts* (niəs), *ihm* (iəm), *euch* (iək), *nieder* (niə'də):—(u) *rr.*, as *tisch* (tush), *kind* (khund), *fisch* (fush):—(ə) *gen. tn. cn.* in the pronouns used as suffixes, as *wir*, *mir* (mər); *E. tn. cn.* in phrases like *hab' ich dich*, *lasse ich nich*, *thäte ich dir*, *denke ich nir* (hho'bədi, lə'səmi, taatədə, dər'qəmə); and in many unaccented syllables, as *-inn*, *-lich*, *-in*, *-lin* = *-lein*:—lost *sm.* in *-ig*, *-lin* = *-lein*, *inn*; *gen. tn. cn.* in *hat sie*, *ist sie*, *sind sie*, *gib es ihm*, *ihnen*, *lass ihn* (hhats, ists, zints, gips'n, lə's'n); and *ich* is lost in *da werfe ich dich*, *wenn ich dir es sage*, *so will ich dir es machen* (do bhər'fdi, bham darz zəg, zo bhl darz mək'hə).

IE (294–315), “where the old language has *ia*, *to*, *ie*, and *ie* is a real diphthong in the southern high German dialect; in good high German pronunciation (ii).” The old diphthong *iu* gave rise to *ie* by obscuring *u*, and *eu* by obscuring *i*. The *ie* readily passes into *i* long, and *eu* into *ü* long. Verbs conjugated like *bieten* may in southern places interchange *ie* with *eu*, pronounced as (ái iü iü ói úi), in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres., and *sm.* other tenses and words. IE is called:—(ai ói) in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs conjugated like *biegen*:—(ir) in *die*, *wie*, *je* (diü, bhiü, iü):—(éi) *sm.*, as (déi, bhei, éi), *lieb*, *tief* (léib, téif); *sm.* in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs like *biegen*:—(iu) *sm.* in last case, and some others, as *biegung* (biü'gq):—as (iə) or (Eə) before *m* and *n sm.*:—(ii) *sm.* in *lieb* (liib), and *gen.*, *sie die* (zii dii); these last two forms vary in other places:—(iə) in the whole upper Rhine and Donau territory from the Vosges to Hungary, *tn. cn.* and even *ed.* (diə bhíə líəb, iəm'd) *jemand*:—(iu) *rr.* in particular cases, (tiuf diüb) *tief dieb*:—(ói) *sm.* in certain words and forms (tóif, dóib):—(ái) *sm.* ditto:—(ə) or *is* lost in suffixed pron. *sie*, as *ich habe sie* (ikh'hə'bzə), *gib mir sie* (gée'məshə).

O, short, often inclining to *u*, and in gothic *u* (316–324), see O = ó, is called:—(aa) *sm.* lengthened before *m* and *n*, *von sohn baron* (faan zaan báəraa'n):—(áu) *sm.* before *l*, *hohl* (hhal):—(o), “as an *o* inclining to *u*,” *fr.*, *boden gold* (boə'dən gold), but (o) is occasionally heard:—(œ) or (e) *rr.* in some words before *l*, *soldat solcher* (zœldaa't

zö'ler):—(öu) *rr.* and sporadically in lengthened syllables, as (böu'dən):—(u, uu) *sm.*, (buu'den kupf) *kopf*:—(üä), *rr.* (büä'dən küäpf).

OE, as *umlaut* of the last *o* (325-329), is treated as simple *e*, and hence *sm.* sounds as (e), but *gen.* as (i); *böcke* (bek), *oel* (iil 'jl); so that in old books *ö* is written for (i) in other cases. OE is:—(i) *sm.* as *umlaut* of *u*, *köpfe* (kipf):—(iä) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (üä), (kiäpf):—(æ) *sm. tn.* (kæpf).

O=ö, the long *o*, which inclines to *a*, and not to *u*, and is *au* in gothic (330-344), is called:—(äu) *sm., cn.* *bloss* (bläus):—(aa) before *m* and *n* *fr. tn. cn.* and even *ed., strom* (sbttraam); and before *r* in the same places, *cn.*, as *dorf* (darf); and *sm. cn., brod gross* (braad graas):—(dä) *fr., bloss brod dorf* (blädəs brädə dər):—(äu) *rr., ochs* (äuks):—(öu) *fr. cn.* (blöus bröud), and *sm.* before *r*, *thor* (töur):—(iu, io) *sm. cn., hoch* (hhiu), *tod* (tiud):—(o) *fr.*, so that *roth rath, gross gras*, are confused as (root, groos) in the common pronunciation:—(öä) *rr. cn., noth* (nöät):—(o) *sm. tn. ed.*:—(u) *sm.* (bruud gruus):—(üä) *sm.* (grüäs), *dorf* (düärf), *floh* (flüä).

OE=öe, the *umlaut* of the last O=ö (345-362), is:—(a) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (ä):—(ai) as *umlaut* of (äu):—as (öi) *sm., böse grösser höher hören schön* (böis gröi'sar nhöi'ar nhöi'r'n, shöi):—(E) as *umlaut* of (ä) and before *r*:—(Eä) as *umlaut* of (dä):—(e, ee) *gen. tn., blössen flöhen* (blee'sen fle'e'n), *nöthig* (nee'dig), and even *rr.* before *r*, *frören* (free'r'n):—(Ei) as *umlaut* of (du, öu):—(éä) *rr.*:—(i) *rr.*:—(iä) *rr. getös* (gätö's):—(i) for (y) as *umlaut* of (u):—(iä) for (y'ä) as *umlaut* of (üä):—(æ) *tn. sm.*:—(y) as *umlaut* of (u):—(y'e) *rr., böse schön* (by'es shy'ä).

U short (363-371) is:—(a, ä) *fr.* before *r*, as *durst* (darst):—(i) *sm.* in *-ung*:—(o) *fr.* before *m* and *n*, as *jung hund* (joq hñond); and *sm.* before *r*, as *burgh* (borgh):—(u) *pure gen.*:—(y, i) *rr.* in a few words, *uns unter um* (yns ynter ym):—(üi) *sm.* before *r*, *sturm* (shtüim):—(üä) *sm.* before *r*, *durst*

(düärsht):—(ä) in unemphatic words, *und* (äd, ä), *uns* suffixed *sm.* (äs), *gib uns* (gi'bəs), *-burg, -berg*, often both (bärg):—lost *sm.* in *du*, as *was will'st du* (bhös bilisht).

UE, as *umlaut* of the last *u* (372), is only *rr.* (y), but is generally treated as *i*, see I. Even in reading books *ü* is pronounced as *i*.

U long, or *ue*, "Gothic and Scandinavian *o* perhaps hovering in pronunciation between (ö) and (u), has been better retained in Low than in High Germany, where it early passed into the diphthong *ou, au, ue*. But it has remained especially in the diphthongal form (öu) by the northern affluents of the Danube. The tendency of this sound towards (u) is so strong, that Dutchmen and Englishmen, although they write it *oe* and *oo* respectively, pronounce it usually as (uu)," (373-385), is called:—(aa, dä, ä'ä) *E. tn. cn.* in some words before *m, n*, as *blume* (blaam bldäm), *muhme* (maam mdäm):—(oo) 1 *pl.*, as *gut fuss* (good fōs), 1 *pl.* before *l*, as *stuhl* (shtool):—(öi) 1 *pl.* *gut blut bruder mutter* (göid blöid bröi'der möi'ter) [compare Leeds (göid) *good*]:—(öu) *fr., bube buch* (böub böukh):—(u) *pure, sm., and ed. gen.* (buub buukh):—(üi) *rr., stute* (stüi'tä):—(üä) "from the Alps to the Danube below the Lech, and above the Lech to the Mayn regions, where (üä, u) interchange," *bube buch* (büä büäkh):—(ä) before *l sm., schule* (shäl):—(ä) in unemphatic syllables *fr., as zu uns* (t.sə-n-y'ns, t.sə-r-y'ns), *zu dir* (t.sə dīr), *handshuk* (hha'ndshä):—is lost in unemphatic syllables, as *zu thun* (t.s.tuun).

UE=üe, the *umlaut* of the last U=eu (386-393), "in good high German pronunciation (y)," is sounded as:—(E'ä) *fr.*, as *umlaut* of (ä'ä), before *m* and *n*, *blümlein* (blē'ä'm'l):—(ee) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (oo):—(éi) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (öu):—(i) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (u):—as (iä) *sm.* as *umlaut* of (üä):—as (öi) 1 *pl.*, *müde fusse* (möid föis):—(y, y'ä) as *umlaut* of (u, üä), where *ü* is not pronounced as (i):—(ä) *rr.* before *l*, as *kühle* (käl).

Consonants.

B (394-413) is:—(b), "pure Italian *b*," *gen. tn. cn.*, at the end of words, *lei(b)*; in the middle of words before consonants, *er gi(b)t*; uncertainly at the beginning of words, oscillating between (p, b) in (b)ey, (b)ier, (b)lau,

(b)rand:—(f) in a few words and places, as *a(f)er, gel(f)licht, kno(f)lauch; pö(f)el, schnau(f)en, zwi(f)el*:—(p) *gen. tn. cn.*, "pure Italian *p*, not an affected German *p*, after which a certain amount of breath may be perceived," at the

beginning of words "where the high German, with an uncertainty peculiar to himself, cannot make any consistent distinction between *p* and *b*, so that in romance languages he is prone to confuse *beau* and *peau*, *boule* and *poule*; a fault which declaimers seek to remedy by introducing a certain after-breath, especially in foreign words, so that for (p) *anzer*, (p) *ein*, (P) *alermo*, (P) *aul*, one hears (p-*nh*) *anzer*, (p-*nh*) *ein*, (P-*nh*) *alermo*, (P-*nh*) *aul*. This seems to have been the origin of the middle Rhenish (p-*nh*), and high German *pf* at the beginning of non-German words. And it is to the circumstance that initial *b* has been used as *p* from the earliest times that there are so few genuine German words beginning with *p*" [see (1097, c'. 1113, a'. 1129, d'. 1136, a.)]:—(p) before lost *t*, *er gi*(p) = *gibt*, in which case, as always in such elisions, the remaining consonant is more strongly pronounced [that is, either (kipp) or (ki.p), see p. 799, note, on energetic Italian consonants]; "it is also a rule that final consonants are strengthened when a terminal syllable follows, even when it consists of a lost vowel":—(pf) [probably (pph)] when the initial syllable *be*, reduced to (b), is welded on to a following (rh) or (rh), as (pfendt) *behende*, (pf) *rait bereit*:—(bh) except initially, *gen. tn. en.*, *obacht*, in the beginning of words from the Latin, (Bhe-nädikt) *Benedictus*; "in *-ben*, this *b* pronounced as (bh) is fused into (bhm), that is (-m)" [this is not distinct enough, compare the Westmorland and Cumberland (b.) in this situation]:—often lost *E.* (būa gro hhol kar) *bube grob halb korb*, *sm.* in the end and middle, (hhan, gen gan) *haben, geben* [comparable to our loss of medial *v*].

C (414–415) is in *E.* in words of Latin origin perfect (k), as in Italian:—*sc, sk*, is *sm.* called *st, sp*.

CH, not initial (416–435), is as a rule (kh, kh), the following are exceptions. CH is:—(f) in *E. en.*, *sei*(f) *t* for *seicht, gi*(f) *t* for *gicht* [compare our usual (f) for the lost guttural]:—(g) *sm.* in *-lich* followed by a vowel:—(gh, gh) *E. en. tn.* at the end of uninflected words, (bogh) *bach*, (i magh) *ich mache*:—(k) before *s gen.*, in *-bach* final and a few words:—(q) in the termination *-lich, fruind*(liq), *herz*(liq) [compare our dialectal *-ling* for *-ly*, from *ags. -lig*]:—lost, *fr.* in various places, at

end, (i) *ich*, (tūa) *tuch*; in middle after *l*, (bhi-lar) *welcher*; after *r*, (ə ki-ə) *eine kirche*; before *s*, (bhāə-sə) *wachsen*; before *t*, (-it) *-icht*, (nit) *nicht*. It is in similar cases sometimes inserted, *achselwurm* = *assel* [woodlouse], *knichtel* = *knüttel*, (rōu-kht'n) *ruthe*, (o-khtam) *othem* [for *athem* breath].

D (436–451) is:—(d) pure final, medial between vowels, initial where the high German wavers between (t, d):—(g) *rr.* before *l*, (si-gl) *sidel*, a seat; *rr.* after *n* [it does not appear whether his *ng* means (q) simply or not, and as this change of *nd* into *ng* is interesting in connection with our participial *-ing*, I give his orthography in Roman letters: *beng binden*, *bleng blind*, *feng finden*, *gefongə gefunden*, *empfongə empfinden*, *keng kinder*, *ə lengə linde*]:—(r) before ending *em*, (bur-əm) *bodem*:—(t) *gen. en. tn.* initial, no constant distinction between (d, t) being made; *E. en. tn.* at end and in middle before lost vowel, (hənt) *hände*:—lost, *sm.* at end, (bo) *bad*, (kshai) *gesheit*; *sm.* between a vowel and final *em, en, (bom) bodem*; *fr.* after *l, m, n*, and before a terminal *el, em, en, er*, the *l, m, n*, is then strengthened, (a-nər fe-lər) *ander felder*, (bhu-nər) *wunder*; *sm.* at the beginning of *da, der, die, das*, etc., (ee-z i dis taat) *ehe dass ich dieses thäte*; (i's-tə) *desto*, (ə) *haim* = *daheim* [interesting in relation to the vexed question of dialectal 'at = that']. "When the article appears simply as (d), and the following word begins with an explodent, the (d) cannot be heard alone [*für sich selbst*]. The preparation made by the tongue to pronounce it can only be perceived by the greater distinctness [*entschiedenheit*] with which the initial sound of the following word is then heard," as in the region of upper Rhine and Danube [using his orthography in roman letters], "Bueben *die bueben*, 'Cutschen *die Kutchen*, 'Dieb' *die Diebe*, 'Gans' *die Gans*, 'Gäns' *die Gänse*, 'Kunst *die Kunst*, 'Pillen *die Pille*, 'Tag' *die Tage*, 'Zung' *(die Zunge)*. [The examples are quoted at length, because of the analogous case of the dialectal *i'* for *the* in English, where I think ('t) is often heard, (1925 c). Certainly (t*buu-b'n),—where the tongue is placed in position for (t) and the lips in that for (b), and (t*b) must be distinguished from (tw), which is rather (t*bh) with a much looser

position of the lips—is quite different in effect from (.buu·b'n). The release from (t, b) simultaneously on to the vowel (uu) produces a perceptibly different glide as well as a distinct 'hardness of edge,' so to translate *entschiedenheit*. Similarly for (t**kunst*). But in (t·t·suq) nothing but ("t t suq, t suq) occurs to me as possible.] "On the contrary, when this *d* occurs before vowels, it has the appearance of forming part of the word, and hence a radical initial (t d) is *sm.* omitted as if it were merely the article," (ən ai·ks'l) for *deichsel* [carriage pole], "and it is *sm.* prefixed where not radical," (dər·ar·börn) *erarbeiten*. [There seems to be a similar usage in an *adder*, a *nag*, in English.]

F (452-462) is:—(v) E. *cn. tn. ed.* after vowels, as *gru(v)t*, *kra(v)t*, but elsewhere (f):—(pf) *rr.* initial:—(bh) *rr.* medial. FF, answering to low German [and English] p, is *sm.* (v) and *sm.* (f). F is *rr.* lost.

G (463-490) is:—(g), "pure French *g*," *fr.* at end and middle of words, *au(g)*, *ja(g)d*, and regularly after *n*, [meaning (qg) ?]; but *sm.* only immediately before consonants, as *ma(g)d*:—waving between (k, g) initially:—(k) *sm.* at end or middle, especially after *d*, *s*, *t*:—(gh, gh), "also in good high German pronunciation," *fr.* at end or after vowels, in the termination *-ig*, *sm.* before consonants:—"changes according to ancient custom into *i* before *d*, and in certain verbal terminations *st* and *t*: *jaid* for *jagd*, *maid* for *magd*, *du fraist*, *er frait*, *gefrait*, from *fragen*, etc. This *ai* is more usual along the Alps than N. of Danube, and has the sounds described under EI, from (EE) onwards." [This is interesting in relation to the formation of diphthongs in English from ags. *-ag*, *-æg*]:—(k) *sm.* final after *n* [that is (qk) is said for (q)] in *Din(k)*, *gesan(k)*, etc.:—(q) *rr.* in ending *-ig*:—(t) *fr.* initial before *l*, *n*, (t) *lanz* = *glanz*, (t) *nā* = *genug*, (t) *nu mā* = *genommen* [compare English (dl) for (gl), and presumed Cumberland (tnaa) for *know*; but is not this (t·n) properly (d·n) ?]:—(bh) *rr.* medial, (ploob·hən) *plagen*:—lost, *fr.* final and medial, before consonants, and final vowelless *el*, *em*, *en*, *es*, *et*, and *sm.* in *-an* for *-agen*, the preceding vowel glides on to the *n* and is nasalised, so that all trace of *g* disappears; *sm.* the *n* is made (q), and the preceding vowel

not nasalised. The prefix *ge*, reduced to (g), is heard before an explodent only by its greater distinctness, see (d) for *die*, under D above. "G is *sm.* added in pronunciation to syllables ending in a vowel or *l*, *n*, *r* [using his spelling], E. *rr.* *schaugen schauen*, *aug au*, *hāgen hāuen*, *make hay*, *kniegen knien*; *ilg*, *ilg lilie*, *galg galg* [interesting for the Westmorland usages, and also in Robert of Brunne]; *sm.* to *s*, *sch*, as *fleisg fleiss*, *mischgen mischen*.

H (491-502) is:—g [with some of its pronunciations] *sm.* in middle and end, and even commencement of some foreign words, as (groo·los) *Hieronymus*:—(hh) initially:—(gh, gh) *fr.* in the end and middle (in the Alps, in the Zillerthal, also at beginning) of words, and immediately before consonants:—(bh) *rr.* medially, (gəzaa·bhə) *gesehen*:—lost, "as in good high German, in the middle and at end of words where spoken as above":—*fr.* at beginning of suffixes *her*, *hin*, when following consonants, (a·ba, a·bi) for *herab*, *hinab*, *sm.* in *-heit*, (bōursət) *bosheit*. "H is *sm.* prefixed to words beginning with a consonant, as (hho) *haus* = *abaus* = *hinab*; (hh) *art* = *art* = *ort*; (hh) *idruken* = *indruken* [chew the cud]; (hh) *inter*, (hh) *unter* = *unter*." [These omissions and additions initially contrast strongly with the English habits.]

J (503-506) initial is *fr.* (g), "that is, passes into the distinct consonant (g), just as *w* becomes (b)," (Gāuk'l) *Jacob*, and is added finally, especially after *i*, hence old *y* = *ij*.

K (507-520) is: (kh, kh) *sm.* at end of stem-syllables after *l*, *n*, *r*:—(g) *sm.* at end of uninflected words; and after *n* [that is, (qg) is used for (qk)]:—*rr.* (hh), especially after (q), (baqh) *bank*:—(k) pure, as in French, Italian, or Spanish, very *gen.* medially, *sm.* finally, *gen.* initially before *l*, *n*, *r*:—(k|h), "like a pure *k* with subsequent sensible breath, and also in all high Germany, *cn. tn. ed.*," initially before a vowel, (k|h) *alt*, (k|h) *ind*, (k|h) *ommen*, (k|h) *urz*; *sm.* before a consonant (k|h) *lein*, (k|h) *necht*; and in the same places medially and finally:—(t) *rr.* initially before *l* and *n*, (t) *laa*, (t) *le*, *klem*, (t) *leə* *kle*, (t) *nakht* *knecht*:—lost *rr.* finally (muu·zi) *musik*. [The interest attaching to post-aspiration (1136, a) induces me to give the following note at length.] "In low Germany

k does not receive the breath after it, which is common in high Germany; and this pronunciation ought to prevail generally if we upper Germans had only first learned not to confuse pure *k* with *g*,—because we should otherwise confuse *ga*, *ge*, *gt*, etc., with *ka*, *ke*, *ki*, etc., just as we now fail to distinguish *gl*, *gn*, *gr*, from *kl*, *kn*, *kr*. In Catullus's verse: 'Chommoda dicebat si quando commoda vellet,' the *ch* appears to answer precisely to our *k-h*. [Catullus's epigram is numbered 82 and 84, the whole of it is valuable.] This hard breathing (*starke Hauchen*) is common to many mountain people, as well as to us highlanders. Thus in the Apennines, the 'Gorgia fiorentina' is remarkable, and has earned for Florentines the nick-names 'hoboi, hahafagivoli,' because they persistently replace *c* by *h*. The Andalusian breathes the *h* in Arabic words, where other Spaniards omit it: 'Alhambra, Almohada, Albahaca, Atahona.' In the patois of the Vosges, a strong breathing, like our *ch*, replaces even *r*, *s* and *sch*—*chöch* (*sex*), *cöch* (*coxae*, *les cuisses*), *gücho* (*garçon*), *mdcho* (*maison*), *üchêi* (*uccello*, *oiseau*), *wäch* (*vert*).] [We see here the usual confusions about aspiration, post-aspirations, and guttural hisses.]

L (521-545), "a certain obscure vowel-sound attaches to the semi-vowels (l m n q r), the sudden termination of which is what makes them really consonants; hence *l* acts as a pure consonant solely on those vowels which follow it in the same syllable, but on the preceding it acts to some extent (*gewissermaßen*) as a vowel, by either forming a diphthong with it, that is, slurred (*legirt*), or quite purely and not united with it at all, that is, unslurred (*nicht legirt*)."[There is a difficulty in exactly interpreting the above into palaeotype. It seems as if the first case meant ('l), where (') forms a diphthong with preceding vowel, so that *all gold gulden* = (*d'l gô'ld gú'l'd'n*), a complete fracture being established, and thus *faul*, properly (*fäul*), becomes (*fá'l*), see under AU (1359, *d*). The second case would then be simply pure *l*, as (*olt*) *alt*, not (*ô'lt*).] L is:—(i) *rr.* finally, as (*kaa'ti*) for (*kaa'tl*) *Katharina*:—(*i*, *ɹ*) after *a*, *o*, *u*, (*ô'id*) *alt* [producing a suffrature], and, when after *e*, *i*, this vowel becomes [('j), or indeterminate palatal breath?]:—(l) *fr.* as

"generally in North Germany, only after *e*, *i*," (*bild*) *bild*; this (l) is generally preserved when a consonant has been omitted between it and preceding vowel, as (*al*) *adel*:—('l) *gen.* after *a*, *o*, *u*, and an altered *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü* becoming (*a*, *æ*ə, *ə*). Final EL becomes wholly ('l) *gen. cn. tn.* after linguals, and nearly ('l) *sm.* in stem-syllables, where the *e* or *ö* would be otherwise ('j), as (*hh'l*) *hölle*. Initial FL, GL, KL, PL, rr. take ('l), as (*b'lood*) *blätt*. L is also rr. (*r*), or lost before vowels, or added. LL medial does not shorten preceding vowel in E., so that *fall qual* rhyme.

M and N (546-555) frequently nasalise the preceding vowel in Bavaria when it is (*a*, *e*, *o*), or when these are the first elements of a preceding diphthong, making them (*a*, *e*, *o*), but do not affect a preceding (*i*, *u*, *ə*). Such sounds as (*lam maŋ rāiŋ trāum* *shœə* *n*), common in North Germany, never occur, but are replaced by (*la_m ma_n rāi_n trāu_m shœ_n*). The nasalisation is only omitted when an intervening consonant has been lost.

M (556-561) *sm.* sounds as (*n*) at end of stem-syllables, and even in dat. sing.; after *l*, *n*, and also initially, it is *sm.* (*bh*).

N (562-609) in stem-syllables, before *d* and *s*, is *sm.* (*m*, *nb*, *mp*), and is sometimes *n* finally. N is *gen.* lost at end of stem-syllables, when no vowel follows, and the preceding vowel is then nasalised. [Much is here omitted, as not of interest for present purposes.] The final EN becomes (*ə*, *n*, 'n), very frequently (*ə*), and is often only shewn by nasalising the preceding vowel. The ('n) alone,—becoming (*m*) after labials—is preserved in the E., and the (*ə*) alone in W., but, to avoid hiatus, the W. inserts the *n* before a following vowel. The E. also reinserts the *n* omitted in stem-syllables before following vowel. These habits give rise to an inserted pure euphonic *n*, where there was none originally, as *wie-n-i sag* = *wie ich sage*. In some words the *n* of the article has thus become fixed, as (*nost*) = *ast*, and similarly an original *n* is omitted, as *ganz'atürl'* = *natürlich*.

NG (612-614) is generally (*q*), but *sm.* (*m*), as (*də*, *dum*, *du'məd*, *du'mə*) for *der düng* (*dünger*) *düngen*; (*nhu-mər*) = *hunger*; and *-um* is used for *-ung* in E.

P (615-618) is (*p*), *rr.* (*b*); *pf* rarely

(bv) final, and *sm.* (p|h, p|h, p|h?) initial — *p-hann*, *p-hêrd*, *p-halz*, *p-hêffer* = *Pfanne*, *Pferd*, *Pfals*, *Pfeffer*.

QU (620) is regarded as *kw* or *gw*, and the *w* is often omitted.

R (621-637), which is generally ('r), changes the preceding (*a*) to (*a*, *â*, *û*, *i*), (*ou*) to (*ôu*), (*e*) to (*a*, *ê*, *ê*, *î*), (*ë*) to (*ë*), (*i*) to (*ê*, *î*), (*o*) to (*a*, *â*, *û*), (*ôu*) to (*ôu*), (*œ*) to (*ê*), (*u*) to (*a*, *dâ*, *o*, *û*, *û*), as already seen under the vowels. *R* initial "in some regions near the Alps, on the Rot and Ilz, etc., is pronounced with a very perceptible aspiration, a sound which seems to be the same as the old *HR*, as in *HRODPERT*, *Hraban*," which *S.* writes *hr*, *hhr*. [He has used *hh* for (gh). Whether this sound *hhr* is (rh) or (ghr) it is difficult to say. In his own symbols he writes *ə*~ *Hràb*, *ə*~ *Hring*, *ə*~ *Hroufn*, *ghhràd*, *ghhrous*, *ghhridn* = *geritten*, and he says:] "Before *d*, *t*, *z*, only the *hh* of this *hhr* is heard, as *ə*hh'd = *erd*, *hə*hh'd = *herde*, *fuh*h't *fort*," etc. [which may mean (*ê*'ghd, *nh*'agh, *fug*ht), etc. In art. 663, referring to this place, he says, "where *r* sounds as *hh'* or *ch*," which gives (kh) and not (gh). The phenomenon is very interesting, and should be examined. It may be only *uvular* after all.] *R* is:—(l) in a few cases:—(r) in *W.* almost universally; this is the case in part of *E.*, with *r*, *rr*, at the end of stem-syllables, but *rr* is constantly considered as simple *r* in *E.* [which means that the preceding vowel is not "stopped," but may be lengthened, or glides on to the consonant with a long vowel-glide; in fact is regarded and treated precisely as a long vowel, as in English]; the *r*, *rr*, have their due effect only before a following vowel. *R* may *sm.* be replaced by *s* in the forms *frieren verlieren*, but not in *gefrören verlorén*; and *sm.* becomes *s* before *z*. [These interchanges of (*r*, *s*) are old, and valuable to note as existing.] *R* between vowels and consonants in stem-syllables is *fr*. lost, (*daf* *dâf*) *dorf*, and even after a consonant and before a vowel, as (*ghod*) *grade*, (*shaqk*) *shrank*. In final syllables, when no vowel follows, *R* is usually lost in *E.*, and is consequently euphonic inserted between vowels where there was no original *r* [precisely as in English], and this euphonic *r* occasionally comes to be fixed on to the following word, as (*ə* *rôu*:z'n) *ein asen*

[beam]. An obscure vowel (*ə*) is inserted between *r* and the following consonant in *W.*, as (*dorâf*) *dorf* [just as in our Irish after trilled *r*, in (*wə*rək) *work*, etc.].

S, *SS*, *SZ* (638-663). [Schmeller writes *sz* for *s*, *ss*, *sz*, of ordinary spelling, which comes from an old high German *z* with a tail, something like *z*, and corresponds to Scandinavian and low German *t*; and *s*, *ss*, for those *s*, *ss*, which correspond to *s* in Scandinavian and low German. The *ss* is used after a vowel to "stop" or "sharpen" it.] *S* in *E. en. tn. ed.* "is always soft = (*z*), not merely where it is so in good high German pronunciation, but even before a *t* of uninflected forms," as *A(z)t*, *i(z)t*, *bi(z)t* [possibly (*azd*, *izd*)], as *t*=(*d*) at the end of uninflected forms in *E.*, see below; (*azt*, *azst*, *azdt*) are, however, all possible]. In the same places *SS* is (*z*) at end of uninflected forms, *gwi(z)*, *ku(z)*, *Preu(z)*, *ro(z)*, and *rr.* in inflected. *SZ*=(*z*) at end of inflected forms, *E. en. tn. ed.* *S*=(*s*), almost *gen. cn. tn. ed.* after consonants, as *dach(s)*, *nich(s)*; and *E. cn.* after vowels in inflected forms; *E. gen.* before *t* in inflected forms, *ae(s)t*, *fa(s)ten*. *SZ*=(*s*) in the middle and at the end of inflected forms, in *E.*, and *sm.* of some uninflected forms, "as in good high German pronunciation," as *ha(s)*, *nu(s)*. *S*=(*zh*) initially, before *p*, *t*, *k*, quite *gen. cn. tn. ed.*, and even before *b* in names of places, as *Regensburg* (*rē*:qzhpurg), *Miesbach* (*mī*:zhpa), and occasionally before a vowel, as (*zh*)*unst* = *sonst* [Schmeller uses here his sign for (*zh*), see *SCH*]. *S*=(*zh*) *fr.* after *r* at end of words and syllables, *unser(zh)*, *vater(zh)*, *für(zh)* = *für sich*; almost *gen. cn. tn. ed.* after *r* and before *t*, *dur(zh)t*, or also *dur(sh)t* = *durst*. [Schmeller here distinguishes his two signs (*zh*, *sh*), and both are possible, (*turzhsh*) most probable; his signs for (*zh*, *sh*) being *sch*, *sch*, differ so slightly that confusion is inevitable, and hence I go by his original references to this place in his art. 92.] "*S* = (*sh*, *zh*) before *p*, *t*, and after every sound, from the upper Isar to the Vosges, from the Spessart range to the Saar, *cn. tn. ed.*," *Ang(zh)t*, *bi(zh)t*, *Ca(sh)per*, *Ha(sh)pel*, *ha(zh)t*, *i(zh)t*, *kan(zh)t*, *kun(zh)t*, *lu(sh)tig*, *Mi(zh)t*, *sag(zh)t*, *Schwe(zh)ter*, *die schön(zh)t*. [Here I have given all his examples, because he refers to this art. 654, in both art. 92

for (zh), where the reference is misprinted 644, and in art. 93 for (sh), so that the variations, which are extremely remarkable, are intentional. The sound (zh) is generally unknown in Germany, its introduction in Bavaria, and generally the use of (z, b, d, g) final, are the exact German counterparts of the Somersetshire initial (z, zh, v) for (s, sh, f). To a north German these final (z, zh) are simply impossibilities, without long training.] In E. *cn. tn. am(sh)el, dro(sh)el* = *amsel, drossel*. S = (d,z) *rr. cn. E. after l, fel(d,z)en, hal(d,z)* = *felsen, hals*; and after *n*, before *t*, it *sm.* becomes (d,z), absorbing *t*, as *fen(d,z)er, fin(d,z)er* = *fenster, finster*; and *sm.* initially, as (d,z) *arg, (d,z)elner* = *sarg, seldner*. [It is with considerable doubt that I give (d,z) as the translation of Schmeller's *z*, as distinguished from his *tz*, which is (t,s). In art. 94 he merely calls his *z* a soft (*weiches*) German *Z*. The difficulty arises from the oppositions *soft, sharp, and soft, hard*. But (d,z) seems to agree best with the above examples.] SZ *sm.* = (d,z) [misprinted as old high German *z* with a tail], (i,d,z) *es, (da,d,z) dasz, (di,d,z) disz, dieses, (ti,d,z, ti,d,z) ihr* [in which Schmeller detects a remnant of the tailed *z*, as derived from *t*, art. 38]. In some words and places *S* is omitted, especially after *r* before *t*, (dur,t) *durst*, and *sm.* final, and especially after *r* = (kh).

SCH (664-667), "at the beginning of words, both before a vowel and a consonant, has usually the soft sound, namely that which is heard in the French syllables *ja, je, ge, ji, gi, jo, ju*, not that heard in the syllables *cha, che, chi, cho, chu*," [that is, distinctly (zh)], *gen. cn. tn. ed. in schäff, schiff*. [*Sch* in German is only written before vowels, *l, m, n, r*, and here no difficulty stands in the way of (zhaaf, zhiff, zhlaa-gen), etc., but when we find Schmeller, art. 649, assume initial *sp, st, sk*, to be (zh)p, (zh)t, (zh)k, it is possible that there must be some mistake. He does not mean *stehen* to be (sh,teen), as in high German, (zh teen) seems impossible, and hence probably (zh,deen) is said, and we must interpret (zh)p, (zh)t, (zh)k, as (zhb-, zh,d-, zhg-), which would be quite consistent with the absence of sharp distinction between initial (p b, t d, k g) in Bavarian. The difficulties arising from partial phonetic writing are here very evident.]

SCH = (sh) always medially, but finally it is (zh), except in E. before a lost final *e*. [Schmeller here, art. 667, note, says that this is the case "in good high German pronunciation, but only after long vowels and diphthongs: *Rau(zh), Flei(zh), deut(zh)*, whereas on the Nab they say *men(sh), deut(sh)*." Now, independently of the impossibility of (day,t,zh), which should at least be (day,d,zh), I certainly never noticed any high German pronunciation of final *sch* as (zh), nor have I seen it noticed as occurring. Rapp (Phys. d. Spr. 4, 42), referring to Schmeller's upper German (zh), seems to have overlooked this reference to high German. Rapp considers it "more exact to say that popular speech everywhere uses neither (sh) nor (zh), but an indifferent sound lying between them, for which our theory has no sign." This could only be (zh), which would shew itself in the usual way as (shzh) before and (zhsh) after voiced letters. The interest to us lies in the Western English dialectal usages, their intimate relation with West Saxon, the use of Saxon *f* as *v*, the probable development of (th) from an original (dh), the dialectal habits of confusing voiced and voiceless letters, with the received sharp distinctions. Philologically these confusions are of great importance.]

T (668-681) initial = (t), "pure Italian *t*, not (tjh, tnh), but is often confused with *d*." [Schmeller complains much, in a note, p. 150, of that pronunciation, first, in the German pronunciation of foreign words, as *T-hitan, T-hitus, T-hartarey, T-hee, T-hacitus, T-hempel*, and adds:] "This inserted *h* after initial *t* is quite inappropriate in foreign words, but it is disgusting (*widerlich*) and affected (*affectirt*), and as it were a mere mockery of our hardness of hearing (*wie Spott auf unsere Harthörigkeit*), when we hear it used in genuine German words by declaimers, actors, etc., so that we have to hear *Tag, Tod, deutsch, theuer, That*, as *T-hag, T-hod, t-heutsch, t-heuer, T-hat*, etc.," and also almost universally in the middle and end of many words. But in uninflected forms, final *t*, *tt*, often become (d), which disappears before *l* and *n*, as *bi(d), bla(d), bre(d), Go(d)*; (*be' d' l, n*) *betteln*. [Here, again, Schmeller has a note implying that *t* final is (d) "in good high German pronunciation only after

long vowels and diphthongs: Blüd, bräid, Hüd, Rad *Raih*, rōd *roth*, wäid *weit*, zäid *Zeit*." His symbols are left uninterpreted. This pronunciation is not usually admitted.] TW medial becomes (p), *gen. cn. tn.* (i-pə i-pəs) *etwas etwas*, and E. (a-p'm na-p'm a-bm a-bm,d) all=*athem*. T or TT medial is sometimes (r), as (a-rəm) *athem*, (bh-r-dər) *wetter*. T is often lost, in conjugation endings, after *s*, *sch*; but is sometimes added after *s*, *ch*, *f*.

W (682-687), "as a *u* contracted to a consonant (zum Consonanten verkürzt), has usually the sound known in German," [certainly (bh) so far south as Bavaria. How can German (bh) be considered as a compressed (u)? A key is furnished by Helmholtz, who says (*Lehre von den Tonempfindungen*, 3rd ed. p. 166, and p. 157 of my translation): "for the vowels of the lower series, O (o in *more*) and U (oo in *poor*), the opening of the mouth is contracted by means of the lips, more for U than for O, while the cavity is enlarged as much as possible by depression of the tongue" (1283, *b*). This makes German *u*=(A_u), with tongue as if for (A), quite low, whereas English *u* has the tongue high. The proportion (A_u): (bh)=(u): (w), is perfectly correct. I have always assumed German *u*=English *oo*. This must be my faulty appreciation.] "This sound is sometimes so indistinct (*unentschieden*) as to be scarcely observed," thus *rr.* (aal) for (bhaal) *weil*, (a-r-gaq) *argwohn*, (m-i-dikhə) *mitt-wochen* [corresponding to our (Gr'i-nādhz) *Greenwich*]. "Sometimes it is too consonantal, and becomes quite (b), as (B)urzgarten for *Wurzgarten*," (bail, bos, bu) *weil*, *wasz*, *wo*. and after *b*, *n*, it becomes (m). Possibly *mir* for *wir*, common in all High Germany, has a similar origin. *W* is often inserted between vowels as a consonantal termination of an open syllable, (iets geebh-i) *jetzt geh ich*, (bhos túsbbh-i) *was thue ich*.

Z (688-690) initially =(t,s), after vowels *sm.* (s), finally, "in uninflected forms, it is soft" (d,z), as *Blü*(d,z), *Klo*(d,z), *Pla*(d,z) [which Schmeller admits to be good high German after vowels and diphthongs, as *Kreuz*, *Schweiz*, *Geiz*, that is, (kráy.d,z, shbhái.d,z, gái.d,z); this must be taken with his remarks on *Sch* (1367, *c*)], but before (even lost) inflectional syllables it becomes "sharp" (t,s), as (mi t'n krái t,s) *mit dem Kreuze*.

"On the Sharpening and non-Sharpening of Consonants" (691). [The German phrase "sharpening a consonant" shews that it "stops" a vowel, that is, that the preceding vowel is short, and glides strongly on to the consonant.] "The peculiarity of the dialect east of the [river] Lech, [in Bavaria], in pronouncing a consonant at the end of uninflected forms soft [voiced], and lengthening the preceding vowel, when transferred to the pronunciation of literary German, is offensive to educated ears whenever the consonant should be sharp [voiceless] and preceding vowel short. Before the inflectional syllables the consonants receive their proper sharpening, and the lengthened consonants are generally shewn by their diphthongal [fractured] dialectal pronunciation. Now when the native is speaking high German, he pronounces simple vowels, but it is repugnant to his feelings to lengthen them before the sharpened [voiceless] consonants. Hence he unsuspectingly shortens the long vowel before *ch*, taking the place of his own (gh), in *brachen*, *Sprache*, *riechen*, *Buches*, *fluchen*, *Kuchen*; also before *f* in *Schäfer*, *schlafen*, *strafen*, *traf*; before *k* in *Ekel*, *Haken*, *spuken*, *erschrak*, *stak*, *buk*; before *sz*, with short vowel and distinct *ss*, instead of with lengthened vowel before a somewhat softened (*gemildertem*) *ss* [meaning (z) or (ʒ)?], in *Blösze*, *Flösze*, *Fösze*, *geniesen*, *gieszen*, *gröszer*, *grüszen*, and after this analogy, the South Germans say *bitten* for *biēten*, *blutten* for *blāten*, *Gütter* for *Güter*, *ratten* for *rāten*=*rathen*, etc. This is properly a provincialism, to be avoided by educated speakers. Yet a similar error seems to have crept into the received high German pronunciation, in so far as a short vowel is used in several words before *tt*, as *Blatter*, *Natter*, *Futter*, *Mutter*, whereas most dialects lengthen it as *ā*, *ū*." [This passage is quoted mainly to shew how local habits override historical usage with respect to quantity, and especially to shew the influence which voiced and voiceless consonants have over the real or apparent or accepted quantity of the preceding vowel, and to confirm my previously-expressed opinion (1274, *b*) that vowel-quantity, as an existing phenomenon in living languages and dialects, has to be entirely restudied on a new basis.]

ii. *Winkler on Low German and Friesian Dialects.*

In a note to p. 1323 I gave the title of Winkler's great *Dialecticon*, into which I had then merely peeped. It was not till after receiving the first proofs of the preceding abstract of Schmeller's researches on the comparative phonology of the Bavarian section of High German dialects, that I became fully aware of the necessity of devoting even more space to giving an account of Winkler's collections of Low German and Friesian dialects. Schmeller's researches shew the influence of precisely similar forces to those which have acted in producing the varieties of our own dialectal pronunciation, working on a sister language. Winkler's researches shew how the pronunciation of the same language as our own varies over its native, extra-British area. Schmeller's researches present most important analogies, and thus explain seeming anomalies. Winkler's collections, by being spread over such a wide region, remove the anomalies at once, and shew them to be part of one organic system.

English is a Low German language, much altered in its present condition, both in sound, as we have had occasion to see, and construction, under the influence of well-known special circumstances which have reversed the usual rule (20, *a*), and have made the emigrant language alter with far greater rapidity than the stay-at-home. On the flat lands in the Netherlands and North Germany the Low German language has, except in the single province of Holland, ceased to be a literary language. It has therefore been allowed to change organically, in its native air, instead of in the forcing-houses of literature. It is chiefly now a collection of peasant tongues, like our own dialects, with here and there some solitary exceptions, where the old citizens still cling to the old tongue they knew as children, or some poet, like our own Burns, gives it a more than local life.¹ There has been no reason for codification and uniformation. The language of education is merely High German, Dutch, and French, though the clergy have occasionally found it necessary to speak to the peasant in the only language which goes to his heart. Pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar differ almost from village to village.

Low German is therefore much older than its apparent date, much older than English, much older than the English dialects. As I have gone one by one through the surprising collection of examples which Winkler has been happy enough to find and print, I have had most strongly forced upon me the conviction that Low German is two or three centuries older than our own dialects, and that it therefore presents us with a resuscitation of the Early English which we have hitherto met with only in the dead shape of old manuscripts. It gives a new meaning and force to our old orthographies and our old manuscripts; it shews *in situ* the *dejecta membra* which have been thrown piecemeal on our islands, and will, I think, allow us to reconstruct our language after its true type.

¹ Mr. Klaassen of Emden, an East Friesian, tells me that in his own country, as well as in England, dialects

must be collected now or never. Even street labourers in Emden (specimen 37) now speak High German.

It may be said that this is all well known; that our Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon MSS. and our many Low German specimens have done all this already. But MSS. represent shades of dialectal forms very few and very far between, *doctored by literary men* in the first instance, who, knowing Latin, and hence knowing a language grammatically taught, have endeavoured to force "improved" constructions on to their own language (we are still doing so), and, considering medieval Latin orthography another name for perfection, have endeavoured to give a regularity to the written forms of pronunciation which did not exist in reality. No blame is meant to attach to these efforts, which, had the language really fought its way to the literary stage, would have been most valuable, and, no doubt, have been most valuable, in paving the way for the dialect which ultimately prevailed. It is only for the *history* of language that such treatment of language is lamentable. For that, it poisons the stream at the source, and throws the observer and systematiser on false tracks. But further still, the MSS. we possess are but rarely original. They have been transcribed, and re-transcribed, and "edited" by early writers, to whom the very conception of correct tradition was unknown, and who indeed wished to "adapt" them to general use. Excluding then the horrors perpetrated by more modern editors, which the most modern are learning to eschew, the consequence is that the best old writings were the most exposed to literary deformation. It is difficult frequently to discover amid the mass of change what was the *meaning* of the author:—it is almost impossible to determine what were the *sounds* he actually used or meant to represent. The manuscript record of language reminds us, then, of the geological record of life. It gapes with "missing links," and the very links it furnishes are so broken, unconnected, disguised, charred, silicated, distributed, that it requires immense ability and insight to piece them into a whole.

Such collections as Winkler's furnish the missing links, erect the fossil animals, and make them breathe and live. We have no longer to guess how such a radical change as we forefeel on examining our museums *could* have occurred,—we see it occurring! And it is this feeling that has induced me to devote so much space to an account of Winkler's collections. Those who can read Dutch should study the original, and pursue it into its details. In the mean time I believe that even the following mutilated presentment of his work will prove one of the most essential parts of mine, by making my readers feel what must have been that Early English, to which we owe the texts that our Societies are now issuing, those English dialects which still prevail in a continually dwindling state, and finally the English language itself as it exists to-day.

Winkler's work presents many difficulties to an Englishman. In the first place, it contains 948 closely-printed pages of Dutch, a language which few Englishmen read with the necessary fluency. In the next place, the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which was selected as fullest of peasant life, is presented in versions written by very numerous contributors, and each in his own orthography, very

little, if at all modified by Winkler himself, and often insufficiently explained. These orthographies are, however, greatly more intelligible than those used by Englishmen, as, for example, in No. 10 of this section, because the High German, Friesian, and Dutch orthographies are themselves much more phonetical, and hence form a much securer basis, to those that know them, than our own. But, in the first place, the generality of Englishmen do not know them. Then their sounds are decidedly different in different parts of the countries, where German and Dutch are spoken as the languages of educated people. And, lastly, the sounds to be represented were frequently not to be found in these languages, and hence signs for them had to be supplied conventionally, and of course different writers have fancied different orthographical expedients. Hence a direct comparison of the different dialects from the letters used in Winkler's book is not possible. It seemed to me therefore that I should be doing some service if I merely reduced the whole, albeit it but approximatively, to my own palaeotype. In working out this conception, I have, however, met with considerable difficulty, and I am fully aware how faulty many of my interpretations of these versions must be, especially in delicate distinctions of sound. But I trust that I come near enough for a reader who glances through the following extracts to arrive at general conclusions.

As regards High German, a long residence in Dresden, and considerable attention paid to the varieties of local pronunciations, have made me tolerably well acquainted with its sounds; but I have not resided and scarcely passed through the Low German districts. This occasioned me great difficulties. I have not felt sure as to the sounds given in High German on the spot from which the writer came to the vowels *a* (*a*, *a*, *ah*), *e* (*e*, *e*, *ē*), or *o* (*o*, *o*, *o*); and as to the diphthongs *ei* (*éi*, *ái*, *éi*), and *eu* (*ói*, *ái*, *óy*, *áy*, *oh'y*, *œ'y*). I have therefore, except when especially warned, contented myself with (*a*, *e*, *o*, *éi*, *œ'y*). I selected (*éi*) because the late Prof. Goldstücker of Königsberg objected to my calling *ei* (*ái*), which is the general Middle German sound; and I selected (*œ'y*) because Rapp gives this or (*əh'y*) as the North-East German pronunciation of *eu*, and because, where *eu* was used, the sound (*ói*) appeared impossible; whereas even Donders would have said (*əɔ̃*); see (1292, *a'*) and (1101, *b*) for the Dutch and (1117, *c*) for the German. The *ö* might be (*œ*, *ə*), I have selected (*œ*). Thus my vowels are (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *œ*, *y*,) and (*ə*) for the unaccented *e*, unless specially warned that other sounds were meant, and then I have selected the others in the series on (1285, *ab*) which seemed to be indicated by Winkler. I have treated the Dutch spelling in the same manner, so that Dutch *eu* appears as (*œœ*), *u* short as (*œ*), *ui* as (*œ'i*), etc. For particulars of Dutch vowels I was fortunate in having Mr. Sweet's trustworthy report given on p. 1292. For Friesian I have had mainly to rely on Winkler. But I received some valuable *vivā vōce* hints from two West Friesian gentlemen born at Grouw (see specimen 87* below), and an East Friesian lady born at Emden (see specimen 37 below). The reality of the fractures, together with many points of interest

which I have detailed in the specimens cited, and in the notes appended to them, were thus made clear to me.

The consonants presented another difficulty. I have given *p, b, k*, as written, and used (*t, d*) for *t, d*, although the latter ought almost certainly to be (*t, d*). It is a point of considerable interest in relation to English usage, which I have not yet been able to settle. My impression is that the dental (*t, d*) are original even in English, but this is scarcely more than an impression. The (*p, t, k*), see (1097, *a'*. 1129, *c*), I have not even thought of discriminating. There were a few allusions to them, but not safe enough for me to deal with. The *g* is a great difficulty. Finding that the Emden lady used (*gh*) or even (*gh*), although the specimen was written on a High German basis, and hence had simple *g* in all cases, I have used (*gh*) for *g* throughout; but my West Friesian authorities more generally used simple (*g*) initially. This (*gh*) will be right for Dutch dialects no doubt, but may be erroneous initially for the North-East of Germany.

As to *b, d*, final, I have "followed copy," but no doubt the rules of Dutch, given at (1114, *b, c*), are carried out pretty generally. My Friesian authorities did not wholly agree in their practice, and I did not think it safe, therefore, to change anything.

The initial *s* in German I have treated as (*z*), and the initial *sch* as (*sh*) in the German and (*skh*) in Dutch. I have felt doubt at times whether the German writer's *sch* did not also occasionally mean (*skh*) in Low German. The Dutch *sj* I have generally left indefinitely as (*sj*), the Polish sound, intermediate between (*s, sh*), and only rarely made it (*sh*) when this seemed certain. The *tj* in Friesic I have made (*tj, tw, ti-*), the latter before a vowel. My Emden authority repudiated (*tsh*) in such places, but my West Friesian authorities were more distinctly in favour of (*tsh*), although (*tsi-*) still seemed to linger. Certainly (*si-, ti-, tsi-*), diphthongising with the following vowel, were older forms. The case is similar to our *nation, nature*. The final Brussels "sneeze" (see specimen 156), which Winkler writes *tjsj*, I have left as (*tjsj*), which may be called (*t.sh*) or (*t.shj*), with very energetic (*.shj*).

The glottal *r* (*ɾ*) is not sufficiently marked in Winkler. All the final *r*'s in the North of Germany are very doubtful. They are not the Italian lip-trilled (*r*), and at times fall into (*r_o*) perhaps, see (1098, *c*). I have generally left them, but have sometimes written (*ɾr*). There is also a peculiar *d* on the North Coast of Germany, into which *r* falls, and I am almost inclined to consider this as (*r_o*), which is certainly not an *r* in the usual sense of a trill, and which is ready to become (*d, dh, l, z*) or a vowel. This is not marked by Winkler, and hence is left unnoticed.

The *w* I have given as (*bh*), except where it is expressly stated to be "English *w*." In the Netherlands this will probably be right, and all my authorities used it in Friesian. The *v* I have left (*v*), even in the specimens written on a High German basis; but my Emden authority said (*'v*), and told me that the sound lay "between" (*f*) and (*v*); and one of my West Friesian authorities

volunteered the same remark. An initial (fv-) will be quite near enough, like the High German initial (sz-) and our final (-zs), see (1104, *c*). The difference between *v*, *w*, was strongly marked by all three. See also Mr. Sweet's remarks (1292, *c'*).

The *h* I have left as simple (н). It is no doubt often (нh, [h]), see (1132, *d*), and was distinctly so spoken by my Friesian authorities; but as it is also frequently omitted altogether, and also frequently misplaced, or regularly used where no *h* is written, I felt too much doubt to venture upon any but a conventional sign.

Some other peculiarities are noted as they arise in the specimens. The account of the pronunciation of Antwerp (specimen 160) and Ghent (specimen 168) prefixed to the specimens, and the complete transcription of the Parable in the West Friesian pronunciation (specimen 87*), will be of assistance.

As to the length of the vowels, I have often felt much uncertainty, especially in North Germany, but I have followed the rule of marking the vowel as short unless the writer clearly indicated that it was long. Perhaps I have been wrong in treating Dutch *oe* and *ie* as representing (uu, ii); Mr. Sweet and Land both say that these vowels are short in literary Dutch (that is, pure Hollandish), except before *r*, but this gives no way of expressing the long sound in the dialects. It did not seem to be a sufficient reason to make the vowel long in Low because it was long in High German. There are too many examples of exactly contrary usage in this respect, see the Bavarian usages on p. 1368, col. 2. In literary Dutch, as in English, length often determines quality, but not so dialectally, and we have Winkler talking of "imperfect vowels" (short in closed syllables) being made "perfect" or "half perfect" (long or medial in open syllables). In such cases of course the converse is also true, and quality gives the feeling of length, see (1271, *b*).

These remarks are sufficient to shew the difficulties to be overcome in this reduction, and the amount of allowance that has consequently to be made by the reader for the necessarily imperfect transcription here presented. Enough however remains, I trust, to make the result very valuable to the student of comparative phonology, the basis of comparative etymology.

Winkler's work gives 186 numbered and some unnumbered versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 11-32. The unnumbered ones are chiefly older forms from books, and there are also a few other book forms, and the two last numbered specimens are in a species of slang, very peculiar and interesting in other connections, but not in the present. Hence I have confined my attention to the first 184 numbered versions. It might be thought that the number could have been materially reduced without inconvenience. But many links of the chain would thus have been snapped, and the completeness with which Low German and Friesian will be represented in this book from the borders of Russia to the Land's End in England, and from Magdeburg in Germany to Caithness in Scotland, would thus have been defeated. It is the

very completeness of the view, in which all these forms of speech are represented in *one alphabet*, thus rendering comparison easy and direct, that forms its great value to the student. And though the subject translated is not the same in England as abroad, yet there are practically only two subjects, Winkler's Parable and my Comparative Specimen; for Prince L. L. Bonaparte's Songs of Solomon are given below in glossic, and not in palaeotype. It would, of course, have been impossible to reproduce the whole Parable in palaeotype. Hence a selection of a few verses and phrases has been made, the same for each as far as was practicable, which was not always the case, on account of the very free treatment of the subject by some of the translators. As indeed each verse is frequently treated very differently, I have thought it best to prefix in English the general character of each fraction of verse given, and when anything out of the way occurs, to annex the translation in the specimen itself. All such notes and additions are bracketed, so as not to interfere with the general palaeotype. Each verse is numbered for the same reason. Sometimes a few additional words are given. As another basis of comparison, I prefix the literary High German and Dutch versions, as given in the usual editions used in churches, and I have added the pronunciation, as well as I could,—not distinguishing (t, d) however. The *Authorised English Version* according to the original edition will be found above, p. 1178, and the present literary English pronunciation of it, as given by Mr. Melville Bell and myself, occurs on p. 1171. The *older Wycliffite Version* and its conjectural pronunciation are given on p. 740; the *Anglosaxon Version* and conjectural pronunciation on p. 534; the *Modern Icelandic Version* of Mr. Magnússon, with the pronunciation as gathered from his own lips, on p. 550; and the *Gothic Version* with conjectural pronunciation on p. 561. Hence the comparison can be carried backwards to the oldest records, and most divergent modern forms. It would of course have been advisable to have the Danish and Swedish versions, and especially the various Norwegian dialectal forms, to compare; but these I am not able to give.

The arrangement is *geographical*. The countries and provinces are numbered with Roman numerals, and distinguished by capital and small capital letters. Winkler's Dutch name is generally placed first, and then the German, English or French added, with a reference to the volume and page of his book. Where he has distinguished linguistic districts, as the Low German and Friesian, by separate sub-headings, these have also been introduced in small capitals. The *place* to which each version relates is numbered in the usual Arabic numerals, and printed in Italics, first as given by Winkler, and then, if necessary, in English or French, and its style as district, city, town, small country town, village, or hamlet, is added. As the names thus given are not very well known, and indeed were sometimes not to be found on maps, I have added the latitude and longitude from Keith Johnstone's Index Geographicus, which is generally correct enough for finding the place, although I have detected a few glaring errors occasionally. When the name

could not be found even there, I have added the name of some town or village which is mentioned by Winkler as adjacent, and which could be there found. The reader will therefore find no difficulty in referring each version to its proper locality. The reference to Winkler is added as before, and occasionally a few words of explanation are subjoined to the title of the specimen; but the necessity for brevity has caused me generally to omit such remarks, and always to abridge what I have given. They are generally on Winkler's authority, and substantially in his words.

These arrangements preclude the necessity of an index. The student fixing on any word in any verse can trace it through its various forms with great rapidity. The words selected had always especial reference to our English habits. Thus:—

The *omission* or *retention* of final *-e* or *-en* is shewn by: 11 *had*, 12 *dealt*, 15 the *swine*, to *feed*, *heed* or *watch*, 18 I *have*, 22 the *best* robe, *shoes*, *his* feet, 23 a or the *fatted* calf, 24 is *found*, 25 his *eldest* son, in the *field*, near the *house*, he *heard*, 29 with *my* friends. It will also be found in some versions, especially in Belgium, that *-e* has been *added-on*, so that the use and disuse of the *-e* has become a mere matter of feeling, independently of any supposed origin.

The passage of *a*, not always original, (ii) or (ee) to an (ái) form is well shewn by: 11 *two*, 12 *he*, *dealt*, 15 *swine*, 22 *his*, 24 *my*, 31 *my*, *ever* with *me*. It will be seen how local such changes are, and how impossible would be the hypothesis of an original (ái) sound of *i* in English. The word 12 *dealt* was selected with especial reference to the forms in Havelok, *suprà* p. 473, and it thus appears that there is no occasion to assume Danish influence for such a form as *to deyle*, but that Low German forms fully suffice; and subsequently, when we come to English dialects in the East of Yorkshire, we shall see how rooted such forms still are in England.

The changes of the (uu) and (oo) are well shewn by the words: 11 *sons*, 22 *shoes*, *feet*, 24 *dead*, 25 *son*, *house*, 27 *brother*.

The changes of (a) may be traced in: 1 *man*, 18 *father*, 22 *clothes*, 23 *calf*, 25 *came*.

The changes of (e) in: 1 *man* in the form *mensch*, 11 *dealt*, Gothic *ai*, 25 *field*, 27 *friends* properly (i). For *er* falling into *ar* see 15 *farrow*.

In addition to this, the great number of *fractures* which occur, especially in the Friesian dialects, are very observable. An examination will, I think, fully justify the application of the laws (*suprà* p. 1307) which I had previously deduced from English and Bavarian dialects only. But this is a subject requiring extensive additional inquiries.

For the consonants the chief points of interest seem to be the following. The lost *r* and interchange or loss of *h* have been already referred to. But the approach of *d* to (dh) in parts of North Friesian (at least according to Winkler, my East and West Friesian authorities knew nothing of it, and it may be a Danism in North Friesian), and of *w* to (w) in the same (according to Winkler again), marks the tendency more fully developed in English. It is ob-

servable that we have English dialects (as in Kent) where the (dh) of pronouns sinks to (d). The loss of (dh) in most Low German dialects and its preservation in Anglosaxon, English, and Danish (the last only final and medial), or its transformation into (th), is a point which still requires investigation.

The loss of final *-d*, either by passing through (r_o) or (τ) and then vocalising to (ə), or by passing through (j) and then vocalising to (i), is remarkable. We have the old Latin and modern Italian loss of final *-d* in quite another domain. But in Low German it presents peculiar features, and it is further complicated by its medial disappearance. Compare especially the various forms of 11 *had*, 15 *feed* or *heed*, 18 *father*, 22 *clothes*, 27 *brother*, and again after *l*, 25 *field*, and after *n*, 24 *found*, and 29 *friends*. The treatment of *n* in such cases as (q) in many dialects is singular, as is also the frequent lengthening of the vowel preceding (q). The change of (q) final into (qk) was perhaps more frequent than is marked. That *l* in 23 *calf* should have been almost uniformly retained is, in consideration of the loss of *d*, and frequent loss of *l* before *s* in 25 *as*, very remarkable. But the word was frequently dissyllabic, and has some very strange forms.

The (gh) has already been referred to. On the locality whence our ancestors came, its existence is undoubted. Even Holsteiners are accused of saying (khuu'tər Khot), and we know that Berliners indulge in (jnu tər Jot). The change of (gh) to (j) is not unfrequent in the word 18, 31, *you*. Combined with the elaborate Icelandic treatment of *g* (see p. 543), and the English reductions of Anglosaxon *g*, it renders the guttural character of this last letter (512, *d*) nearly certain.

These hints are merely for the purpose of drawing attention to some salient points which have engaged our attention hitherto. The Low German seems almost to settle some of these disputed points, especially long *i*, *ei* and *ai*, and final *-e*. As to the open and close *e* and *o*, their treatment has been remarkably different. They have generally been distinguished by the different courses which they have run; but this has by no means always favoured the change of the close to (ii, uu), and the preservation of the open. On the contrary, the close tend to (éi, óu), and the open to (i', u'). This fracturing is very remarkable at Antwerp (specimen 160), and when completed by a juncturing, would often lead to precisely opposite results, making the open vowels thin, as (ii, uu), and the close vowels diphthongal, as (éi, óu), which result again in broad (Æ, oo, oo, AA). In the examples as written, when no actual change was made in orthography, I was obliged to take refuge in an indifferent (e, o); but when any marks or directions justified me, I have distinguished (e, e, E, æ) and (o, o, o). Winkler himself comes from Leeuwarden in Friesland, where, however, a variety of Low German, not Friesian, is spoken (specimen 91), so that I cannot feel certain that I have rightly understood these indications. Mr. Sweet tells me that there is no (Æ) in literary Dutch, but only (éei), the rules in grammars being purely orthographical. But Winkler continually inveighs against the prevalence of Hollandish

pronunciation. The general consideration of this very difficult subject of the double pronunciation of *e* and *o*, especially in reference to Early English, on which Mr. Sweet has recently made some important studies, in his "History of English Sounds" (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1873-4, pp. 461-623), is reserved for Ch. XII. (suprà pp. 1318-21).

PRELIMINARY VERSIONS.

i. *English version* corresponding to the general forms of Low German versions in the passages selected from Luke xv.

11 a certain man (mensch, married man, churl, rich man, father) had two sons (lads, young ones, young men, unmarried men, servants). There was once (one time, one turn) a man (etc.) who had two sons (etc.).

12 and he (the father, the old man) divided (dealt) his (the) property (goods, estate) among them (both, each other). and he did it. and he gave each his part (portion, lot, effects). he gave them-people (usual polite Dutch *hunden* for them) their, (etc.). he gave the younger his mother's inheritance.

15 to feed (heed, watch, guard) swine (farrow). to be a swinedriver, swineherd.

18 father, I have sinned (done wrong, misbehaved, done sins, done evil, done unseemly) before (towards) you.

22 (haste and) bring (fetch, haul) forth immediately (quickly, nimbly, in an instant) the best (gladdest, smartest, Sunday's, Easter's) robe (pack of dress, chest-dress, store-clothes, breeches with silver seams) and put (draw) it on him,

and give (do, put) a ring (finger-ring, gold-ring) on his hand (finger) and (new) shoes (with buckles, boots) on his feet (legs, used politely for feet).

23 the fatted (masted, fat) calf. the calf in the stall.

24 for this my son (son of mine, man, lad) was (as good as) dead, and he is found (caught) again.

25 but (meanwhile) the eldest son was in (on, upon) the field (acre, mark, for work, for some days, and knew nothing of it), and as he then (now) nearer to (close to, within a bowshot of) the house (farmyard) came, he heard music (singing) and dancing (playing).

27 your brother.

29 that I might (can, may) make merry (have a feast, jollification) with my friends (mates, comrades, companions). to treat my friends (etc.) to eat it (the kid) up with my friends (etc.).

31 my son (child, young one), thou (you) art (are) always (ever, all times, always all times) with me.

ii. *Dutch Version.* Lukas, Hoofdstuk 15.

Ordinary Spelling.

11 een zeker mensch had twee zonen.

12 en hij deelde hun het goed.

15 om de zwijnen te weiden.

18 vader, ik heb gezondigd tegen (voor) u.

22 brengt hier voort het beste kleed, en doet het hem aan, en geeft eenen ring aan zijne hand, en schoenen aan de voeten.

23 het gemeste kalf.

24 want deze mijn zoon was dood, en is gevonden.

25 en zijn oudste zoon was in het veld, en als hij kwam, en het huis genaakte, hoorde hij het gezang en het gerei.

27 uw broeder.

29 op dat ik met mijne vrienden mogt vrolijk zijn.

31 kind, gij zijt altijd bij mij.

Literary Pronunciation, as revised by Mr. Sweet, see pp. 1292 and 1114.

11 ɔn zɛi'kər mɛns ɲhat tɪhɛi zɔʊ'nɔn.

12 ɔn ɲhɛ'i dɛi'ldɔ ɲhɔn ɲɛt khut.

15 ɔm dɔ zɪhɛ'i'nɔn tɔ bɛ'i'dɔn.

18 'va:dər, e'k ɲhɛp khɔzɔ'ndikh tɛi'ghɔn ('voor) i.

22 brɛqkt ɲhiir voort ɲhɛd bɛ'stɔ klɛid ɔn dut ɲhɛt ɲhɛm aən, ɔn ghɛift ɔn rɛ'q aən zɔn ɲhant, ɔn skhu'nɔn aən dɔ 'vʊ:tɔn.

23 ɲhɛt khɔmɛ'stɔ kalf.

24 bhand dɛi'zɔ mɛn zɔʊn bhar dɔʊd, ɔn e's khɔvɔ'ndɔn.

25 ɔn zɔn ɔu'tstɔ zɔʊn bhaz e'n ɲhɛt felt, ɔn as ɲhɛ'i kbham, ɔn ɲhɛt ɲhɛh'wɛs khɔnaa'ktɔ, ɲhɔɔ'rɔdɔ ɲhɛ'i ɲhɛt khɔzɔ'q ɔn ɲhɛt khɔrɛ'i.

27 i brʊ'dər.

29 ɔb dat e'k mɛt mɛn 'vrii'ndɔn mɔkht frɔʊ'lɔk sɛ'in.

31 kɛ'nt, khɛ'i zɛ'itɔ'tɛ'id bɛ'i mɛ'i.

iii. *High German Version.* Lucae, das 15 Capitel.*Ordinary Spelling.*

11 ein mensch hatte zween soehne.
 12 und er theilte ihnen das gut.
 15 der saeue zu hueten.
 18 vater, ich habe gesuendiget vor dir.

22 bringet das beste kleid hervor,
 und thut ihn an, und gebet ihm einen
 fingerreif an seine hand, und schuhe an
 seine fuesze.

23 ein gemaestetes kalb.

24 denn dieser mein sohn war todt,
 und ist gefunden worden.

25 aber der aelteste sohn war auf
 dem felde, und als er nahe zum hause
 kam, hoerete er das gesaenge und den
 reigen.

27 dein bruder

29 dass ich mit meinen freunden
 froehlich waere.

31 mein sohn, du bist allezeit bei
 mir.

My usual Pronunciation.

11 áin mensh ha'te tsbheen zæ'nə.
 12 und ər tái'lte iin'n das guut.
 15 deer zói'æ tsu hyt'n.
 18 faa'tər, ɛkjh haa'bə gæzyn-
 digjhet foor diir.

22 brí'qet das be'stə kláid hœ'foor,
 undt tuut iin an, und gœ'bət iim áin'n
 fi'qœrráif an zái'nə handt, unt shuu'ə
 an zái'nə fyy'sə.

23 áin gœme'states kalbp.

24 den dii'zər máin zoon bhaar
 toodt, und ist gefurnden bho'rd'n.

25 aa'bər dər e'ltastə zoon bhaar
 áuf dēm fe'lde, und als ər naa'ə tsuum
 háur'zə kaam, hœ'rətə eer das gæza'qə
 und dən rái'gjhən.

27 dáin bruu'dər.

29 das ɛkjh mīt máinən frói'nden
 frœ'likjh bheer'ə.

31 máin zoon, duu bist a-lə-tsáit
 bái miir.

ABSTRACT OF WINKLER'S UNIVERSAL LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN
DIALECTICON.

I. RUSSIA. I. 1.

[The German inhabitants of Esthonia, Livonia and Curland were originally Low German; and though High German is now exclusively spoken, it has a strong Low German colouring.]

II. GERMANY. I. 3.

[North of a line from Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne or Bonn by Göttingen and Wittenberg to Berlin, and thence to Koenigsberg, the language is Low German, except two little parts of Oldenburg and Schleswig, where Friesian prevails, and some parts of Pomerania and East and West Prussia, where Cassubian, Polish and Lithuanian are spoken. This part of the Low German language is divided into Low Saxon and Low Frankish, and is generically called *plattdütsk*, and *plattdeutsch* (plát'dóitsh).]

III. EAST PRUSSIA. I. 6.

1. *Königsberg*, town (54 n 42, 20 e 30). I. 8.

11 en mœnsh ha'də tsbhee ZEENS.
 12 on héi dee'lte e'nə dat ghoo'd.
 15 dee sœ'y'ə to hœ'æ də. 18 vaa'dər,
 œk he'bə ghœzyndight ver dii. 22
 brí'qet dat be'stə kleed hœrvœr, on
 doot em dat an, on gheeft em
 een'nən fi'qœrréif an zii'nə hand, on
 sho'o'ə an zii'nə fœœ'tə. 23 een

ghæm'estet kalf. 24 den di'sər miin
 ZEEN bher doot, on héi œs ghœfurndə
 bho'rdə. 25 aa'bher dee œ'lstər ZEEN
 bher opp dem fœ'ldə. on als héi naa'ə
 tom huu'zə KEEM hœrtə héi dat
 ghœze'qə on dən réi'ghən. 27 diin
 broo'dər. 29 dat œk med miinən
 frínden frœœ'likh bheer'ə. 31 miin
 ZEEN, duu best a'letit bi mi.

IV. WEST PRUSSIA. I. 12.

2. *Dantzig*, town (54 n 22, 18 e 39). I. 14.

11 DAA bher MAAL 'n man déi
 had tbhéi ZEENS. 12 on héi dee'ldə
 e'nə ziin gháud. 15 de shbhiin táu
 hee'də. 18 vaa'dər, ek hebh shbhaar
 zí'ndikht veer dii. 22 haald ju dat
 be'stə kleed on trekd-əm dat an,
 on ghœebht-əm een'n ríqk an zii'nə
 hand on sháu up de feet. 23 een
 ma'stka'lhb. 24 den dii miin ZEEN
 bheer doo'dikh, on héi es nuu bhe'der-
 fu'qə. 25 aa'bbersht ziin e'ldstər
 ZEEN bher up det feld, on as héi
 nee'ghær keem an-t huus DAA heerd
 héi si'qə ook da'ntse. 27 diin broo'dər.
 29 dat ek kun lo'stikh ziin med miinə
 frínd. 31 miin ZEEN, duu best e'mersh
 bi mii.

V. POMERANIA. I. 20.

3. *Grijswoud*, in German
Greifswald, town (54n5, 13e21). I. 21.

11 en minsh haar tbhee zœens. [described *umlaut* of (aa), between (ee) and (œœ), opener than the first, duller than the second; it may be only (eh), it may be (æh); it is most probably one of the three (œ, eh, æh).] 12 un he deelde en dat ghoot. 15 de zbhii too hœœden. 18 va'der, ik hef syndikht vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be'stæ kleet her un doot em dat an, un ghevt em eenen fi'qerri'q an zii'næ hant un shoo up zii'næ fœt. 23 en ma'stka'lf. 24 den dees min zœen bhas doot, un is funen bho'r'n. 25 de œl'stæ zœen œœvœrst bhas up-'n feld un as he dikht an-t huus kam, hœrde he dat si'qen un da'n'sen. 27 diin brooder. 29 dat ik mit mi'næ fry'n'n l'ustikh bhiir. 31 miin zœen, duu byst y'mer bi mi.

4. *Rügen*, island (54 n 30, 12 e 30). I. 25.

11 en minsh HER tbhee zœens. 12 un he deelt en dat ghoot. 15 de zœœ'ghen to hœœden. 18 va'der, ik heb syndicht vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be'stæ kleet her un trekt em dat an, un ghebt em eenen fi'qerree'p an zii'næ hand un shaa an zii'næ fœt. 23 en u'tme'st kalf. 24 den di'ser min zœen bhaas doot, un is funden bho'rden. 25 œœb'har de œl'stæ zœen bhaas in 'n feld, un as he dikht an d't huus keem hyrt hœ dat zi'qen un da'n't'sen. 27 diin broœrœr. 29 dat ik mit mi'næ fry'n'n kyn frœœ'likh zin. 31 min zœen, duu bist a'ltiit bi mi.

VI. BRANDENBURG. I. 28.

5. *Neumark*, district about *Frankfurt* on the Oder, town (52 n 21, 14 e 32). I. 29.

11 t-ha'de -n minsh tbhee zœen. 12 un de ol deelte [spelled *dheelte*] dat ghoot. 15 de shbhiin hœœ'n. 18 vaa'r, ik heebh synight vœr dii. 22 sekt dat be'stæ kleet fœœer un trek-t em an, un stœœkt em 'n ri'q an zii'n hand, un ghœœbht em shœo fœr zii'n been. 23 'n gœme'st't kabh. 24 den di'ser miin zœen bhiir doot un hee is bhe'der fun'n. 25 aa'bhar de œl'sæ zœen bheer up -t feld, un a's'r naa huu'zæ keem hyrt-r dat ghazi'qen un gheda'ntœ. 27 diin brœo'r. 29 dat 'k met miin fryn frœœ'likh zii'n kyn. 31 miin zœen, doo bis a'ltiit bi mi.

VII. SAKSEN, in English PRUSSIAN SAXONY. I. 33.

[About *Magdeburg*; the kingdom and dukedoms of Saxony are Upper Saxon.]

6. *Altmark*, district from *Sälzwedel*, town (52 n 51, 11 e 9), to *Stendal*, town. (52 n 36, 11 e 51). I. 34.

11 een minsh hat tbhee zœen. 12 un de vaa'der gheef-t-em. 15 de shbhi'næ to hœœ'ghen. 18 vaa'der, ik hef mi zoo shlekht bedraa'ghen. 22 breqt det best kleet, un trekt-œt-em an, un ghef em eenen fi'qerri'q an zii'næ hand un shœœ an zii'næ vœœ'tæ. 23 een gœme'st kalf. 24 dys miin zœen bhas doot, un is bher funden. 25 as de œel'st zœen von-t feld rin kam un dat si'qen un da'n't'sen hœrt. 27 zii'n braa'der. 31 miin zœen, duu bist a'ltiit bi mi.

7. *Meitzendorf*, village, in environs of *Magdeburg* (52 n 9, 11 e 38). I. 37.

11 et bhas en minshe de ha'rœ tbhee zœi'næ. 12 un hœi dœi'ldæ u'ndær eer zii'n als. 15 de zbhii'næ hœ'y'en. 18 vaa'der, ik har zy'ndæ daan vœr dik. 22 haalt mi dat be'stæ kleet von 'n bo'den un trekt em dat an, un 'n ri'q daut an zii'næn fi'qer un shœœ an zii'næ fœ'y'tæ. 23 en fe'tet kalf. 24 den di'se miin kint bhas doot un ik he'bæ em nuu funen. 25 derbhii'læ bhas de grœ'tstæ von de zœœ'næ op 'n feld. as de naa'œ bi dat huus kam dun hœr'tæ hœi de muzii kœ un dat ghœzi'qœ. 27 diin brœu'der. 29 dat ik mik kurndæ l'ustikh maa'kœn mit mi'næ fryn. 31 miin kint, dœu bist a'lœ tiit bi mik.

8. *Hohen Dodeleben*, village in environs of *Magdeburg*, see No. 7. I. 41.

11 et bhaa'r maal en mensh, der ha'rœ tsbhee ju'qœnz. 12 un hœi dœi'ltæ u'ndær zee zii'næn hoof. 15 de shbhi'næ tæ hœ'y'en. 18 vaa'der, ik he'bæ sy'næ œdaa'n vor dik. 22 sœ'ykt dat be'stæ kleet for un trekt œt em an un 'n ri'q daut an zii'næ hœ'næ un shœœ an zii'næ fœ'y'tæ. 23 'n kalf dat œme'st is. 24 den di'ser miin zoo'næ bhaa'r doot, un hœi is œfu'n'n. 25 derbhii'læ bhaa'r de grœ'tstæ von de zœœ'næ op'n fœ'læ, un als hœi di'khde an-t huus kaam dun hœr'tæ hœi de muzii'kœ un dat ghœda'ntœ. 27 diin

bráu-dær. 29 dat ik mik ha-rø kernøn
lûstikh maa-køn mit mi-nø frînd-
shap. 31 miin kint, duu bist a-løtiit
bi mik æbhest.

VIII. MECKLENBURG. I. 46.

9. *New Brandenburg*, town
(53 n 32, 13 e 15). I. 47.

11 daa'r bhas maal eens en man,
dee hhaa'r tbhee zœens. 12 un dæ
va-tær dee-ltæ en dat fœrmœ-ghæn.
15 de sbhiin to hœœ-dæn. 18 va-tær,
ik hef mi fœrsy-night gheeghæn dii.
22 briqt den a-lœrbe-stæn rok heer un
trekt œm den an, un stekt œn nœn riq
an'n fi-qær un gheebht em shoo an
zii-nø fœœ-tæ. 23 'n fœ-tæs kalf. 24
bhiil dis miin zœæn as dood bhas, un
he is bher-ær fu-næn. 25 de œ-lstæ zœæn
œœ-bhar bhas up 'n feld, un as he
naa to huus kam hy-rtæ he dæ muzii-k
un dat da-ntsœnt. 27 diin broo-rær.
29 dat ik mit mi-nø fry'n 'n mi lûs-
tigh hœ-lœn kun. 31 miin zœæn, duu
byst a-lbhegh bi mi.

10. *Stevenhagen*, town (53 n 41,
12 e 53). I. 50.

11 dor bhas mal en man, dœi har
tbhœi zeens. 12 un hœi dœi-ltæ u-nø
zœi dat fœrmœ-ghæn. 15 de zbhiin
tâu hœ-y-tæn. 18 vaa-rø, ik hebh
zyndight vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be-stæ
kleed hera-n un trekt œm dat an un
ghebht em œi-næn fi-qærri-q an zii-nø
hand un shâu an zii-nø fœ-yt. 23 en
ma-stkalbh. 24 den deœ-zæ min zeen
bhas dood, un is fu-næn bho-r'n. 25 dæ
œ-lstæ zeen f-bhar bhas up dæn fœ-l'n,
un as hœi nee-ghær an-t huus kam,
hyrt hœi dat zi-qæn un da-ntsæn. 27
diin bráu-rø. 29 dat ik mit mi-nø
fry'n frœœ-likh bhiir. 31 min zeen,
duu byst tâu jœe-re ['every'] stun bi mi.

IX. HOLSTEIN. I. 54.

11. *Friederichstadt*, town on
the Eider (54 n 23, 9 e 4). I. 56.

11 een minsh har tbhee zœens. 12
un he deœ-ltæ zæ dat ghuud. 15 de
zbhiin to hyy-æn. 18 fa-dær, ik hebh
zyndight vœr dii. 22 briqt dat be-stæ
kleed hærfœ-r, un doot æt œm an, un
gheebht œm œn fi-qærri-q an ziin hand,
un shoo an ziin fœœt. 23 en ma-st-
kalv. 24 den di-sæ miin zœæn bheer
dood, un is fyn bho-r'n. 25 aa-bhar dæ
œ-lstæ zœæn bheer op dat feld, un as
he neegh an-t huus keem, hæ-rdæ he
dat zi-qæn un dat da-nzæn. 27 diin
broo-dær. 29 dat ik mit miin frœn

frœœ-li bheer. 31 miin zœæn, duu
bis y-mar bi mi.

12. *Dithmarsch*, district about
Meldorf, town (54 n 6, 9 e 4). I. 59.

11 en man har tbhee zœens. 12
un de ol deel dat ghuut. 15 de zbhiin
to hœœ-dæn. 18 vaa-dær, ik hef mi
slekt bœdraa-ghæn ghee-ghæn dii. 22
briqt de be-stæ a-ntoogh un trekt œm
dæn an, un stekt œm œn riq an'n fi-qær
un gheevt œm shoo an æ fœœt. 23 en
ma-stkalf. 24 den min zœæn miir
bheer dot, un is bhe-dær fun. 25 aa-bhar
dæ œ-lstæ zœæn bheer to feld un as mi
neegh bi-t huus keem, hæ-r he dat
si-q'n un dants'n. 27 diin broo-dær.
29 dat ik mal mit miin fry'n lûstigh
bheer. 31 min juq, duu byst a-ldaagh
bi mi.

X. SCHLESWIG. I. 62.

a. *Low German in Schleswig*.
I. 63.

13. *Angelen*, district between
the *Schley* river and *Flensburg* fiord
(54 n 50, 9 e 35). I. 65.

11 en man har tbhee zeens. 12 un
zoo deœ-lær dæ œ-læ ziin ghoo. 15
as swi-ndrii-vær. 18 va-tær, ik hev
groo-tæ syn bægaa'n vœr dii. 22 haal
dat be-stæ von miin kleœ-dær fœr ziin
armæ liiv ['body'], go-lnæ fi-qærri-qæ
fœr ziin hæn un nii shoo fœr ziin
fœœt. 23 en fœ-tæ kalv. 24 hee bher
dood, un is we-rdær fu-næn. 25 aa-bær
dæ œ-lstæ zeen bher op dat feld; un
as he nuu op de bheegh naa huus in
de neegh dat zi-qæn un da-nzæn to
hœœ-ræn kreegh. 27 din broo-dær.
29 um mi mit min fry'n frœœ-likh
zin to laa-tæn. 31 min zeen, duu bist
a-ltiid bi mi.

b. *Friesian in Schleswig*.
I. 70.

[In these Friesian dialects the short
i is said by Winkler to be "nearly per-
fect," by which he apparently means
that it is pure (i), and not (i, e', e, e),
or other Dutch sounds of short i.
These dialects seem also to have (dh),
see note to specimen 14.]

14. *Bökingharde* variety of the
Möringer dialect, which is spoken
in a district containing *Niebill*, town
(54 n 34, 8 e 49). I. 78.

11 an mon hœi tbhœi-r saanæ. 12
an he diild jam at ghœd. 15 dæ sbhin
to jhœ-rdærn [jœœ-rdærn] simply?]. 18
tee-tæ, ik hebh me fœrsee-night in dee.

22 bre'jq da be'stə kluu-dhə jhurt an tii-s ham cən; dōu ham an gho-lre'jq āu-ər a fāi-qər an skur āu-ər a fe'jt. 23 an fat kuu-lebh. 24 aā-bhər də hē-rə fon min biu-dhə zaa-nə bhas dyd, un as bhii-dhər fy-nən bho-rdən. 25 ōu-ers də a-lstə saan bhas to fe'j-lde, an as ər ta'ghde ['thought'] to-d hys kōum hird ər at siu-qən [(shu-qən) ?] an do'n-sin. 27 dan brōu-dhər. 29 dat ik ma min fry-nə frō'i-lik bhee'ze kyy. 31 man saan, dyd bast a-ltēt bāi mee.

[kluu-dhə, biu-dhə, bhii-dhər, brōu-dhər] are spelled by Winkler with *th*, as *kluthe*, *bithe*, *wither*, *brother*, and similarly *lithan* to suffer, *ethe* to eat, *wethere* wether, or kid, *bleth* blithe, *tofrethe* content, German *zufrieden*, but *lowē* only has a crossed *ē*, which he says is "a soft *th* as in English, sounding almost as *s*." I have supposed that where he wrote *th*, he meant the same thing, that is, (dh), or to a Dutchman almost (z). similarly in specimen 15.]

15. *Karrharde*, district about *Stedesand* town (54 n 44, 8 e 56). I. 81.

11 en mon hēi tihē-ər seē-nə. 12 an hi dild jem dat ghəd. 15 de sbhin to ghu-tən. 18 teē-tə, ik hebb me fərzee night jin dee. 22 briq dat best klee-dadhe jhurt an tii-t ham cən; duu ham en go-lriq āu-ər a fe-qər an skur āu-ər a fe'jt. 23 en fat kuu-lebh. 24 āu-ər də hē-rə fon min biu-dhə seē-nə bhas dud, an hee es bhii-dhər fy-nən bho-rdən. 25 aā-bhə də a-lstə sen bhas to fe'j-lde, an as ər ta'ghde ['thought'] to-d hys kōum hird ər dat siu-qən [(shu-qən) ?] an do'n-sin. 27 dan brōu-dhər. 29 dat ik me min fry-nə frō'i-lik bhee'ze kyy. 31 man sen, dyd best a-ltēt bāi mee. [See note to specimen 14.]

16. *Gosharder* dialect about *Hattstedt*, *Bredstedt* and *Husum*, town (54 n 28, 9 e 3). I. 84.

11 diir bher en me'n-she, dii hēi tihen sens. 12 un di faa-dər dia-led dat ghəd u-nər ha-mən. 15 bhuur sbhiin-hē-rdər. 18 faa-dər, ik hee se'ndighet, for dii. 22 bri-qet dat best klee dadhe jhur-tən un tii-t ham cən, un stee'ghet ham en gho-lriq am a fii-qər un tii-et ham shyy-rə cən. 23 en faakt kūalf. 24 den man sen bher dūad, un ik hēi ham we-dər fy-nən. 25 di a-lstə sen bher tō fee-lə; es hi nyy tō hys ghiiq hiirt hi al fon fii-rēns ['all from far'] dat siu-qən [(shu-qən) ?] un dat spe-lin ['play']. 27 dan broo-dər. 29 dat

ik miin fry-nə bebbhe-rti kyy. 31 man lii-bhə ju-qə, dyd best i-mər bāi mii.

17. *Amrum*, island (54 n 38, 8 e 20). I. 89.

11 an maan hed tāu scēns. 12 an hii diald jha [this (jh) is doubtful] at ghud. 15 a sbhin to hē-rdin. 18 atj ik haa za-naght jin jōu. 22 briq ham a best klūdāder an tjii-m-s ham un, an duu-m ham an fa-qerriq āu-ər a hun an skur āu-ər a fet. 23 an feet kūa-lebh. 24 āu-ər dasmii-r man sēn bhēar dūad, an hii as bhe-dər fy-n-dhən ['softened English *th*, nearly like *sh* or *zh* and *ð*, here written, 'sounds generally as *dj* or *dsj*'] bhu-rdən. 25 man di eelst sēn bhēar āu-ər fial, an ys hi bhat nāi-ər to-d hys kaam an hird at siō-qən [(sho-qən) ?] an daa'n-sin. 27 dan brū-dər. 29 dat ik mii mee min fri-n-dər nē-ghi kyd. 31 man sēn, dyd best a-ltiid bi mii.

18. *Sylt*, island (54 n 54, 8 e 21). I. 94.

11 en man hed tāu dree-qər ['servants, lads']. 12 en de faa-dhər dii-lēt jam diit gud. 15 de sbhiin tō jee-tən. 18 faa-dhər! ik haa zēndhikht tōe-ghen juu. 22 briq dit beest klūdāh jaart, en tii et hēm cən; en dōe hēm en fi-qerriq cēn sin hundh, en skuur āur sin fet. 23 en fat kūalet. 24 for desji-rēm min dreeq bhēar dūad, en es bhe-dhər fy-n-dhən uur-dhən. 25 man de fald dreeq bhir yp mark, en ys hii néi bii-t hys kaam jert hii dit siū-qən [(shu-qən) ?] en daa'n-sin. 27 diin brō-dhər. 29 dat ik mee miin fri-n-ər mii jens fry-ghə kydh. 31 mün dreeq, dyd best a-ltiid bi mii.

19. *Helgoland*, island (54 n 11, 7 e 53). I. 99.

11 diir bhīar ian-maal 'n man, dee hiid tāu jo-qən. 12 en daa deelt de ool man jam det ghōod. 15 de sbhiin to hō-dörn. 18. faar! ik haa syn deen. 22 briqt de bast kloor dūat, en tiid hēm det un, en dood hēm 'n riq om siin fi-qər, en skuu o-vər siin futən. 23 'n fat ka-lēvken. 24 den miin zēn hat dūad bheēn, en es bher fin bhuur. 25 oov-ər de oldst sēn bhīar un-t feld, en as hee néi bii de jhyys [sounds at present like (miis), according to Winkler] kim riard ne det si-qən en spri-qən. 27 diin brur. 29 dat ik met miin fren ferghnōght bhees kiid. 31 miin lif joq, dee has al-ē tii-dən bi mii bheēn.

XI. TERRITORY OF THE FREE
CITIES OF LÜBECK, HAMBURG AND
BREMEN. I. 103.

20. *Schlutup*, village near
Lübeck (53 n 52, 10 e 51). I. 104.
[To serve in place of a *Lübeck* specimen,
which Winkler could not obtain.]

11 een minsh har tbhee zœens. 12
un he dee'ldæ dat ghooð u'nær eer. 15 de
sbhiin hæœ'dæn. 18 vaa'dær, ik hev
zyn daan foer dii. 22 haalt mi dat
be'stæ kleed heruut, un tee -t em an,
un'doot æm een riq an zin hand un
shoo an ziin fet. 23 een ma'stkalf.
24 den bhat min zœn is bhas dood, un
is bhe'dær fun. 25 dæ œ'lstæ zœn
œæ'værs bhas in -t feld, un as he
neeg'ghær an -t huus keem hæœr he dat
zi'qen un da'nsæn. 27 din broo'dær.
29 dat ik mi mit miin'ne fryn shul
lu'stikh ho'læn. 31 min zœn, duu
byst a'ltiid bi mi.

21. *Hamburg*, town (53 n 33,
10 e 0). I. 109.

11 een minsh har tbhee zœens.
12 un hee dee'ldæ dat ghooð maq jym.
15 desbhiin to hæœ'dæn. 18 vaa'dær,
ik hev zyndight vœr dii. 22 briqt
dat be'stæ kleed herut un trekt æt æm
an, un ghevt æm e'enæn fi'qærriq an
zii'næ hand un shœœ an zii'næ fœœt.
23 een ma'sted kalf. 24 den dy'sæ
miin zœœn bhas dood, un hee is bhe'dær
fun. 25 aa'bærs ziin œ'lstæ zœœn
bhas up -n feld, un as he dat huus
nœœg'ghær kæm daa hæœrde dat zi'qen
un dat da'ntsæn. 27 diin broo'dær.
29 up dat ik mit miin'ne fryndæn
lu'stigh bheezæn kyn. 31 miin zœœn,
duu byst jymærs bi mi.

22. *Bremen*, town (53 n 5,
8 e 48). I. 117.

11 daa'r bhas en minsh de har tbhee
ju'qœns. 12 un he dee'ldæ dat ghooð
u'nær jem. 15 dat he daa'r desbhiin
hæœ'dæn shol. 18 vaa'dær, ik heb
zu'night ghee'ghæn dii. 22 haalt mi
dat be'stæ kleed heruut un teet id æm
an, un steekt æm e'enæn riq an zii'næ
hand un trekt æm shoo an. 23 æn
mee'sted kalbh. 24 den min zœœn
[for (æ) see spec. 3, v. 11; here how-
ever it is said to be "a middle sound
between *œ* and *æ* or *ö* and *ä* German,
and that it sounds at Bremen very
nearly as *æ* or *ä*," that is (æ); this
would favour the supposition that the
sounds were nearer (æh) or (öh),] bhas

dood, un is nuu bhe'dær fu'næn. 25
aa'vœr dæ œ'lstæ zœœn bhas up dæm
fe'læ, un as he duun bi huu'zæ keem
hæœœrde hæœ dat zi'gænde un da'nt-
sænde. 27 diin broo'dær. 29 dat ik
meel ['œnce'] mit miin'æn fru'ndæn
ferghnœœ'ght ziin shul. 31 miin kind,
du byst jymær bi mi.

XII. HANOVER, BRUNSWICK,
SCHAUMBURG, OLDENBURG. I.
122.

23. *Deister*, district (52 n 16,
9 e 28). I. 124. [A remnant of the old
Hanoverian speech of the Calenberg
species.]

11 e mi'nshe ha'ræ tbhéi ju'qœns.
12 un héi déi'læ u'nær zéi dat a'rfdéil.
15 dæ sbhiinæ tæ ho'y'æn. 18 vaa'dær,
ek he'væ zy'nighet vœr jyk. 22
bri'qet dat ghla'destæ kleed, un trek
æt æm an, un ghee'vœt æn riq an zii'næ
hand un shau'æ an zii'n fœ'y'tæ. 23
dat fet œmaa'ketæ kalf. 24 den dy'sæ
miin zœœn bhas doot, un héi is œfu'næn.
25 ziin œ'lstæ zœœn aa'bær bhas up en
fe'læ, un as héi in dæ neeg'ghæ zii'næs
huu'zæs kam hæœœræ héi speel
['playing'] un dans. 27 juæ bráur.
29 dat ek mit miin'æn fry'næn lu'stigh
bhœœræ. 31 miin léi'bhe kind, duu
bist jymær béi mek.

[Some additional words are given
compared with German, on account of
their vowel fractures.] 12 gúitœrn
gütern. 14 vertœart *verzehrt*, *liên leiden*.
17 véœ'læ *wiele*. 19 bhært *wird*. 27
bhœær *wieder*. 29 zy'æ *siehe*. 32 gúær
guter.

24. *Oldendorf-Himmelpforten*
village (53 n 35, 9 e 13). I. 137.

11 dæ bhœœr ins en minsh, de'j har
tbhe'j zœœns. 12 un he'j deel jym
dat ghooð. 15 de'j sbhin to hæœ'dæn.
18 vaa'r, ik hef zyndight re'j'ghœns
joo. 22 briqt dat be'stæ tygh her un
trekt æm dat an, un gheeft æm en
fi'qærriq æn dæ hand un shoo æn dæ
fet. 23 æn me'jhst kalf. 24 den
dy'sæ juq bhœœr dood, un is bhe'dær
fu'næn [32 fy'næn]. 25 bhii'ldærs bhœœr
dæ œ'lstæ zœœn op'n fe'læn, un as he'j
bi huus kæm hæœr hee'j dat zi'qen un
da'ntsæn. 27 jon broo'dær. 29 dit ik
mit miin'æn fry'næn ferghnœœ'ght
bhœœr. 31 min zœœn, duu bys a'ltiids
bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 see *sagte*. 14 fyq
fing. 16 nym *niemand*. 19 mee'jr

bhe'jrt *mehr werth*. 20 see'jgh *sah*,
ym *um*. 26 e'jnen *einen*, frægh *frug*.
29 zyy *sieh*, ææbhærtree'æn *übertreten*.

25. *Altendorf*, village (53n36,
9 e 27). I. 140.

11 en vaa'dær har tbhee zæcens.
12 un de vaa'dær deel ym dat ghood.
15 de sbhin to hææ'dæn. 18 vaa'dær,
ik hæebh u'nrekht daan vør dii. 22
briqt dat best kleed hæruut un tee -t
øm an, un gheebht em en fi'qerrig an zin
hand un shoo an zin fœæt. 23 en
mæ'st't kalbh. 24 den min zæcæn
bhær dood, un is bhe'lær fund'n. 25
aa'bhær dæ æ'lstæ zæcæn bhær op -'m
feld, un as he nææ'ghær naa hus kæm
hær he dat zi'qen un da'n'sæn. 27 din
broo'dær. 29 dat ik mit mi'n'n fry'nd'n
færgnææ'ght bhæen kun. 31 min
zæcæn, duu byst y'mær bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 ghææ'dern *gütern*.
13 ghyq *ging*, hindæær *hindurch*. 19
ik byn *ich bin*. 26 frægh *frug*.
29 duu bheest *du weisest*, ææ'bhæ-
gaan *übergangen*. 32 ghoo'dæs moo'ds
gutes muthes.

26. *Rechtenfleth*, village be-
tween Bremen and Bremerhaven
(53 n 32, 8 e 84). I. 143. [The
speech is Friso-Saxon.]

11 en minsk har tbhee sææ'næn. 12
un hee dee'ldæ jəm dat ghood. 15 dæ
sææ'ghen to hææ'æn. 18 vaa'dær, ik
hef zu'ndight for dii. 22 briqt dat
bestæ tygh her un trek-t æm an, un
ghevt æm en fi'qerrig an ziin hand un
shoo an ziin fœæt. 23 en mæ'st'd
kalf. 24 den di'sæ, min zæcæn bheer
dod, un iz bhe'dær fu'ndæn. 25 dæ æ'lstæ
sææen aa'vør bheer op-n fæ'ldæ, un as
he naa hus keem hææ'rdæ hee dat
zi'qen un dat da'n'sæn. 27 diin broo'ær.
29 dat ik mit mi'næ fru'ndæ lustigh
bheer. 31 min sææen, du bist æ'ltiid
bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 12 zee *sagte*. 14 fuq
ging. 15 huq *hing*. 16 buk *bauch*,
num's *niemand*. 29 zyy *sieh*, aa'vør-
tree'æn *übertreten*.

a. LOW GERMAN IN OLDENBURG.
I. 145.

27. *Eckwarden*, village be-
tween Jahde river (53 n 26, 8 e 12)
and Weser river. I. 147.

11 een'mal ins ['once,' Dutch *eens*,
a repetition] bheer d'r een man, de

har tbhee zæcens. 12 un hee dee'ldæ ær
dat ghood. 15 dæ sbhi'n'n to hææ'æn.
16 vaa'dær, ik hebh ghroo'tæ zyn
daan gheæ'ghæn dii. 22 haalt dat
bestæ kleed her un teed æm-t an un
stækt æm 'n riqk an 'n fi'qær un shoo
ææ'vør ziin fœæt. 23 'n good fet
kalbh. 24 den di'sæ miin zæcæn bheer
dood, un is fu'n'n bhoo'ræn. 25 aa'bhær
dæ æ'lstæ zæcæn bheer up-t land, un as
he dikht bi-t huus keem hææ'rdæ he
dat zi'qen un spr'igen. 27 diin broor.
29 dat ik mit miin fru'n'n færg-
hnææ'ght bhææ'zæn kun. 31 miin
zæcæn, duu byst joo æ'ltiid bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 14 ghuqk *ging*. 16 buuk
bauch, nymms *niemand*. 17 zee *sagte*.
20 zeegh *sah*. 29 zyy *sieh*, noo'nikh
noch nicht.

28. *Jever*, town and district
(53 n 35, 7 e 54). I. 150.

11 t-bheer mal ins ['once,' Dutch
eens] een minsk, deæ har tbhee zæcens.
12 un dæ vaa'dær dee dat. 15 ziin
sbhiin to bhææræn. 18 vaa'dær, ik
hef u'nrekht daan tee'ghæn dii. 22
briqt up dæ stee her dæ bestæ klee'dazii
un trekt ym dee an un gheeft ym æ'næn
riq ym ziin vi'qær un gheeft ym shoo
ææ'bhær ziin fœæt. 23 'n fet kalf.
24 den di'sæn zæcæn bheer doot, un hee
is bheer fu'ndæn. 25 dæ æ'lstæ zæcæn
bheer up dan æ'kær, un as he keem un
dikht bi-t huus bheer doo hææ'ræ
hee ly'stikh ['merrily'] zi'qen un
la'ræn ['making a noise'] van dæ
ze'lschup ['from the company,' German
gesellschaft]. 27 diin brææ'ær. 29
dat ik mit miin goo'dæ fryn ly'stikh
bhææ'zæn kyn. 31 miin juq, duu byst
y'mær bi mi.

[Additional illustrations compared
with German.] 13 't- dyrdæ *es
dauerte*, dæ bhi'dæ bheelt *die weite welt*,
14 fuq *ging*. 15 gyqk *ging*. 24 'n
ghroo'tæ maa'ltiit *eine grosse mahlzeit*.
26 froogh *frug*. 27 zee *sagte*.

29. *Rastede*, village (53 n 14,
8 e 11). I. 153.

11 en minsh har tbhee zæcens. 12
un hee dee'ldæ ær dat ghood. 15 dæ
sbhiin to hææ'æn. 18 vaa'dær, ik hef
zy'ndæ daan vor dii. 22 haalt dat
bestæ kleed her un tee-t æm an, un
stækt æ'm 'n riq an-æ hand, un shoo
aa'vør ziin fœæt. 23 'n mæst kalf.
24 den di'sæ miin zæcæn bheer doot,
un is bhe'dær fu'næn bhu rn. 25 aa'bhær
dæ æ'lstæ zæcæn bheer up-t feld, un as

he dikht biit huus keem hœrde he dat zi'gen un dat dantsen. 27 diin broor. 29 dat ik mit miin frunə fœrhnœ'ght bheez'en kun. 31 miin zœen, duu byst a'tiid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 hœrdœ'r hindurch. 17 zee sagte. 26 to bœdy'æn zu bedeuten. [N.B. Final r scarcely heard; d, l, soft r confused, so that *wedder* sounds nearly *wedde*, *wedda*, *werre*, *verra*, *welle*, *wella*, in Winkler's spelling.]

b. FRIESIAN IN OLDENBURG. I. 155.

30. *Sagelterland*, district about *Friesoythe*, town (53n1, 7e51). I. 158. [The inhabitants are genuine Friesians in descent, language, dress, and customs.]

11 deer bhas ins en maa'nskœ un dii hii'de tthee'n suu'nœ. 12 doo de'e-lœdœ di ool'de mon it him too un raa't him bhet him too'keem. 15 uum dœ sbhi'nœ to bhaa'rjœn. 18 baa'bœ, ['father'] ik hœ'bœ se'ndighed juun dii. 22 haa'lœ mi ins ['once'] ghœu ['quickly'] do be'stœ kloo'derœ hiir, un luu'kœt him do oon, nii'mœt ook œn riq med, un dwoot ['do,' put] him dii oon ziin hoo'ndœ un reek him skoo'œ oon-œ feetœ. 23 œn mœ'stœd koolv. 24 dœn dis zuun fon mii bhas foor uus zoo ghoo'd as dood, un nuu hœ'bœ bhi him bhiir fuu'ndœn. 25 too bhiil'œn bhas di ool'stœ suun op-t feeld too arbœi-djœn ['work']; man doo nii-s œuunds [almost spoken *s'evens*, says Winkler, 'in the evening,' old Friesic *iond*] fon-t feeld e'tœr ['after'] huus bhœi ['away'] giq haa'rœdœ hii det shu'qœn un det doo'nsjœn fon doo bhe'rskuplœyy'dœ ['workpeople']. 27 diin broo'r. 29 det ik un mii'ne friy'ndœ ook ins lœ'stigh bhe'e'ze kuurdœnœ. 31 miin liœou bee'r'd'n, [the (r) scarcely heard] duu best a'tiid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 do bee'den beiden. 13 fraa'md fremd, jœeld geld, to lii'œn zu leben. 14 lii'dœ leiden, niks neen nichts kein, broo'd brodt. 15 dwœo thun, bhel bhiil him ook in ziin tœnst nii'mœ? *wer will ihn auch in seinen dienst nehmen*, buur bauer, saa'ntœ sandte. 16 jœ'r'dœn gern. 17 hii bitœ'ghtœ zi'k er bedachte sich, kwaad sagte [English *quoth*], fuu'lœ viele, stœe rué darben, hœeud nii'de gehabt hatte. 18 blii'œe bleiben, kwœ'e'de sagen. 20 bloo'kœd

geblickt. 21 lœyy'dœ leute. 26 to bitœyy'dœn zu bedeuten. 29 siœkh sieh, naa'n lii'tjœ buk keinen kleinen bock [English *little*, (li'tik) in other positions].

31. *Wangeroog*, or in North Friesian *Wrangeroog*, island (53 n 47, 7 e 52). I. 171.

11 dœr is œinmool œn shee'l ['churl,' used for married man] bhi'ziin, dan hœid tthœin fœntœr ['unmarried men']. 12 daa fardœi'ld dan oo'l mon siin jil ['money,' geld] un ghoo'd fonoo'rn [Dutch *van elkander*, from each other, apart] u'nœr dœ bœidh, un ro't oon dan juqst siin dœil, saa fel as him too kœum. 15 uum dœ sbhiin too waa'riin. 18 bab! ['father,' (maam) 'mother'] ik hœb syn'ikht jœn dii. 22 haa'liit jum mii ins ['once'] ki'tigh ['quickly'] dœ best kloo'dœr hoo'd ['hither'] un tjoot him dœ oon; rœi'kœt him uk œn riq oon siin hœun un nii skoo'r ['new shoes'] oon siin foot. 23 œn fat kalf. 24 umdœ't din fœnt fon mii sœ ghoo'd as doo'd bheer, un nuu hœ'bœt bhi him bhiidœr fuu'nœn. 25 u'nœrstu'skœn bheer dan mon siin alst fœnt up-t felt bhi'siin, to arbœi'dœn. man daa hi œi'vœns ['in the evening'] naa huus ghœiq un thikht bii ki'miin bheer daa hœerd hii dœit shœ'qœn un dœit do'nsœn. 27 diin broo'r. 29 dœit ik un miin fryn uus œi'nmoool frœu kuu'nœn. 31 miin lii'uœf bee'rn, duu best œa a'tiid bi mii.

[*th* is both (th) and (dh); (dh) is assigned in (bœidh, kwi'dhiin, liidh, up stii'dhi, siin lœe'dhiigh), in German *beide*, *sprechen*, *leiden*, *zur stelle*, *sein lebtæg*; in (thikht, thiœo'nstœn) German *dicht*, *dienstknechten*, it is not assigned, but it is stated that no rule can be given for the different use of (th) and (dh); (sh, tj, dj) are conjunctures for *sj*, *tj*, *dj*. Winkler in his notes writes in v. 11, *sjeel scheht*, but an East Friesian lady would not hear of (sh, tsh) for her *sj*, *tsj*, which are nearly (sj, tsj), see notes on specimen 87*; the plural in *u* is remarkable, as (huu'su, skyy'pu) German *hœuser*, *schiffer*. The whole dialect is remarkable.]

XIII. EAST FRIESLAND. I. 182.

[East Friesian consists at present of Low German, Friso-saxon (chiefly), and Old Friesian (as a trace). In Emden and near it Hollandish has also influenced the speech.]

32. *Esens*, town (53 n 39, 7 e 36). I. 187.

11 'n minsk har tbhee ZEENS. 12 un he dee'ld her-t ghoo'd. 15 de sbhiin to bhAA-rdøn. 18 vAA-dær, ik heb zy'ndight vEEr dii. 22 briqt-t best klee'd her un doot hym-t'an, un gheeft hym 'n fi-qærriq an ziin hand un sho'o an ziin fœcet. 23 'n me'st't kalf. 24 den dis miin ZEEN bheer dood, un is bheer fund'n bhu'rd'n. 25 man dō olst ZEEN bheer up-t land, un as he naa bii-t huus kweem hœr he dat ghæzi-q ['singing'] un-d ri-ghdants ['country dance']. 27 diin brœer. 29 dat-'k mit miin fry'nd'n ly'stigh bheer. 31 miin ZEEN, duu bist a'tiïd bi mii.

33. *Nesse*, village, near *Norden*, town (53 n 36, 7 e 12). I. 190.

11 en minsk har tbhee ZÆENS. 13 un dō vAA-dær deeld HÆER dat ghoo'd. 15 to sbhiin bhAA-røn. 18 vAA-dær, ik heb zy'ndight vÆER dii. 22 briqt dat best styk klee'r her un doo-t hym-t'an, un gheeft hym 'n fi-qærriq an ziin hand un sho'o an ziin footæn. 23 'n mesd [mest?] kalf. 24 den dis miin ZÆEN bheer dood, un is bheer fun'n. 25 man dō o-lstæ ZÆEN bheer up-t feld, un as he dikht bii-t huus kbheem, HÆER he dat zi'q'n un spri-q'n. 27 diin brœer. 29 dat ik mit miin fryn ly'stigh bheer. 31 miin ZÆEN, duu best a'tiïd bi mii.

34. *Norden*, town (53 n 36, 7 e 12). I. 192.

11 en minsk har tbhee ZÆENS. 12 un he vœdee'lto dat ghoo'd u'nær hœr. 15 de sbhiin to hœe'dæn. 18 vAA-dær, ik hef zy'ndight vœr dii. 22 HAALT dat be'stæ klee'd her un trekt hum dat an, un gheeft hum 'n fi-qærriq an ziin hand un sho'o an ziin footæn. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 den dis miin ZÆEN bhas dood, un is bheer fun'n. 25 AA-bær dō o-lstæ ZÆEN bhas up-t feld, un as he dikht bi huus keem, hœer he dat zi'qen un dæn'æn. 27 diin brœer. 29 dat ik mit miin fryn ly'stigh bheer-zæn kun. 31 miin ZÆEN, duu bist a'tiïd bi mii.

35. *Nordernei*, island (53 n 43, 7 e 11). I. 195.

11 en minsk ha' tbhûi zœns. 12 un hœ'i deel hœ'a dat ghoo'd. 15 dō sbhiinæn to hœe'dæn. 18 vAA-da, ik heb zyn daan vœ dii. 22 briqt dat mōist ['most beautiful,' Dutch *mooiste*] klee'd hœa un doot hum't an un gheeft hum 'n riq um ziin fi-qa un sho'eæn

um ziin footæn. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 din di'se miin zœn bhas dood, un hœ'i is bhœa-fu'næn. 25 AA-bherst dō'i olst zyn bhas up-t feld, un as hœ'i náu bii-t huus kbheem, hœ'a hœ'i dat zi'qen un spri-qen. 27 dii brœ'a. 29 dat ik mit miin fry'næn mu'nta bhœa. 31 miin zœn, duu byst a'tiïd bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zai *sagte*, paat *part*, *theil*. 15 hœ'i vœrhy'a zyk *er vermiethete sich*. 17 ik vœgâu *ich vergehe*. 20 hœ'i mook zyk up *er machte sich auf*. ["The *r* final is pronounced indistinctly or not at all; if unaccented *e* precedes it, *er* sounds almost as *a*, *vadar* as *vada*. The *r* is a stumbling-block for all Friesians and all Saxons that live near the coast." This final *r* has therefore been omitted throughout this transcript.]

36. *Borkum*, island (53 n 44, 6 e 52). I. 201. [This dialect is nearer Groningenish than East Friesian.]

11 'n see'kær mi'nskø har twêi zœens. 12 on hœ'i dœi'ldæ hœr-t'ghout. 15 de swii'næn tō wAA-røn. 18 vAA-dær, ik heb zœ'ndight tee'ghæn dii. 22 breqt-'t be'stæ kléid her on trekt hœm-t'an on gheeft hœm 'n riq an ziin hand un skhœu an dō fœu'tæn. 23 't-me'stæ kalf. 24 want miin zœen was dood, on is hœ'i weer fœndæn. 25 on ziin o-lstæ zœen was op-t feld, on as hœ'i kbham, on-t huus naa'dærdæ, hœe'rde hœ'i-t zi'qen on dæn'æn. 27 jœu brœ'ir. 29 dat ik mii met miin fru'ndæn vœrmaa'kæn kœn. 31 kind, duu bist a'tiïd bi mii.

["The letter *o* in the words *on*, *jongste*, *honger*, *hom*, etc., is very obscure, almost exactly like High German *u* in *und*, *hunger*, etc., and hence is here given as (*o*). "The *w* is the usual Friesian and English *w*." I have hitherto used the German and Dutch (*bh*) even for Friesian; but in this example I have employed (*w*). Is Winkler right here? I shall venture to use (*bh*), except when specially directed not to do so. My Emden authority said (*bh*) distinctly, even in (*kbham*), not (*kwam*, *kwam*). See notes to specimen 87*.]

37. *Emden*, town (53 n 22, 7 e 12). I. 205.

[A lady, who is a native of Emden, kindly read over this version to me, and I give her pronunciation as well as I can remember, which is not very

distinctly, as there was not time to write anything from dictation. She found fault with some of the phrases, and supposed the writer to have been a German. I have followed her changes.]

11 *dər* bhas eens 'n *minsk*, *də* *hər* [the (r) effective, but almost (r_o)] *tbھے* *zœœns*. 12 *un* *də* *vaa*-r *dee*-l*də* *də* *bôu*-d*əl* [distinctly, not merely 'nearly' as Winkler says] *u*-n*ər* *də* *bái*-d*ən* [distinctly (ái), not (éi)]. 15 *tu* *sbhi*-n*ə* *bhaa*-r*ən*. 18 *vaa*-r, *ik* *bin* 'n *frees*-l*k* *ghrôu*-t*ə* *zu*-n*dər* *te*-g*hən* *dii*. 22 *zee* *zu*-l*ən* *up*-*ə* *stee*-t *best* *pak* *klee*-r *bre*-q*ən* *un* *zə* *zu*-l*ən* *zii* *zœœn* *dat* *a*-n*t*r*ē*-k*ən*, *un* *hum* *ôuk* 'n *go*-l*n* *riq* *a*-n*d* *hand* *stee*-k*ən* *un* *zu*-l*ən* *hum* *shôo*-u *an* *ziin* *fôu*-t*ən* *dôun*. 23 'n *fet* *kalf*. 24 *umda*-t *ziin* *juq* *tu* *də* *dôo*-d*ən* *al* *hœrt* *hər*, *un* *bhas* *tu* *f*-n*dən* *kô*-m*ən*. 25 *man* *də* *o*-l*stə* *zœœn* *bhas* *up*-t *feld* *bhest*. *as* *he* *nuu* *dikht* *bi* *huus* *kbham*, *doo* *vérna*-m *hə* *al* *fôn* *fēr*-n*t* *zi*-q*ən* *un* *spœœlən* *un* *d*-n*ənsən*. 27 *un* *brœœr*. 29 *dat* *ik* *mit* *mi*-n*ə* *klān*-t*ən* *mii* *dər* *bhat* *bii* *vérmaa*-k*ən* *kun*. 31 *miin* *juq*, *doo* *bist* *jaa* *a*-l*tii*-d*ən* *bi* *mii*.

38. *Leer*, town (53 n 13, 7 e 27). I. 212. [My Emden authority said the writer of this was a native personally known to her, and the version good.]

11 *dər* bhas *ins* 'n *man* *dee*-j *hər* *tbھے*-j *zœœns*. 12 *un* *də* *o*-l*ə* *dee*-j*l*-d*ə* *dat* *ghéi*ôud [(éiôu) one tetraphthong, in rapid speaking sounds as (iôu)] *u*-n*də* *hœœr*. 15 *də* *sbhi*-n*ə* *tə* *hœ*-i*dən*. 18 *vaa*-d*ər*, *ik* *heb* *mi* *an* *dii* *vər*-z*yn*d*ight*. 22 *brœt* *də* *bə*-st*ə* *klee*-j*rə* *heer* *un* *trekt* *zə* *hum* *an*, *un* *steekt* *hum* 'n *ri*-q*ə* *up* *də* *f*-q*ər* *un* *trekt* *hum* *shéi*ôu *um* *də* *f*-i*ôu*-t*ən*. 23 'n *mē*-st*kalf*. 24 *den* *kikt*, *d*-s*ə* *miin* *zœœn* *bhas* *dood*, *un* *hee*-j *is* *bheer* *f*-n*ənsən*. 25 *man* *də* *o*-l*stə* *zœœn* *bhas* *up*-t *feld*, *un* *as* *hee*-j *d*-i*khtə* *bii*-t *huus* *kbham*, *hœœr*d*ə* *hœi* *dat* *zi*-q*ən* *un* *spri*-q*ən*. 27 *diin* *brœ*-i*r*. 29 *dat* *ik* *maal* *mit* *miin* *fry*-n*də* *ly*-st*igh* *bheer*-z*ən* *kun*. 31 *miin* *lee*-j*və* *zœœn*, *doo* *byst* *a*-l*tii*d *bi* *mii*.

["(ee') is a dull sound, like Dutch *ee*, approaching Dutch *ij*."] I have taken it as the London long *a*. "The fracture *aiou* (éiôu) in the Dutch words *good*, *to*, *hoven*, *scho*, *foten*, etc., as pronounced in Leer, is difficult to render. In Dutch letters *eiou* would come nearest; the stress is on *ou*. In rapid speech the sound is nearly *iou*, *jou* (iôu, jôu). The *öi* (œ'i) sound in *hoiden*, *bröir*, is nearest to Dutch *ui*."]]

XIV. WESTFALEN, in English WESTPHALIA. I. 216.

39. *Wittlage*, village, near *Osnabrück*, town (52 n 17, 8 e 3). I. 218. [Transitional from Friso-Saxon to Low-Saxon.]

11 *een* *minsk* *hər*-*ə* *tbھے* *zœœn*-n*əns*. 12 *un* *he* *dee*-l*ə* *tu*-s*ən* *də* *bœ*-d*ən* *dat* *vər*m*y*-g*hən*. 15 *dat* *hee* *də* *sbhi*-n*ə* *hœ*-d*ə*. 18 *vaar*, *ik* *hē*-b*hə* *zy*-n*də* *dāun* *vor* *dii*. 22 *haa*-l*ət* *dat* *bə*-st*ə* *kléid* *un* *tē*-*ət* *et* *em* *an*, *un* *ghii*-b*hət* *em* *en* *riq* *an* *də* *hānd* *un* *shoo*-*ə* *an* *zii*-n*ə* *fœœ*-t*ə*. 23 *ən* *mē*-st*ət* *kalbh*. 24 *den* *dysə* *miin* *zœœnə* *bhas* *dāut*, *un* *is* *bhiir* *f*-n*ənsən*. 25 *a*-b*hər* *də* *œ*-l*stə* *zœœnə* *bhas* *up* *den* *fēi*-l*ə*, *un* *as* *he* *nēi*-g*hər* *an* *dat* *huus* *kbham*, *hœr*d*ə* *he* *zi*-q*ən* *un* *spel* ['play']. 27 *diin* *broœ*-*ər*. 29 *dat* *ik* *mii* *mit* *mi*-n*ə* *fry*-n*də* *en* *və*-g*h*n*œœ*-g*hən* *maa*-k*ədə*. 31 *miin* *zœœnə*, *doo* *bist* *a*-l*ə* *tiit* *bi* *mii*.

40. *Vreden*, town (52 n 3, 6 e 49). I. 221.

11 *daar* *bhas* *es* 'n *man*, *dee* *had* *tbھے* *zœ*-n*ə*. 12 *un* *he* *vər*d*ee*-l*ə* *u*-n*də* *hœœr*-k*ən* *vər*m*y*-g*hən*. 15 *də* *vār*-k*ən* *tə* *hœœ*-*ən*. 18 *vaa*-d*ər*, *ik* *hē*-b*ə* *zy*-n*də* *dāan* *tē*-g*hən* *dii*. 22 *haa*-l*t* 't *bə*-st*ə* *klee*d *un* *trekt* 't *em* *an*, *stēkt* 'n *riq* *an* *zii*-n*ə* *hānd* *un* *trekt* *em* *shoo* *an* *zii*-n*ə* *vœœ*-t*ə*. 23 't *mē*-st*kalf*. 24 *den* *dysə* *zœ*-n*ə* *bhas* *dood*, *un* *hee* *is* *bheer* *f*-n*ənsən*. 25 *doo* *bhas* *də* *œ*-l*stə* *zœ*-n*ə* *in*-t *feld* *doo* *də* *noo* *kam* *un* *nāa* *an* -t *huus* *bhas*, *hē*-*ordə* *hee* *də* *vioc*-l ['violin'] *un*-t *d*-n*ənsən*. 27 *diin* *broor*. 29 *dat* *ik* *met* *mi*-n*ə* *f*-r*œ*-n*də* *met* *plēsār* 'n *maa*-l*tii*-d *kon* *hō*-l*ən*. 31 *miin* *zœ*-n*ə*, *doo* *bist* *a*-l*tii*d *bi* *mii*.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 *vre*-a*md* *fremd*, *vēdē*-*er* *verthat*, *dē*-*ar* *durch*. 14 *vē*-t*ē*-*ard* *verzehrt*. 15 *kœ*-t*ər* [Eng. *cotter*]. 18 *uu* *euch*. 19 *ik* *byn* *ich* *bin*. 20 *ghyq* *ging*, *medlii*-d*igh* *mitteleidig*, *em* *tə* *mœ*-i*tə* [Eng. *him* *to* *meet*]. ["(zœ-nə) is pronounced nearly as Dutch *zonne*," variously with (ə, œ, əh), see (1292, a). "(e'y) in (vermē-y'ghən) is between Dutch *vermuggen* and *vermuigen*."]]

41. *Münster*, town (51 n 57, 7 e 37). I. 224.

11 *et* *bhas* *dər*maa-l *en* *man*, *də* *hə*-d*ə* *tbھے* *zœœnə*. 12 *un* *he* *vər*-d*ee*-l*ə* *ziin* *vər*m*y*-g*hən* *u*-n*dər* *də* *bēi*-d*ən*. 15 *də* *sbhi*-n*ə* *tə* *hœœ*-d*ən*.

18 *VAÄ'dar*, ik *HE'və* mi *verfēilt* *ghii-ghən* dii. 22 nuu *men*, fiiks ['quickly'] un *HAA'let* den *al-ler-be'stan* rok un *tre-ket* en *əm an*, *stie'e'ket* *əm-ee-nən* ri'qk an *də* fi-qer un *ghi-vet* *əm-shoo'e* an *də* *fœw'tə*. 23 en *fet* *kalv*. 24 den *dy-sə* *miin* *ZAAN* *bhas* *däut*, un *he* is *bhiir* *fu'nən* *bHAA'rən*. 25 *u'nderdē-sən* *kbbam* *ziin* *œ'ldstə* *ZAAN* *fom* *fe'lde* *NAÄ* *huu'zə*, un *as* *he* in *də* *néi-ghdē* *bhas* un *də* *muzii-k* un *dat* *da'ntsen* *Hœœ'r'də*. 27 diin *braAR*. 29 dat ik *mii* *met* *mii'nən* *frœ* *ndēn* *HE'də* *lu'stigh* *MAA'kən* *ko'e'nən*. 31 *miin* *ZAAN*, *duu* *bli-vəst* *y-mər* *bi* *mii*.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 *toō-kymp* *zukommt*. 13 *liee'vən* *leben*. 14 *fa'qk* *fiing*, to *lii'dən* *zu* *leiden*. 15 *bhūē'ndə* *wohnte*, *kda'tən* [Westphalian word, Eng. *cots*]. 16 *giee'tnə* *gern*. 17 *bräut* *brodt*, *stiee'rve* [Eng. *starve*]. 21 *bhiee'rt* *wertth*. 22 *liiv* *'dōn* *leuten*. 23 *laa'tet* *us* *iee'tən* [Eng. *let us eat*], *ghūēder* *guter*. 26 *rāip* *rief*, *fraa'gh* *frug*, *bēdy'v'dən* *bedeuten*. 28 to *frāi'dən* *zufrieden*. 29 *nym*s *niemals*.

42. *Paderborn*, town (51 n 43, 8 e 45). I. 229.

11 et *bhas* *mol* en *man* *dēi* *HA'də* *tbhéi* *zy'nə*. 12 *doo* *dēi'lde* *dēi* *VAÄ'r* un *ghaf* *-nə* *bhat* *-nə* *tāukam*. 15 *də* *sbhiir* *tāu* *hœ'yən*. 18 *VAÄ'r*, ik *he'bə* *zy'ndighet* *vœer* *dii*. 22 *HAALT* *mi* *den* *be'stan* *rok*, un *tre-ket* *nə* *ee'nə* an, *stee'ket* *nə* *āuk* en *riq* an *zi'nən* *fi-qer* un *ghii'bet* *nə* *shāu'ə* an *də* *fœ'y'tə*. 23 dat *be'stə* *kalf*. 24 den *di-sə* *ju-qə* *bhas* *vər* *mii* *dēet*, un *hēi* is *nōō* *bhiir* *fu'nən*. 25 un *dēi* *o'lstə* *ju-qə* *bhas* *tər* *tiit* *ghraa'də* ['at that time exactly'] *up* en *fe'lə*, un *as* *də* *nuu* *tər* *hēi-mə* *kam* un *dat* *zi-qən* un *spektaa-keln* *Hœ'r'də*. 27 diin *brāu'r*. 29 dat ik *mit* *mii'nən* *fry'ndən* *mi* *mol* *lu'stigh* *MAA'kən* *kun*. 31 *miin* *zuun*, *duu* *bist* *o'tiit* *bi* *mii*.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 *ki-nasdēi'l* *kinde's theil*, *tāukymt* *zukommt*. 14 *nə* *ghree'tə* *hu'qerznee't* *eine* *grosse* *hungersnoth*. 15 *vermēi'ədə* *vermietete*. 16 *kree-ghən* *kriegen*. 17 *breed* *brodt*, *ghe-nāugh* *genug*. 26 *rēip* *rief*, *froo'ədə* *fragte*. 30 *hāu'rēntykh* *hurenzeug*.

43. *Sauerland*, district about *Soest*, town (51 n 35, 8 e 7). I. 233.

11 et *bhas* *mol* *nə* *man*, *dāi* *har* *tbhēe'i* *zy'nə*. 12 un *də* *va'tər* *shikhtədə* ['shed, divided'] *ty'skər* [Dutch *tusschen*, between] *diee'n* *be'ghən* ['both,

(d) changed to (gh)]. 15 *də* *sbhēeina* *hāin* ['heed, (d) omitted]. 18 *VAAR*, ik *he'və* *zy'nə* *doon* *tii-ghən* *dik*. 22 *ghoot* un *HAALT* *də* *stœœ-dighstən* ['stateliest'] *rok* un *tre-kər* *nə* *ie'mə* an un *ghiee't* ['give'] *mə* *nə* *riqk* an *də* *hand* un *shāu* an *zēeina* *fāitə*. 23 en *fet* *kalf*. 24 *bhēeila-qk* ['because'] *hii* *mēein* *zuun* *bhas* *dāut*, un *hie't* *zik* *bhiir* *fu'nən*. 25 *nūu* *bhas* *AA'bhər* *də* *œ'ləstə* *zuun* *biu'tən* *op* 'm *fe'lə*, un *as* *ə* *ran* *kam* un *nōō-ghə* *bēei* *huā'bhə* [German *hofe*, 'farmyard'] *bhas*, *doo* *hōrt* *ə* *muuzika'ntən* ['musicians'] *spii'lən* un *zi-qən*. 27 *dēein* *brāu'ər*. 29 *dar* ik *trakhtēmē'ntə* *fiir-rən* ['celebrate'] *as* *a* *church* *feast*] *kon* *mit* *mēei'nər* *frœ'ndskop*. 31 *mēein* *zuun*, *dūu* *bist* *y-mər* un *al'tēeit* *bēei* *mēei*.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 *fyee'r* *vor*, *tāu-kyymət* *zukommt*. 13 *də* *bhēei'ə* *bhelt* *die* *weite* *welt*, *dāi* *ju-qəstə* *lāit* *sēei* *bhuāl* *zēein* *der* *jiingste* *liess* *sich* *wohl* *sein*. 14 in *diee'r* *ghii-ghend* *in* *dieser* *gend*, 't *feqk* *ie'mə* [*ihm* *dat.*, (*ie'nə*) *ihm* *acc.*] an *kūim* *tə* *ghoon* *es* *fiing* *ihm* an *kaum* *zu* *gehn*. 15 *buu'rən* *bauer*, *kuā'tən* [*cots*]. 16 *doo* *HER* *Hāi* *zēei* *ghē'rən* *da* *hätte* *er* *sehr* *gern*, *det* *lēeif* *vul* *ghie'tən* *den* *leib* *voll* *essen* (?), *van* *dem* *riu'tāi-gə* *von* *dem* *rauhtzeuge*, *boo* *mēe* *də* *sbhēeina* *met* *fāuērdə* *wo* *man* *die* *schweine* *mit* *fütterte*. 17 *daa'ghlōi'nər* *tagelöhner*, *ter* *hēi'mə* *in* *der* *heimath*, ik *goo* *hi* *dāut* *ich* *gehe* *hier* *todt*. 20 *bho'r'tə* *bhēi-māi-digh* *wurde* *wehmüthig*, *lāip* 'me *in* *də* *māite* *lief* *ihm* *entgegen* [Eng. *to* *meet* *him*], *ky'sər* *nə* *kūsste* *ihn* [-r *for* -d, in weak imperfect]. 23 *bhēei* *bhelt* *iee'tən* *wir* *wollen* *essen*. 24 *verluā'ren* *verloren*. 25 *biutən* [Eng. *dial.* *beouten*, without; similarly (*ut*) *out*, (*nūu*) *now*, (*biu*) *how* = *wie*]. 26 *rāip* *rief*, *froo'ghər* *fragte*, *luās* *los*. 27 *HEE'il* un *gezu'nd* [Eng. *whole* and *sound*]. 29 *ə'mfədə* *antwo'tetē*, *gebuā't* *gebot* [(ēei), (ē) distincter than (i); (iu, ūi, uā, yē, iē, ē'i) have their stress vowel thus distinguished by Winkler].

XV. *NEDER-RIJNLAND*, in English LOWER RHINE, province. I. 239.

44. *Emmerik*, in German, *Emmerich*, town (51 n 51, 6 e 15). I. 241.

11 'n *mins* *had* *tbhēe* *zoon*s. 12 en *hēi* *dēi'lde* *zin* *vermœœ-ghən* *met* *ən*. 15 *əm* *də* *verkes* *tə* *huu'rən*. 18

vaad-dər, ik heb min vərzə'ndighd tee'ghə óu. 22 gháu ['quick'] breqd æm 't be'stə kleed, trekt et æm aan, en duud æm 'n riq aan zin hand en shuun aan zin vyyt. 23 't ghəmi'stə kalf. 24 bhant dee'zə min zoon bhaas dood, en hēi is bheer ghəv'nda. 25 zin o'ldstə zoon ær'bhər bhas op-t veld, duu hēi nōu dikht bēi hys kbham, hæcərdə hēi də muuzi'k en dən dans. 27 óu bruur. 29 dat ik met min vri'ndə 'n vræcə'likə partēi-kon hō'ldə. 31 min zoon, ghēi bənt a'ltoos bēi min.

[I have generally not distinguished Dutch *eu*, *u*, except as long and short (æ, ø), considering it very uncertain whether in the specimens (æ, ø) were consistently distinguished; but as Mr. Sweet gives (æ) for long Dutch *eu* (1292, *a*), and as Winkler here states that his *ø* is used for short Dutch *eu*, "which cannot be easily rendered in Dutch letters," I have used (ø) for his *ø* in this example.]

45. *Gelderen*, in English *Guel-ders*, town (51 n 31, 6 e 19). I. 244.

11 eene vaad-dər had tbbhe zææn. 12 gheft mikh min ki'ndsdeel ['give me my child's-share'] en də vaad-dər déi dat. 15 æm də vər'kəs tə hyy-jæn. 21 vaad-dər, ek heb gezæcə'ndighd tee-ghən áu. 22 zə zolən zii'nən zoon néi klee'r ghee-vən, æm eē'nən riqk an də fi-qərs stee'kə en æm néi shuun a'ntre'kə. 23 een vet kalf. 24 bhant ghēi mōt bhe'te ['for you must know'] dee'zə mi'ne zoon bhor vør mikh vørloo're, mar hēn het zikh bəke'rt ['he has reformed, converted, himself'] en es náu bher min kind. bhōi zēi náu tə zaa'mən bhoren, 25 kbhom den e'lstə zon van-t veld tər'gh en hærdə dat zi-qən en dānsə. 27 diin bryyr. 29 dat ek mikh met min vri'ndan lystigh maa'kə kos. 31 min kind, duu blyfst æmər bāi mikh.

46. *Meurs*, in German *Mörs*, county, and town (51 n 27, 6 e 37). I. 247.

11 eē'nə man had tbbhe zææn. 12 on he dee'ldə æn het ghud. 15 æm də poo'kən tə hyy-jæn. 18 faad-dər, ik hæb zæ'yn ghədəa'n for dikh. 22 briqd dat be'stə kleed niir on trekd-et æm aan, on gheefd-æm eē'nə fi-qərri-q aan zin hand, on shuun aan zin fyft. 23 en ghəmaa'st kalf. 24 den dee'zə mi'ne zoon bhor dood, on æs bhiir ghefo'nden. 25 maar də e'lstə zoon bhor op et feld, on es he kort

be-t huus kbhoom, hærdə he dat spæcə-lan un dānsən. 29 dat ik ens mid min fræ'yn fræcə'lik koos ziin. 31 mi'ne zoon, dóu bæs æmər bee mikh ghəbhee's.

47. *Düsseldorp*, in German *Düsseldorf*, town (51 n 13, 6 e 46). I. 250.

11 nə man had tsbhēi [High German form] jo-qəs. 12 doo de'ldə ænə dər vatər də erfshaft ['inheritance']. 15 də vər'kəs tso hæcərdə. 18 vatər, ekh han ghezə'ndighd ghee-ghən dekh. 22 brəqt op dər stel et be'stə kleid, on trekt et æm an, on dod-'m æn reqk on də haqk ['hand'] on shoon an də fæcəs. 23 dat fe'tə kalf. 24 den hee mi'ne joq bhoor dood, on es bhi-dər ghəfo-qə bhoor-də. 25 zi'nə e'lstə joq bhoor e'bhər op dām feld; as hēe noo ['now'] no huus koom, hæcə'dan-a speel on dants. 27 dii broo-dər. 29 dat ekh met min fræ'ndə æ e'sə hā'ldə kuunt. 31 zykħ ['see'] joq, duu bes i'mər bēi mekh.

48. *Keulen*, in German *Köln*, in English and French *Cologne*, town (50 n 56, 6 e 59). I. 254.

11 nə vatər hat tsbhēi zæn. 12 un hēe deil'tən dat vørmeæcə'ghə u-qər zee. 15 də vər'kə tso hæcərdə. 18 vatər! ikh han mikh vərzy'ndigh ghee-ghən deer. 22 fløk ['quick'] brəqk im dər be'stə rik eruus, trekt en im aan, doot eē'nə riq aan ziq hand un shoon aan ziq fæcəs. 23 dat ma'skalbh. 24 dan di'sə, mi-qə zon, bhor duut, un noo es hēe bhi-dər fu-qə bhoor-də. 25 et bhor e'vər si-qən ['his'] e'lstə zon om feld. als deē nuu hāim ghiq un ob et huus aa'nkoom hoot hēe dii muuzi'k un dat dāntə. 27 diin broo-dər. 29 dat ikh met mi-qə ['my'] fry'nden ens æ fæ'stə'qkħən [diminutive from French *festin*] hā'ldə kunt. 31 zykħ ['see'] juq, doo bes i'mər bēi meer.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ZEET sagte tsoo kyt zukömmt. 13 bhys weise ['manner']. 15 boor bauer. 16 kein ziil ghooft zə im keine seele gab sie ihm. 19 bheet werth. 20 freen fern. 27 kree'ghən kriegən.

49. *Bonn*, town (50n43, 7e5). I. 258.

11 nə man hat tsbhēi zæn. 12 on e deet dat vørmeæcə'ghə u-qə zə dee'lə. 15 de sæ'y tso hæcərdə. 18 vatər,

ikh ham mikh vözy'ndigh ghee'ghē dikh. 22 ghəshbhi'nd ['quickly'], brēqt em -t bēstə klee'd aru'us, doot et em aan, on stekht eē'nə ri'qk aan zi'q hand on shoosn aan zi'q fœœs. 23 't ghəme'sta kalf. 24 den di'sə mi'qə zon bhoor duut, on es bhi'də ghəfu'qə bho'o'də. 25 et bhoor e'vər zi'qə elst zon op den feld. alts dee nuu koom on dem huus noo bhoor, hyyt-ə də muuzi'k on dən danz. 27 di'qə broo'dər. 29 dat ikh met mi'qə frēnd eē'nə frē'y'damoo'ltsik [German *freudemaalzeit*, 'joy-meal-time,' jollification] gəhAA'lə het. 31 mi'qə leē'və zon, duu bes i'mər bēi miir.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ZEET *sagte*. 14 hu'qərshnuut *hungersnoth*. 17 bruid *brodt*. 26 reef *rief*, knē'khds *knechte*. 29 ghəgho'və *gegeben*.

50. *Aken*, in German *Aachen*, in French and English *Aix-la-Chapelle*, town (50 n 46, 6 e 8). I. 261.

11 e'qə man hāu tsbhēi jœ'qsgherə. 12 ghef mikh mi'qə a'ndeel. dər āu'ə ['old man'] dogh dat. 15 də vēr'kəs hœ'y'ə. 18 vā'dər, ik han bē'qklikh [? German *bengel-lich*, 'like a rascal'] ghəzœ'ndight an dər hi'məl. 22 brēqt hem də bēi'stə montu'r, en trekt dēi hem an; gheft hem nə req a'qən ['on the'] ha'qk ['hand'] 'n shoq ['shoes'] a'qə puu'tə ['feet,' either an interchange of *f* and *p*, or related to Dutch *pooten*, paws; in Zeeland (puu'tən puu'təs) are hands, and in Leeuwarden, in children's language, both hands and feet are called (puu'tən, puu'təkəs) or (pə'tən, pə'təkəs); compare the English nursery term, 'little patches']. 23 en fet kāuf. — [This specimen contains only 23 verses.]

XVI. NEDERLAND, in English THE NETHERLANDS or kingdom of HOLLAND. I. 265.

[Winkler prefers calling the present kingdom of Holland, the *North* Netherlands, and the kingdom of Belgium, the *South* Netherlands. This is chiefly because the whole language is Low German. See No. XXVIII.]

XVII. LIMBURG, North-Netherlandish or Dutch portion. I. 269.

51. *Maastricht*, town (50n51, 5e42). I. 272.

11 dAA bhaas ins nə maan, dee hat tbhii zœœns. 12 en duu verdēi'dən ər zə ghoot o'ndər z'n tbhii zœœns. 15 oem də vēr'kəs tə hœœ'rjə. 18 vaa'rjər, ikh hœb tee'ghə œkh zbhuur ghəzœ'ndigh. 22 bri'qk se'fəns ['fast,' a Flemish word] ēin van də bēstə klēi'ər ən doot-ət-əm AAN; ghef-əm nə ri'qk AAN z'n vi'qər en doot m shœœn [sjœœn] AAN z'n vœœt. 23 't vetstə kaa'f. 24 bhant dee zoon van mikh bhaas duut ən nuu is ər bheer ghəvō'ndə. 25 den a'bhstə zoon bhaas op-t feld, ən bhii ər tərœ'k kAAm, ən al kort bō'i z'n huus bhaas, hyyrdən ər dAA zi'qə ən dā'nšə. 27 œœr broor. 29 oem m'n vren ins ['once'] tə traktee'rə ['treat']. 31 hyy' ins hēi, joq, dikh bis a'lti'd bēi mikh.

52. *Sittard*, town (51 n 0, 5 e 52). I. 277.

11 nə minsh hēet tbhee zœœn. 12 ən hēe vērdeē'dən o'qər hœœn-t ghōut. 15 om də vēr'kəs tə œœ'rjə ['heed,' (h) lost, (d) changed to (j)]. 18 vaa'dər, ikh hœb ghəzuu'nigjh, tee'ghən œkh. 22 bri'q nuu rekht tuu zi ghōu ['good,' W.] klee' ən doogh zə-m AAN, ən gjhēef œœm nə ri'qk AAN ziin enj en shuun AAN də vœœt. 23 't vit kāuf. 24 bhent mi' nə zoon bhaas doot, en zə hœ'bən-'m bheer ghefuu'njə. 25 ən dən āau'tstə zoon dee bhaas in -t feldj, ən bhii ər eeversh [Dutch *heemwaarts*, 'homewards'] koom, duu hœœ'rden hēe-t zi'qən en-t dā'nšən. 27 dii brōur. 29 om-dat ikh mit miin fœœnj ookh ins də gjhek [Dutch *gek*, German *geek*, English *gawk*, here for 'mad fun'], koos af'gjhēe'və. 31 kindj, duu bis alti'd bii mikh. — [The Limburgers pronounce *g* = (gh) in Dutch as (gjh) or nearly (j), and also palatalise *d*, *n*, and change *st*, *sl*, *sn*, into (sht, shl, shn). Possibly the (dj) may become (dzh).]

53. *Roermond*, town (51 n 12, 6 e 0). I. 280.

11 ēi'nə zee'kərə mins had tbhee zœœn. 12 ən hē dēi'ldə hœœr -t ghōod. 15 om də vēr'kəs tə hœœ'rjə. 18 vaa'dər, igh hœb zœnj ghədAA'n tee'ghen œgh. 22 bri'qt vAart 't bēstə klēid hii, ən doot 't hēm aan, ən gheft ēi'nən ri'qk aan ziin handj en skhoon aan də vœœt. 23 't vət kalf. 24 bhant dee'zə mi' nə zoon bhaas doot, ən is tərœ'k ghəvō'njə. 25 ən ziinən a'ldstən zoon bhas in-t veldj,

en bhii deē kbhaam en kort bii-t huus kbhaam, hœœr-dæ hēē zank ['song'] en dans. 27 œœr broor. 29 det igh mit miin vrœnj éins lœ'stigh zeen kos. 31 kindj, duu bœs a'l-tiïd bi migh.

54. *Venlo*, town (51 n 22, 6 e 10). I. 283.

11 éine zee-koræ mins had tbhee zœœn. 12 en hēē déi'ldæ œœr-tghood. 15 œm dæ verkæ tæ huurjæ. 18 vaar-dær, ik heb zœnt ghædaan tee'ghæn ogh. 22 breq bedéin [bed for med, 'with one,' 'at once'] -t be'stæ kléïd héi, en doot t-œm aan, ghœef éi'næ riqk aan ziin hand, en skhoon aan dæ vœœt. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant deerzæ miin zoon bhaas dœœd, en is tærk ghævo'ndæ. 25 en ziinæn a'ldstæ zoon bhas in -t veld, en bhie deē kbhaam en kort be'j-t huus kbhaam, hyy'œrdæ hēē zaqk en dans. 29 det ik mit miin vri'ndæn éins lœ'stigh ziin kos. 31 kind, dikh bis a'l-tiïd be'j migh en't miint ['mine'] is-t tiint ['thine'].

55. *Weert*, town (51 n 16, 5 e 43). I. 286.

11 daa bhaas nœ mins, deē hâai tbhee zœœn. 12 en hēē skhe-dæ -t in dæ helft. 15 met dæ verken. 18 vaar-dær, ik heb zœnj ghædaan vœr œkh. 22 lœupjt en haalj't voort 't skhœœnstæ kléïd en doogh t-œm aan, aukh éi'næn riqk aan zin vi-qœr en skhoon aan ziin vœœt. 23 œ vet kaaf. 24 bhant miinæ zœœn, deē ghæ zeetj, bhaas dœœt en bhe he'bæn œm vrœm [Dutch *wederom*, 'again'] ghævo'njæ. 25 mer ['but'] bhii-d'n aa'elstæ [œa and œa are here said to be between o and a, but œa nearer o, and œa nearer a; I have hence transcribed them as (aa, œa) respectively] zœœn uut 't veljd hœ'i'værs [Dutch *huiswaarts*, 'housewards,' 'homewards'] kbhaam, en z'n huus naa'dærdjæn, hœœr-djæn hēē-t ghæskhe'l ['sound'] van-t ghespœœl en -t dænsæ. 27 œœr broor. 29 œm ens met miin vrœnj tæ fié'stæ. 31 miinæ zœœn, umdet jee bi mikh ghœblii'væ zeetj es al miin ghœd vœr dikh.

56. *Stamproi*, village (51 n 12, 5 e 43). I. 290. [This is a specimen of the Kempenland, a large, mostly barren and heathy district in Dutch and Belgian Limburg, which, owing to isolation, has preserved many peculiar words and expressions.]

11 'næ mins ha tbhii' zœœn. 12 en hēē vœrdéi'ldæn zi ghœd o-qœr éin. 15 om vœrœkæn tæ hœœœn. 18 vaar-jær, [formerly (tâai)] ik heb zœnj ghædaan tee'ghæ œkh. 22 lœupjt mœr ghœu ['quickly'] dæ be'stæ kléi'œr haa'læn, en dootj zæ-n-œm aan: dootj œm éi'næn riqk in zin vi-qœr en shoœn aan zin vœœt. 23 het vet kaaf. 24 bhant dæ zœœn deē ik mœ'ndjæn ['minded,' thought] det doo't bhas, es bhrom vo'njæn. 25 ziinæn aa'dstæ zœœn bhaas op-t veldj, bhii deē héi'vœz ['homewards'] kbhaam, en doœ'ndær bi-t huus kwaam, hœœr-djæn-t-œr det binnæn -t spœœl ghij ['heard that within play was going on']. 27 œœr broor. 29 om ens met miin vrinj ke'rœmis ['Christmas,' feasting] tæ haa'œn ['hold']. 31 joq, duu best a'l-tiïd bi mikh.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 17 zeet *sagt* [but 12 *zagt* (zaght)]. 18 zœgghen *sagen*. 19 mi' *mehr*. 20 kompas'i [*compassion*, used also in Belgium and Zealand, where *medelijden* is as unknown as *compassi* is in northern Netherlands.]

XVIII. NOORD-BRABANT, in English DUTCH BRABANT. I. 294. [Closely related to No. XXX. 152, etc.]

57. *Helmond*, town (51 n 28, 5 e 39).

11 œnæ mens haa tbhéi'œ zœns. 12 en tuu hiil zæ va'dær dâi'liq ['dealing,' dividing]. 15 dii mak'tæ n'm vœœrkœshyy-jær. 18 va'dær, 'k heb-r hēē-væ ghædaan [German *ich habe neben gethan*, I have done beside—what is right, i.e. wrong, a euphemism] ti'ghæ âu. 22 ghæa ghâu ['go quickly'] in hœis en vat 't skhaa'nstæ jœ'skœ, det i -t aa'ndy ['on-do,' don] en skhuun an z'n vœœt: en hâi deœ-m œnæn riqk an z'n hand. 23 't vat kalf. 24 bhant mœnæ jœ-qæ hiejer bhaer zoovœœl as dâud en nâu heb k-m bhorœm [Dutch *wiederom*, again]. 25 en zœnæn âutstæ jœ-qæ bhas op-t veld, œ as i tœis [(tæ ôis) to the house] kbhamp, hœi'œrdæn ii -t zi-qæ œn-t dænsæ. 27 âu bruur-jær. 29 dor ik m'n ka'mæraa'tæ op kos trakteeræ. 31 mœnæ jœ-qæ, âu heb ik e'væl al zæ lœœv hii-jær, en war ik heb is e'væl ook t-âu.

58. *Sambeek*, village in the north-east part of North Brabant, the

so-called Land of Kuik (51n37, 5e58). I. 299.

11 dər bhaas-əs ['was once,' (əs) is the remains of eens] 'n mins dii tbhee zoons hāj. 12 ən də vaa'dər dēi'ldə z'n ghuud en ghaaf-'m ziin persii'. 15 om də veer'kəs tē hœœ'rjən. 18 vaa'dər, 'k-həb bi'tər ghæzœ'ndight tœœ'ghən ōu. 22 haa'l-s gāu ['quickly'] mē zo'ndagh'sē ['Sunday's'] spœ'lən yyt dē kiis ən trek-'m dii-s an, ən duu-m e'nən riqk an ziin hant ən skhyyn en dē vyyt. 23 't vətē kalf. 24 bhaant dœœ'rzē mi'i'nē zoon bhaas doot, ən ii is bher ghəvō'ndə. 25 en dē āurstē zoon bhaas in-t veld, maa'r tuun i kort bēi hyy's kwam, hœœ'r'dē ii-t ghæzi'q ən gheda'ns. 27 uu bryyr. 29 om ris ['once,' apparently daar-eens, German *dareinst*] vroo'lik met mē vry'ndē tē bheezē. 31 hœœ'r əs juq, jō'i bint ən blē'ift a'l'tiid bēi mēe.

59. *Oorschot*, hamlet (51 n 30, 5 e 18). I. 302.

11 ē'nē mins ha tbhee zœœ'ns. 12 ən dē vaa'jər dēi'ldə mēe ə'ljə [contraction of Dutch *hunkieden*, 'them'] af. 15 op dē veer'kəs tē pa'sē ['attend']. 18 vaa'jər, 'k hēe-t'r nēe'və ghēdaa'n 'k bin ənē slē'khtē mins. 22 laq mē dē bēstē keel [Dutch *kiel*, a peculiar frock worn by the Brabanters] ən laāt i 'm a'nskii-tē ən duu -m 'nē riq aān zōnē hānd ən skuu'nē aān dē vuu'tē. 23 't ghēmē'stē kalf. 24 bhant dēe'zē mēnē zœœ'n bhaār doo'd, ən ii is əvō'ndə. 25 ən d'n ōur'dstē zœœ'n bhaār əp d'n a'kər, ən kwamp op hœ'is aān, ən hœœ'r'də-ə iit ['something'] af huu-t-ər snē'tərdē ['was jolly']. 27 jə bruu'ər. 29 əm tē vortēe'rē. 31 joqk, ghee zē'it a'l'tē'id bēi mēe.

60. *Rijsbergen*, village (51n31, 4 e 41). I. 306.

11 nē zee'kərə meens haa'r tbhee zœœ'nən. 12 ən dē vaa'dər ghaaf aān a'lēbāai bhat-ər tuu'kbham. 15 daār mōs i dē vœœ'r'kəs hyy'jə. 18 vaa'dər, 'k hēb misdaa'n tēe'ghē jōu. 22 haa'l dē bēstē klee'r ən skhiit zē 'm aān, ən duut-'m ənē riq aān zōnē vi'qər ən skhuun aān z'n vuu'tē. 23 't mē'st'kalf. 24 bhant dēe'zē zœœ'n bhas dood, ən is bheer ghəvō'nē. 25 dēn ōur'dstēn zœœ'n bhaār in-t veld, ən tēn i op dē bherf ['wharf, barn, homestead'] kbham, hoō'r'dən i dat-ər ghə-spœ'ld ən ghēda'nst bhiir. 27 jœ'i'liēn

[=Dutch *jelieder* or *jehuder* for *ulieder*, your] bryyr. 29 om mēe mē ka'mə-raa'də deegh tē maa'kē. 31 jō'qə, ghē'i zē'it a'l'tii bēi mēe.

61. *Dussen*, village (51 n 44, 4 e 58). I. 309.

11 ins bhas-tər is ['once was there once'] nē miinsk dīi-dər ghuud bē'i kost, ən dii ha tbhee zœœ'ns. 12 en i dēe'ldə aān iilk zēn paart. 15 om mē verrekēs tē hyy'jə. 18 ōo vaa'dər! ik vyyt in mēn haa't dā-k grōō'tē zynd gēdaan hēb. 22 ghāa'də ghē'i is ['once'] sēfēs ['quickly'] -t bēstē stœk klee'r yyt dē kaast haa'l-ē ən dā mō'tē -m aā'nskhii-tē, ən stekt ənē mōō'jə ['beautiful'] riq aān zōnē vi'qər: briq dān mēdē'e'nē ['at once'] 'n paār skhuun mēe, dā [(a) quite short, "as if the consonant were to follow"] i nīi lē'qər bērvuut's huuft tē ghāan. 23 dā ghāmi'stē ka'lef. 24 nōu-k mēnē jō'qə, dii-k vyr doo'd nīil, bheer lēe-vēndigh [the Germans accentuate *leben-dig*] bē'i mīr magh ziin ē dii-k bheer ghəvō'ndə hēe. 25 s-bhē'iles dā dā a'lēs vœ'r'ghəvā'lē bhas, bhas dēn āur'dstē zœœ'n op-t veld. tuu i ōn'derdēhā'nd bheer nāa hœ'is kbhaamp en di'khtē bē'i bēgō'st tē kō'mē, dokht i; bhas dā nōu vœr-n a'lœrm dā zē in hœ'is maa'kē? 27 z'n jō'qərə bryyr. 29 daār -k mē kaməraa'ts is ['once'] op traktee'rē kos. 31 zē'i'dē ghē'i dān nīi a'l-tē'i bē'i mēe?

XIX. GELDERLAND. I. 317.

62. *Betuwe* district, between *Arnhem*, town (51 n 58, 5 e 53), and *Nijmegen*, town (51 n 51, 5 e 52). I. 318. [This may be taken as the type of the Frankish dialects in Gelderland].

11 'n zee'kər mins had tbhee zœœ'ns. 12 en hi dēi'ldē hœœ'rly -t ghuud. 15 əm dē verkes tē hyy'jən. 18 'k bin 'n zo'ndaar vœœ'r ōu, vaa'dər. 22 bregt 't ka'stantyygh ['the chest-dress, stored clothes] vortēbhegh nīir, ən trekt 't hēm aān ən stēkt-əm-ən riq aān dē vi'qər, ən duut-əm skhuun aān dē vyyt. 23 't vətē kalf. 24 bhent dēe'zē, miin zœœ'n, bhas dood, ē ii is bheer'ghəvō'ndēn. 25 ən ziin ōur'dstē zœœ'n bhas iin-t veld, ən tuun i naār hyy's ghuuq, ən di'kht bē'i dē hō'fstēe kbhiim, tuun hœœ'r'dē ii-t ghēzi'q ən ghēda'ns. 27 uu bryyr. 29 dā-k ook is ['once'] met miin kaməraa'dz kos vroo'lik zin. 31 kiind, ghē'i bint a'l'tē'id bē'i mē.

63. *Tielerwaard*, district
(51 n 53, 5 e 27). I. 322.

11 'n mins ha tbhee zoons. 12 en i dee'ldē hœlii' -t ghuid. 15 om dē verkes tē hyy'jē. 18 vaa'der! 'k hēē kbhaad ['sin'] ghadaa'n tee'ghen ōu. 22 bre'qdē ghœlii' -t be'stē klēē'd en trekt-ēt-ēm aAn, en gheeft-ēm -enēn riq aAn dē haa'nd, en skhuun aAn dē vuutē. 23 't vētē kalf. 24 bhant dœēz m'n zoon bhas dood, ē ii is ghēvō'ndē. 25 en z'n ōurdstē zoon bhas in-t veld, en tuu ii-t hœ'is kbham, hœērdēn ii-t si'qēn en-t myyziik. 27 uu bryy'ēr. 29 da-k mee m'n vrindē kon vroo'lēik bheezē. 31 kē'ind! ghē'i zē'it a'ltē'id bē'i mē'i.

64. *Uddel*, village (52 n 16, 5 e 46). I. 326.

11 'n mins aarghēns had tbhee jō'qēns. 12 en hii doq-t ['did it']. 15 om dē kœē'en tē hyy'jē. 18 vaa'jēr, ik heb-t nii zōō best ēmaa'k met juu. 22 kriigh-t be'stē ghērē'i' [or (ghērēi'), clothing, in Friesland *gereid* is 'horse-cloth'] yyt dē kē'stē, en trekt-ēt-ēm an, en steekt-ēn ri'qē an z'n vī'qēr en laāt mi skhuu'nēn an duun. 23 't vētstē van dē kyy'sjēs [or (kyy'shēs), 'calf,' occurs in other Gelder dialects, but Winkler does not know its origin.] dii bhe bhe'tārēn ['water,' that is, fatten, eat and drink]. 24 bhant dī'sē miin zōōnē bhas yyt dē tiid, en is bheer ēkō'mēn. 25 tuu dē ō'ldstē jōq bi hyys kbham, hœērdē hii -n ghēzi'q en ghēbhiir as van-ēn hēē'lē vizii't. 27 un brœēr. 29 dat ik-s met-'t jō'qē volk skhik ['jollification' same as Dutch *gek* ?] sol hē'bēn. 31 jō'qēn, ji bheer-rē a'letiid bi miin.

65. *Nijkerk*, town (52 n 13, 5 e 29). I. 330.

11 'n man dii tbhee jō'qēs had. 12 en z'n vaa'ēr dii dee bhat ii-m vrœēgh en ghaf 'm z'n part. 15 om op dē kœē'en tē pāsēn. 18 vaa'ēr, 'k hēē nii ghuid ēdaa'n tee'ghen juu. 22 breq zoo ghōu a jē kynt ['as fast as ye can'] dē be'stē kleer hiir en trekt 'm dii an, en duut-ēm-en riq an z'n vī'qēr en trekt 'm oot skhuu'nēn [or (siū'nēn)] an. 23 't fiin'stē vētē kalf. 24 bhant deezē jōq van mee bhas dood, en nuu hēē bheem bheer tārē'g ēvō'ndēn. 25 dē ōurstē jōq, dii bhas op-t land, en tuu dii bheer op hyys an ghœq, en kort bi hyys kbham, tuu hœērdē ii zē zi'qēn en da'n'sēn. 27 z'n brœēr.

29 da -k ook ees met dē aarē jō'qēs plezii'r kost maa'kēn. 31 mē jōq, ji bi'nēn a'tiit bi m'n.

66. *Scherpenzeel*, village (52 n 4, 6 e 30). I. 333.

11 dēr bhas ēs 'n man dii tbhee zuuns had. 12 en daa ghaf z'n vaa'dēr-ēm. 15 om dē vaa'rkes tē hœē'en. 18 vaa'dēr, 'k het zēn ēdaan en juu hēē-k slekt bāhaandeld. 22 ghaat dāa'dēlik ['quickly'] dē be'stē kleer hāa'lēn en trekt-ēm dii an, en duu-n riq an z'n haand en gheef-ēm shuun [or (siūn)] an z'n vuutē. 23 't ēmēstē kalf. 24 bhant m'n zuun bhas dood, en ii is bheerō'm ēvō'ndēn. 25 en z'n ōurstē zuun bhas op-t laand, en tuu dii dikht bē'i hyys kbham, hōōrdēn ii zē zi'qēn en da'n'sēn. 27 jē brœēr. 29 om-s vroo'lik tē bhēezēn mit m'n kamēraa'ds. 31 kiind! jii bint a'toos bē'i mee.

67. *Dinxperlo*, village (51 n 52, 6 e 30). I. 337.

11 iimes had tbhee zēns. 12 en dē vaa'dēr dēi'ldē œēr-t ghood. 15 œē dē vārkes tē hyy'dēn. 18 vaa'dēr, ik heb ēzē'ndighd tee'ghen ōu. 22 haalt 't be'stē kleed en trekt-ēt-ēm an, en dood-ēm-en ē riqē an dē hand, en skhuu'nē an dē vyy'tē. 23 't vētē kalf. 24 bhant dī'sē miin zō'nē bhas dood, en is ēvō'nēn. 25 en ziin ō'ldstēn jō'qē bhas op-t land, ē too ē kort bi [like a short Dutch *i* followed by *j*, possibly (bē'ih), which is on the way to (bēi bē'i)] 't hyys kbham, hœērdē hii-t zi'qēn en-t da'n'sēn. 27 ōu bryy'r. 29 œē mit miinē vrē'ndē vrœē'lik tē bhēezēn. 31 kind, *ij* bœnt a'tiit bi m'r.

68. *Varseveld*, village (51 n 57, 6 e 28). I. 340.

11 iimes hādē tbhee zōns [a brighter (that is, open) sound than *o* in French *sonnet*]. 12 en hii dēi'ldēn œēr-t ghuid. 15 œē dē vārken tē hyy'dēn. 18 vaa'dēr! ik heb ēzē'ndighd tee'ghen ōu. 22 kriigh dē be'stē klēerē hiir en duut zō-m an, stek-ēn riqē an zii'nēn hand en skhuu'nē an dē vyy'tē. 23 't mēstē kalf. 24 bhant dī'sēn miinēn zō'nē bhas dood, ē hii is bheer ēvō'nēn. 25 en zii'nēn ō'ldstēn zō'nē bhas op-t land, en as ēē kort bi hyys kbham, hœērdēn ēē-t zi'qēn en-t da'n'sēn. 27 ōu bry'r. 29 œē m'r met miinē kamēraa'ds vrœē'lik tē maa'kēn. 31 kind, *ij* bœnt a'tiit bi m'r.

69. *Winterswijk*, small town (51 n 58, 6 e 43). I. 342.

11 *daar* bhas *ens-ənə* man, *dii* *tbhii* zœns *hā-də*. 12 *hə'i* *ghiqk* *daarə-mə* tot dē *dii-liqə* *aa-vər*. 15 *əm* dē *varkens* tē *hyvən*. 18 *vaadər*, ik *hə-bə* *mə'i* *bəzə-ndighd* *tæə-ghən* *ou* [*ou*] is said to be obscure, that is, close]. 22 *haalt-ən* *nə'i* *pak* *kleerə*, *ən* *trēket* 'm dat an; *duut-əm-ənə* *goīlden* *riqk* an dēn *vi-qər* *ən* *skhuu-nə* an dē *vy'ta*. 23 't *məstə* *kalf*. 24 *əm-də* 't *k* *mi-nə* *zə-nə* *bheer* *əkræər-ghən* *hə-bə*. 25 dēn *oldstən* *zə-nə* *kbham* *tæə-ghən* dēn *aa-vond* *van-t* *land*, *ən* *hœər-də*, *duu* *ə* *nogh* *bhiid* *van* *huus* *bhas*, al dat *ghəzə-qk* *ən* *ghəspy-ə-l*. 27 *ziin* *brœər*. 29 *əm* *miin* *vre'ndə* tē *trakteer-ən*. 31 *miin* *kind*, *duu* *bœ-stə* *tokh* *a'l-tiid* *bə'i* *mə'i*.

70. *Zutfen*, town (52 n 8, 6 e 12). I. 346.

11 *ee-mand* *had* *tbhee* *zœəns*. 12 *ən* *hee* *déi'ldən* *œər-t* *ghuud*. 15 *əm* dē *varkens* tē *hœər-ən*. 18 *vaadər*, ik *həb* *ghəzə-ndighd* *tæə-ghən* *uu*. 22 *bregt* *hiir* *vœərt* 't *bə-stə* *kleed* *ən* *doot-ət-əm* an, *ən* *gheeft-əm-ən* *riq* an *ziin* *hand* *ən* *skhoo-nən* an dē *voot-ən*. 23 't *ghəmə-stə* *kalf*. 24 *bhant* *di-sən* *miin* *zœən* *bhas* *dood*, *ən* is *ghəvōndən*. 25 *ən* *ziin* *oldstən* *zœən* *bhas* *in-t* *veld*, *ən* *too* *ee* *kbham* *ən-t* *hyys* *naadər-dən*, *hœər-dən* *ee-t* *ghəzə-q* *ən-t* *ghədəns*. 27 *uu* *brœər*. 29 dat ik *met* *miin* *vrīndən* *vrœəlik* *mokh* *bhæə-zən*. 31 *kind*, i *bint* *a'l-tiid* *bii* *miin*.

XX. UTRECHT. I. 349.

71. *Soest*, village (52 n 10, 5 e 18). I. 350.

11 'n *zeeker* *mins* *had* *tbhee* *zuurna*. 12 *ən* *hi* *déi'ldə* *hem* 't *ghuud*. 15 *om* dē *varkes* tē *bhéi-ən*. 18 *vaadər*, ik *həb* *əzə-ndighd* *tæə-ghən* *juu*. 22 *briqt* dē *bə-stə* *kleerə* *hiir* *ən* *duu* *hœm* *dii* *aan*, *ən* *gheeft* 'n *riq* *aan* *z'n* *hand* *ən* *skuu-nə* *aan* dē *be-nə*. 23 't *ghəmə-stə* *half*. 24 *bhant* *deezə* *miq* *zuun* *bhas* *dood*, *ən* i is *əvō-qən*. 25 *z'n* *ōu-stə* *zuun* *bhas* *in-t* *veld*, *ən* *tūu* *dii* *kbham* *ən* *dikht* *bə'i* -t *huus* *kbham*, *hoordə* *hi* -t *ghezi-q* *ən-t* *ghəraa's* ['noise']. 27 *juu* *brœər*. 29 dat ik *mit* *miq* *vrīndən* *skik* *kon* *hə-bən*. 31 *kiqd!* *ji* *bint* *a'l-tiid* *bi* *miq* ["the (i) in (miq) is somewhat longer than the usual short (i), so that the word sounds between (miin) and

(miq); this pronunciation of (n) as (q) was usual in peasant speech of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries in other Dutch dialects, especially in Holland. It is still found in some dialects on the lower Rhine."]

72. *Utrecht*, city (52 n 5, 5 e 7).

I. 353. [Older dialect, formerly common in Utrecht, and still spoken by older small-tradesmen or workmen.]

11 *dər* *bhas* is 'n *ma'n* *ən* *dii* *ad* *tbhee* *zœəns* [(ma'n), "clear, or open short a rather lengthened, followed by obscure e," (ad), "the h very weakly aspirated, and sometimes quite mute"]. 12 in i *dīldə* *zə* dē *buul* ['household stuff, all property]. 15 *om* dē *verəkəs* tē *hœər-ə*. 18 *vaad-ər*, ik *həb* *ghəzə-ndigh* *tæə-ghən* *jou*. 22 *briq* dē *bə-stə* *kleerə*, in *trēk* *zə-m* an, in *ghif-əm-ən* *riq* an *z'n* *hā'nd* in *skhuu-nə* an *z'n* *be-nə*. 24 *bhant* *mə* *zœən* *bhas* *daad*, in ii is *bhœəm* *ghəvōndə*. 25 *maar* *z'n* *ōu-stə* *zœən* *bhas* *op-t* *la'nd*, in *tuu* *dii* *dikh* *bə'i-t* *hœs* *kbha'm* *tuu* *haardən* *ii-t* *ghəzə-q* in dē *da'ns*. 27 *jə* *bruur*. 29 *om* *mi-mə* [for (mit mə), that is, (met mə'i)] *ka'məraa's* *pret* ['feast'] tē *maaa-kə*. 31 *jə-qə*, *jə'i* *bint* *a'l-tiid* *bə'i* *mee*.

73. *Utrecht* city, I. 357. [See specimen 72. This is the dialect of the lowest classes heard in low pot-houses in the back slums. As this does not follow the verses enough to give parallels, and is curious, I transcribe the whole.]

dər *bhas* *œs* ['once'] 'n *man*, *dii* *had* *tbhee'* *zyy'ns*. dē *jə-qstə* *zee* ['said']: *vaad-ər*, *ghee* *mə* *m'n* *œrfənis* ['inheritance, Dutch *erfenis*], *daa* *ghāud* ik dē *bhə'i-ə* ['wide'] *bhæərōld* in. *z'n* *vaad-ər* *dee-t* ['did it']; in ['and'] 'n *hō-rtsi* ['short-time'] *dər* an *snee'* -t *jokhi* *yy't* ['the young one cut out, went off']. *maar* ['but'] al *hee'l* *ghōu* ['all whole quickly'] *bhas* al *z'n* *lii-və* *ghe'lets* ['money'] *nāa* dē *maān* ['after the mouth, swallowed up]. dē *ghroo-stə* *porsii* ['portion'] *hā-də* dē *mōoi-ə* *mə-siis* ['the pretty misses, girls'] 'm *afghəvō-kə* ['stolen from him'], *bhant* *dər* *ghoq* *dii* *réidyyr* ['constantly'] *nāa* *tuu*. *nōu* *dee'* *dii* *z'n* *bes* ['his best'] *om* *ii-bhers* ['somewhere'] *an-t* *bherk* tē *ko-mə*, *maar* i *kon* *ni-bhers* *tə-rəkh* ['to-right, he could succeed

nowhere] omdart i dər zoo ro'tigh yy'tzagħ ['because he looked so nasty']. Hə'i liip lāns də hyy'zə ['he ran along the houses'] tə skhōoi-jə əm 'n snēē'tsi braad ['to beg for a slice of bread']. op-t la-qə les ['at last'] kbham dii bə'i iimand, dii -m naa-t land lii khaan ['let go'] əm də vərkes tə hyy'jə. da fond i 'n erch [Dutch *erg*, 'terrible'] lēē' ['bad'] bherk in i dokh ['thought'] in z'n āighes: bhaa bin ik tuu gheko-mə? ik zee maar bheer naa m'n vaa'dər tuu khaan, in vtaa'ghə oft ii m'n as knekh bhil ghəbryr'kə, bhant nōu lēi-k tokh e'rəmūui.

zoo ghezēē'd, zoo ghēdaa'n; maar tuu z'n vaa'dər-m an zagħ kō-mə, liipt i āighes naa-m tuu in hyy'ldə van blāi'skap. Hə'i had net ['exactly'] 'n ka'ləf vet gheme's, in daa mos voort ghesla'kh bhōrde in dər bhiir 'n khroot fees ['a great feast'] ghevii'rd ['celebrated,' German, *gefeiert*]. tuu də būstə zyy'n na hyy's kbham, dokht i: bhat zōu dər tokh tə duun bhee'zə da zə zoo 'n pret hē'bə, in i vtaa'ghdā-t an 'n knēkhi, ən dii vortēldə-m 't hēē'lə ghəvā'l. tuu bhiird i erkħ boos ['angry'], bhant i bhaas 'n rēkhto lēē'jas ['bad one'] z'n vaa'dər ghoq naa-m tuu, in zee: jo'khi, kom nōu tokh bi-nə, bhant jə bruur, dii bhekħ khəbhees' is ['who has been away'], is bheer tərəkħ khəko-mə! maar i bhōu nii, in i zee: nēē'n! ik eb a'lta'i kħuud ['good, well'] op'ghepa's ['given heed'], in jee hēb nogħ nōoit 'n gēitsi ['little goat'] voor mee ghēsla'kh, maar voor hēm, dii al z'n lēē-və nii khədēē'kh hēit, in dii al jə gheld bə'i də huurən ghəbro'kh hēit, voor zoo-n ro'tzagħ maa'k i zoo 'n sta'ntsi ['for such a nasty fellow you make such state'].
XXI. OVERIJSEL. I. 360.

74. Oldenzaal, city (52 n 19, 6 e 56). I. 362.

11 eēne ha'də tbhee zəens. 12 ən hē deēldə ēēr 't ghood. 15 əm də zbhiir-nə tə hēēdēn. 18 vaa'dər, ik hē'bə zənd edaa'n tēē'ghən ōu. 22 brēqət voort 't ki'stentygħ ən trekt-ət-əm an, ən doot-əm-ənən riqk an də hand ən skhoo an də vōēstə. 23 't ghēm-stə kalf. 24 bhant dōēsən miinən zə'nə bhas dood, ən hēē is bheer əvō-n-dən. 25 ən ziin o'ldstə zə'nə bhas in-t veld, ən doo ə bīr 't huus kbham, hōrd-ət-zī'qən ən dānsən. 27 ōu

brēēer. 29 əm met miinə vrēēndə bhi'lə tə hē'bən. 31 kind, dōu bis a'ltoos bi'r mi'r.

75. Deventer, town (52 n 15, 6 e 9). I. 374.

11 zēē'kər iimand had tbhee zəens. 12 ən hēē dēi'ldə-t. 15 əm də vār'kens op tə pāsən. 18 vaa'dər, ik hēb əzēndighd vōēer uu. 22 brēq daa'delik ['workfully,' immediately] -t bēstə klee'd hiir ən doo 'm dat an, ən doo-əm-ən riq an də hand ən skhōōnən an də vōōtən. 23 't ghēmē-stə kalf. 24 bhant deē'ze joq bhas dood, ən is əvō-n-dən. 25 ən ziin o'ldstə zə'nə bhas in-t veld, ən tuun deē kbham ən-t hyys naa'dərdən, hēēērdən-ēē-t ghēzā'q ən-t ghēda'ns. 27 uu brēēer. 29 əm miin met miin vri'ndən -s ['once'] vrēē'lik tə maa'kən. 31 kind, i bint a'ltiid bi'i mi'i.

76. Zwolle, city (52 n 31, 6 e 5). I. 378.

11 dər bhas-əs ən ['was once a'] mən dii tbhiir zəens ad ['(a) is the shortest possible long a, not the short a of Dutch *ladder*, but nearly so']. 12 ən də vā'dər deē'ldə ziin għuud in tbhiir-ən. 15 əm op də vār'kes tə pāsən. 18 vā'dər, k-ēb-t eel, eel slekht əmā'kt. 22 alt ['fetch'] 't bēstə klee'd op ən duut-ət-əm an, stēekt-ən riqk ən ziin vi'qer ən trekt-əm skūnən an. 23 't vətə kalf. 24 bhant miin zə'nə bhas dood, ən is əvōndən. 25 də hō'ldstə [(h) prefixed, but (h) omitted in (ad, eel, yys)] zə'nə bhas naa bytən, ə tuu ə bheer dikht bə'i -t yys kbham, cēerdən ēē -t zī'qən ən dānsən. 27 uu brēēer. 29 əm-s-ən feesi'n tə o'ldən met miin vri'ndən. 31 kind, i bint a'ltiid bi'r mi'r.

77. Zwartsluis, town (52 n 38, 6 e 12). I. 381.

11 ən vā'dər ad tbhiir zəēens. 12 ən hīr dii'ldə cēer -t għuut. 15 əm də vār'kens tə bhēi'dən. 18 vā'dər, ik eb əzēndighd tēē'ghən uu. 22 brēq 't bēstə klee't iir, ən duut 't əm an ən għēeft əm 'n riqk an ziin aant ['hand'] ən skhūnən an də vuutən. 23 't ghēmē-stə kalf. 24 bhant miin zəē'nə bhas doot, ən is bheer əvōnən. 25 ən ziin o'ldstə zəē'nə bhas in-t laant ən as i' dightə bīr -t yys kbham, cēērdə i' -t ghēzā'qk ən -t ghēāā's. 27 uur bryr. 29 dā-k iis mit miin vrēndən vrēē'lik kōn bheēzən. 31 kiint, i bin a'ltiid bi'r mi'r.

XXII. DRENTHE. I. 387.

78. *Meppel*, town (52 n 42, 6 e 11). I. 388.

11 nē zee-kər me'nse hār-də tbbēi zœens. 12 ən hē'i ghaaf-t œm. 15 ən daār mœs hē'i op dē zbhii'nēn pā'sēn. 18 vœe-dər, ik hē-bē ghroot kbhaad ēdāa'n. 22 hæel ghōu 'n zœndspak ['the Sunday's pack' of clothes] ən laāt 'm dat a'ntrē-kēn, ən gheef 'm ook 'n riqk an ziin vi-qər ən nē'i-ē skhōō'nēn. 23 't di-kstē kalf. 24 bhant ik mēe'n-dē dat miin zœe-nē dood bhas, ən-k heb 'm bheer ēvœendēn. 25 dē o'ldstē zœe-nē bhas ēr neet bē'i, ən duu dee bē'i hyys kbham hœe-rdē hē'i dat alā-rm. 27 ziin brœeər. 29 œm 's pleziir tē maa-kēn met miin kamer-aa'ts. 31 miin kiind! i kœnt a'l-tiīd bē'i mē'i blii-vēn.

79. *Zweelo*, village (52 n 48, 6 e 44). I. 391.

11 daār bhas iis 'n mœens ən dii hār-dē tbbii zœens. 12 ən dē vaa-dər ghaaf hœm ziin part van -t ghun'd. 15 om ziin zbhii'nēn tē hyy-ēn. 18 'k hē-bē zœ'ndighd vœeər dē'i. 22 krii-ghē mē'i ha'ndigh 't bē-stē ghun'd iis uut 't kāmnet ['cabinet'], ən trēk 't hœm an, ən gheef œm-ən riqk an ziin vi-qər ən skhuu'n an dē vuu-tēn. 23 't vē-tē kalf. 24 bhant miin zœe'n bhas dood, ən is bheer-vœ-nēn. 25 ən ziin o'ldstē zœe'n bhas krēk ['direct,' correctly, exactly] in-t veld, ən duu mii.dikht bē'i huus kbham, duu hœe-rdē mii dat zē zœ-qōn ən daa'nstēn. 27 diin brœeər. 29 da -k ēr met miin klāntēn iis plēziir van kœn maa-kēn. 31 dōu ziis jaa a'l-tiīd bē'i mē'i.

XXIII. GRONINGEN. I. 396.

80. *Sellingén*, village (52 n 57, 7 e 10). I. 400.

11 dər bhas ēis 'n man ən dē'i har tbbēi zœens. 12 ən hē dēi'ldē hœeər -t ghōut tōu. 15 bhaa'r hē op dē zbhii'nē pā'sēn skol. 18 'k kan-t nikh vœeər juu verāntbhoordēn. 22 ghaat hēn ən haalt 't a'lērbē-stē klēid, ən dōu hom dat an; dōu hom ook-ən riq an dē vi-qər ən stee-vēls ['boots'] an dē vōu-tē [with these 'boots on the feet' compare the 'shoes on the legs,' frequent hereafter, see spec. 101]. 23 't a'lērdi-kstē kalf. 24 'k dē-khdē nikh ānders as dat hē dood bhas, ən syynē'i leeft tokh nogh hē'i is fot bheest ən is tər nōu bheer. 25 ən dē o'lstē zœe'n

bhas op-t land, ən dōu dē'i bi huus kbham, hœe-rdē hēi daār zi-qōn ən dan'sēn. 27 juun brœ'ir [compare (rœ'ip) called (vrœ'igh) asked]. 29 dat 'k bhat plēziir maa-kēn kōn. 31 miin joq! dōu bist jaa a'l-tiīd bi mii.

81. *Oldambt*, district, containing *Winschoten*, town (53 n 8, 6 e 57). I. 404.

11 ēr bhas is 'n vaa-dər dēi tbbēi zœens hā. 12 ən ē'i mōuk dat elk bii ziin part kbham. 15 om op ziin zbhii'nēn tē pā'sēn. 18 'k heb zœ'ndighd tēe-ghēn juu. 22 ghaat i hēn ən trēkt hom 't nē'i-ē zœ'ndaghspā-k an, ən dōut i hom ən riq an ziin vi-qər, ən skōu'nēn an dē vōu-tēn. 23 't vē-tē kalf. 24 bhant di'sē miin zœe'n bhas stœrvēn, ən is bheer tē rē-khtē. 25 ən ziin o'ldstē zœe'n bhas op-t land, ən daa dēi hēn ghoq ən si-kom bii ['close by,' Winkler has not been able to trace this word] huus bhas hœe-rdē ē'i-t spœe'lēn ən dan'sēn. 27 diin brœe'ər. 29 da -k mii mit miin kāmēraa'tēn ēis blii-dē kōn maa-kēn. 31 miin joq, duu bist dagh ən dœeər ['day and night,' local] bi mii.

[Winkler remarks that most writers in this and the Groningen dialect write *ij* = (ē'i) in many words which have *ie* = (ii) or *ee* = (ēe, ēē) in Dutch. In his opinion the real sound is (ēi), not (ē'i), nor (āi). But where *ei* is an original diphthong, as in *ei*, *meid*, *leiden* = egg, maid, suffer, the sound approaches (āi), and cannot be considered anything else in some mouths. Such remarks are important in respect to the confusion of writing *ei*, *ai*, in Early English and modern High German. In these transcriptions my (ēi, āi, ē'i, ē'i) indicate Winkler's *ei*, *ai*, *ij*, *ui*.]

82. *Woltersum*, village (53 n 16, 6 e 44). I. 408.

11 dər bhas āis 'n mensk dē'i har tbbē'i zœens [(āis, dē'i, tbbē'i), specially identified with German *ai* and nearly Dutch *ij*]. 12 in hāi dāi'ldē hœeər -t ghōud. 15 om zbhii'nēn tē bhāi-dēn. 18 vœ-ēr, ik heb zœ'ndighd vœeər juu. 22 briqt ghāu 't bē-stē klāid, in dōut 't hom an; in gheeft 'n riq an ziin hand, in skhōu'nēn om-ē vōu-tēn. 23 't vē kalf. 24 bhant di'zē zœe'n van mii bhas dood, ən is vō-nēn. 25 in ziin o'lstē zœe'n bhas iin-t land, in dōu ē dikht bi huus kbham, hœe-rdē ēē myzzi'k in dan'sēn. 27 juun brœ'ir [also (vrœ'igh), but (rāip)]. 29 da -k

mit miin vrœnden bliid ['blithe']
bheezæn kon. 31 kiind, duu bi-zæ
a'ltiid bii mii.

83. *Utrum*, village (53 n 22,
6 e 19). I. 411.

11 *daar* bhas ráis ['once'] 'n man dáí
tbháí zœens haar. 12 en háí dáí'ldæ
-t ghóud tœ'skhæn [ʔkh] hœœr. 15 om
op zbhii'næn tæ paa'sæn. 18 *vaa'dær*,
ik heb mi bæzœ'nighd an juu. 22
briqt 't o'vænstaans ['at the hour,' at
once] 't a'lærbe'stæ pak klái'ær heer,
en trekt 't hom an, en dœkht hom 'n
riq om vi'qær, en skóu'næn om vóu'tæn.
23 't vœ'tæ kalf. 24 om di-zæ miin zœœn
bhas dood, en is bheer'vœ'næn. 25 in
ziin o'lstæ zœœn bhas op-t laand, en
dóu déi dikht bi huus kbham, hœœr'dæ
hœœr zi'qæn en daa'næn. 27 juun
brœ'ir [but (vróugh) asked]. 29 om
mit miin vrœnden ráis plezái'ær tæ
maa'kæn. 31 kiind, dóu bi-sæ ja a'ltiid
bii mii.

84. *Groningen*, city (53 n 13,
6 e 34). I. 415.

11 *dær* bhas ráis 'n man déi tbhéi
zœœns had. 12 en dóu déi'ldæ hœ'i
hœœr uut bhat zæ krii'ghæn kœ'næn.
15 om op dæ zbhii'næn tæ paa'sæn. 18
vaa'dær, ik heb zœ'ndighd tee'ghæn
jóu. 22 breq hiir vort 't be'stæ kléid
en trek 't hom an, en dóu-œm-en riq
om ziin vi'qær, en skhóu'næn an ziin
vóu'tæn. 23 't vœ'tæ kalf. 24 bhant
deezæ zœœn van mœ'i bhas zoo ghóud
as dood, en is bheer'vœ'nden. 25 dæ
o'lstæ zœœn bhas jyst op-t veld æ dóu
æ dikht bæ'i huys kbham, hœœr'dæ hœ'i
dæ myyzii'k, en hóu zæ da'nstæn in dæ
rii'ghæ ['rows,' as in country dances].
26 jóu brœ'ir [also (rœ'ip), (vrœ'igh),
called, asked]. 29 om met miin vrœ'n-
dæn bhat plezér [printed *pelzeir*, I
have presumed by mistake for *plezeir*]
tæ maa'kæn. 31 jó-qæ, dóu bist ja
a'ltiid bæ'i mœ'i. [Winkler remarks
that *t, v, s, f*, are constantly pronounced
by the small tradesmen as (*d, b, z, v*).]

85. *Den Ham*, village (53 n 17,
6 e 27). I. 419.

11 zee'ker man had tbhéi [not (*ái*),
rather (*éci*)] zœœns. 12 in hœ'i vœr-
déi'ldæ -t ghóud o'nder hœœr. 15 om
op dæ zbhii'næn tæ paa'sæn. 18 *vaa'dær*,
ik heb zœ'ndighd tee'ghæ juu. 22 breq
hiir vot ['forth'] 't be'stæ kléid, in
trek hom dat an, in duu-œm-en riq an
ziin hand, in skhóu'næn an ziin vóu'tæn.
23 't vœ'tæ kalf. 24 bhant di-sæ zœœn

van mii bhas dood, æ is bheer vœ'næn.
25 *maar* dæ o'ldstæ zœœn bhas op-t land,
in dóu déi bæ'i huys kbham, hœœr'dæ ær
-t zi'qæn in da'næn. 27 juun brœ'ir
[(rœ'ip) called, (vróugh) asked]. 29
dat 'k ook ráis met miin vrœnden ple-
zér maa'kæn kon. 31 jó-qæ, duu
bi-sæ a'ltiid bi mii.

86. *Grijpskerk*, village (53 n 16,
6 e 17). I. 421

11 'n man had tbhii jó-qæs. 12 en
hœ'i partæ hœœr 't ghuud. 15 met dæ
zbhii'næn. 18 *vaa'dær*, ik heb vœr-
keerd handeld tee'ghæn jóu. 22 briqt
hiir *daa'delk* dæ be'stæ klee'ræn, in
laa't-œm dii a'ntre'kæn, in gheeft-æn
riq om ziin vi'qær, in skuu'næn an æ
vuu'tæn. 23 't be'stæ kalf. 24 bhant
miin jó-qæ bhas dood, in nóu heb 'k
him bheer'vœ'næn. 25 in ziin o'ldstæ
zœœn bhas *naar* 't land, in duu dii
bheer'om kbham, in dikht bæ'i huys
bhas, hœœr'dæ hœ'i -t ala'rm. 27 jou
bruur [(riip) called, (vrugh) asked].
29 om mit miin vrœnden-s pleziir tæ
maa'kæn. 31 miin jó-qæ, jóu bin
ja a'ltiid bæ'i mœ'i.

XXIV. FRIESLAND. I. 424.

a. FRIESIAN IN FRIESLAND. I.
428.

87. *Friesland*, province (53 n 5,
5 e 50). I. 433. [The present *Dia-
lectus Communis* of the whole province.
The spelling of the original is that of
G. Colmjon, and no explanation is
given, being of course well known—in
Friesland, as this dialect is spoken with
tolerable uniformity over the whole
province, except at Hindeloopen and in
Schiermonnikoog. Hence my interpre-
tation is more than usually doubtful.
—The above was written before I had
had the assistance of my two author-
ities from Grouw (see the next speci-
men), but I let it stand, together with
the interpretation I had given, in order
to shew the difficulties I had to contend
with, and the degree of approximation
to correctness which my renderings may
be supposed to furnish.]

11 *dær* wi'r [the (*w*) is very doubtful
to me, but Winkler speaks of the Fries-
ian *w* being the same as the English,
and hence I have used it for this *dia-
lectus communis*, but I think (*bh*) more
probable] i' 'nkær en man (mĩnsk) end
dæ'i hi' twaa so'næn. 12 end hœ'i
di'ldæ hia'ræn 't ghuud. 15 um dæ

ba'rghen to wéi'djæn. 18 Héit ['father'], ik háb suu'ndighe tshi'n [written *tsjin*, and may be (*tsjin*, *tsián*, *tsiún*), and the last is probable] ju. 22 briq forth 't be'stə pak kléan jhir [written *hijr*, possibly only (*jir*, *jiir*) is said] and tsiéan him də'i o'n, and jóu him ən riq o'n sin hand, and sko'n o'n də fo'tæn. 23 't me'stə kéal. 24 whént

[written *hwent*] di'sə so'n fen mæ'i wi'r déa, and nuu is werfuu'n. 25 and sin a'ldstə so'n wi'r in-t field, and doo də'i néi huus ghug, and dhi'khtə [written *thichte*] bə'i huus ka'm, héa'rde hæ'i -t sín'qen and -t duu'n'srən. 27 diin bro'r. 29 dat ik méi miin friú'ndə ek ris froo'lik wee'sə mu'khtə. 31 be'rn, duu bist a'ltid bə'i mæ'i.

87*. *Grouw*, village (53 n 6, 5 e 50).

[Mention is made of this place in Winkler I. 428, but no specimen is given. I was fortunate enough to find two London merchants, who were born in this village, and who spoke the dialect as boys—Mr. de Fries, and Mr. van de Meulen, and they were so kind as to read me the specimen 87 separately. I made notes of their pronunciation at the time, and wrote out the following attempt to reproduce it, on the next day. But on hearing the sounds for the first time, with only one reading from each native, I have doubtless made many errors. The following will, however, probably give a sufficiently approximate representation of the real sounds. As this dialect is, of all others, most interesting in relation to our own country speech, I give the whole parable at length. The fractures should be especially noticed, and at the same time the difficulty I felt occasionally in determining which vowel had the stress, as in English (p. 1312). The length of the vowels varied with the two authorities in several cases. The *v* seems to be generally ('v), varying to (f) rather than (v), and I have written (f) throughout, following Winkler's spelling. The *w* seems to be (bh), judging rather from the English of my authorities, who did not then seem to use (w) at all. But a clear (uá), etc., occurs, so that there is a false appearance of (wa). The (sh, tsh, dzh) seemed to be clearly developed out of *sj*, *tj*, *dj*, although occasionally I seemed to hear (si-, ti-, di-). I did not attempt to distinguish (t, d) from (t, d), but I believe the dental form is correct. Where I have written (j), I did not hear a trill, but only a vocal effect. Sometimes the *r* was quite lost. There was no great certainty about (s, z), or about final (t, d), and the two authorities did not always agree. The *g* was certainly not

always (gh, gh), but was frequently simple (g).

I adopt Mr. de Fries's pronunciation and variations from the text of Winkler's specimen 87, simply because I heard him read first; but I add any variants that I noticed in Mr. van de Meulen. F. and M. indicate my two authorities.

The following couplet I give as it was pronounced first by Mr. de Fries, and secondly by Mr. van de Meulen.

1. (bʊtər bréa ən tsiiz
dər dat næt see'zə kæn is geen
œprió'khtə Friiz.
2. bʊtər bréa ən grii'nə tshiis,
dii dat næt sez'ə kæn es næt ən
ríó'khtə Friis.)

I am inclined to consider the second most correct. This couplet reminded me of one I had seen cited in Mr. C. C. Robinson's writings, as current in Halifax, Yorkshire.

3. (gúuid bré'd, bʊtər, ən tshiiz,
iz gúuid El'íeks ən gúuid Friiz),
implying a felt resemblance between the pronunciations. Mr. C. C. Robinson says that (net) is used for *not*, and that the same fracture as (iii) is not unheard in Halifax, but is more characteristic of Leeds, where also (bʊtər) is used. Mr. Robinson had no faith himself in the correctness of the assumption that Halifaxish is like Friesian; but it occurred to me that it would be interesting to contrast this very singular Yorkshire dialect (23b of the following classification), which has adopted the popular Friesian test as a rhyme of its own, verse by verse, with the Grouw Friesian version, which I had already obtained. Mr. Robinson was kind enough to attempt a version, which I here annex, with notes principally due to his observations. The resemblance is very far from close, but there is sufficient similarity of pronunciation to justify such a popular rhyme.

Here then follow, first, the *Dialectus*

Communis of Friesland in the orthography adopted by Winkler, with, on the opposite column, a verbal translation, the English words which differ from the Friesian being in *Italics*.

Then, also in parallel columns, come the Friesian pronunciation taken from Mr. de Fries, with the variants of Mr. van de Meulen, who agreed with the former generally, and the Halifax rendering

of the English verbal translation of the Friesian by Mr. C. C. Robinson, who strove to keep to that version for the sake of comparison, as far as was consistent with not straining the dialect.

Finally, I add notes, referring verse by verse to both the Friesian and Halifax versions, giving translations or other remarks which were suggested by the text.

1. Winkler's Friesian Orthography.

11 der wier ienkear en man (minsk) end dy hie twa soannen.

12 de jungste fen dy twa sei tsjin sin heit: heit! jow my 't diel fen 't gûd dat my takumt. end hy dielded hiarren 't gûd.

13 end net fulle dagen der nei (end en bitsje letter) forsamm'le de jungste soan alles by enoar, teach forth up reis nei en fir land end brocht der al sîn gûd der thruch in en oerdwealsk libben.

14 do er alles der thruch brocht hie kaem der en greate krapte oan item (hungersnead) in dat selde land, end hy bigûn brekme to lyen.

15 end hy gung hinne end gung by ien fen de borgers fen dat land end dy stûrde him up sîn land um de bargaen to weidjen.

16 end hy woe wol jerne sîn bûk fol ite mei 't bargefoer; mar nimmen joech him dat.

17 do kaem er to himselm end hy sei: ho fulle fen mîn heite fulk hadde oerfloedig hiar brea end ik kum um fen hunger!

18 ik scil upstean end nei ûs heite's gean end ik scil tsjin ûs heit sidze: heit! ik hab sûndige tsjin de himel end foar (tsjin) ju.

19 end nu bin ik net mear wurdig juw soan to hietten; meitsje my mar lik as ien fen juw arbeiders.

20 end hy stoe up end gung nei sîn heit ta. end do er yette fir fen him of wier, seach sîn heit him al, end dy waerd mei inerlike barmhertigens

2. Verbal Translation.

11 there were one-*turn* a man [person], and that-one had two sons.

12 the youngest of those two said against [= towards, to] his father: father! give me the deal [= portion] of the good [= property] that to-me to-comes. and he dealt [= divided] to-them the good.

13 and not many days there after (and a bit later) collected the youngest son all by one-another [= together] marched forth on journey after a far land and brought there all his good there through [brought there through = spent] in an over-luxurious living.

14 then [= when] he all there through brought had, came there a great pinch on eating (hunger's-need) [= famine] in that self land, and he began breaking [= want] to suffer.

15 and he ganged (=went) hence and ganged by one of the burghers of that land, and that-one steered [= sent] him up his land for the farrow [= swine] to feed.

16 and he would well yearningly [= willingly] his belly full eat with the farrow-fodder [= pigs' food]; but no-one gave him that.

17 then came he to himself and he said: how many of my father's folk have over-flooding [= superfluous] their bread and I come round [= die] of hunger.

18 I shall up-stand and after our father's go and I shall against our father say: father! I have sinned against the heaven and before (against) you.

19 and now be I not more worthy your son to be-high [= be called]; make me but like as one of your workmen.

20 and he stood up and ganged after his father to, and then [= while] he yet far of him off was, saw his father him all, and that-one became with

oandien; hy rân up him ta, foel him um sîn hals end patte him.

21 end de soan sei tsjin him: heit! ik hab sûndige tsjin de himel end foar ju, end ik bin net langer wirdich juw soan to hietten.

22 de heit likwol sei tsjin sîn fulk: bring forth 't beste pak klean hjir end tsiean dy oan end jow him en ring oan sîn hand end skoen oan de foetten.

23 end bring 't meste keal end slacht it; lit ûs ite end frolik wêse.

24 hwent disse soan fen my wier dea end nu is er wer libben wîrden; hy wier forlern end nu is er werfûn. end hia bigûnen frolik to wîrden.

25 end sîn aldste soan wier in 't field en do dy nei hûs gung end thichte by hûs kaem, hearde hy 't siungen end 't dûnsjen.

26 end hy rôpien fen sin heite feinten by him end frege him hwet dat to bitsiutten hie.

27 end dy sei tsjin hem: dîn broer is kumd end jimme heit heth 't meste keal slachte, um 't er him sûnd wer krige heth.

28 mar hy waerd nidich end wol net in 'e hûs gean: do gung sîn heit nei bûte end bea him der um.

29 hy likwol joech sîn heit to 'n andert: siûch! sa fulle jierren tsienje ik ju al end ik hab nea net hwat tsjin juw sin dien end dochs hadde ju my nimmer nin bokje jown, dat ik mei min friûnden ek 'ris frolik wêse muchte.

30 mar nu disse soan fen ju kummen is, dy juw gûd mei hoeren der thruch brocht heth, nu hadde ju 't fetmeste keal for him slachte.

31 do sei de heit tsjin him: bern! du bist altid bij my end al hwet mines is, is dines ek.

32 me moast den frolik end blîd wêse; hwent disse broer fen dy wier dea end hy is wer libben wîrden; end hy wier forlern end nu is er werfûn.

inward *compassion* on-done [=attacked]; he ran him to, fell him *round* his neck and patted [=caressed] him.

21 and the son said against him: *father!* I have sinned against the heaven and before you, and I am not longer worthy your son to be-hight.

22 the *father* like-well said against his folk: bring forth the best pack clothes here, and tug [=draw, put] him them on, and give him a ring on his hand and shoon on the feet:

23 and bring the masted [=fatted] calf and slay it; let us eat and frolicsome [=merry] be.

24 *because* this son of me were dead and now is he again living become; he were lost and now is he again-found. and they began frolicsome to become.

25 and his oldest son were in the field and then [=when] that-one after house ganged, and thick [=close] by house came, heard he the singing and the dancing.

26 and he rooped [=called] one of his *father* men by him and asked him what that to mean had.

27 and that-one said against him: thy brother is come and your *father* hath the masted calf slain, for it [=because] he him sound again caught hath.

28 but he became angry and would not in the house go; then ganged his father after be-out and begged him there for.

29 he like-well gave his *father* to an answer: see! so many years serve I you all, and I have never not what against you sin done, and though [=yet] have you never none buck-ling [=kid] given, that I with my friends also once frolicsome be might.

30 but now this son of you come is, that your good with whores there through brought hath, now have you the fat-masted calf for him slain.

31 then said the *father* against him: bairn! thou be'st all-tide [=always] by me and all what mine is, is thine eke.

32 men [=one, Fr. *on*, Old English *me*] must then frolicsome and blithe be; *because* this brother of thee were dead and he is again living become; and he were lost and now is he again-found.

3. *Friesian Pronunciation.*

11 *der bhi'r i'n'ke'r¹ en mæn²* (me'nskə), æn dii³ *nhīe tuāa sud'nən* [soo'n'n M⁴].

12 *də jœ'qstə¹ fæn² dii tuāa sæ'i³* tshen⁴ *sin⁵ nhæ'i⁶: nhæ'it!* jōu mæ'i-t di'l fæn-t gu'd⁷ *dat me⁸ tak'œmt,⁹* æn nhæ'i de'e'ldə¹⁰ *nhæ'rən [jæ'rən M¹¹]* -t gu'd.

13 æn næt fœ'lə daa'ghən¹ *dər næ'i²* (ænd æn bi'tshə³ [bi'i'tshə M³] læ'tər) færsaamlə⁴ *də jœ'qstə sudn* [soon M] *a'ləs bæ'i enudæ'r¹⁵ téakh⁶ fúert⁷* œp ræ'is næ'i æn fiir lan⁸ æn brokht⁹ *deer al¹⁰ sin gu'd trœkh in* æn uur-duelsk¹¹ *leb-æn.*

14 doo *er a'ləs deer trœkh brokht* nhīe, kaam¹ *dər en gréa'tə kra'ptə²* o'n³ *iit-ən* [(nhœ'qərsno'd) M⁴] *in dat sæ'ldə lan, æn nhæ'i bego'q⁵* gæbræk [bræ'k'm M⁶] *tə læ'i-æn.*⁷

15 æn nhæ'i gœq nhē'nə æn gœq bæ'i i'n fæn *də buæ'r gers* [búæ'rgers M] fæn *dat lan, æn dii shtuur-də* [shtúur-də M¹] *nhem œp sin lan œm də bær-gən tə bhæ'i-dzhən.*²

16 æn nhæ'i bhuu bhol jærnə (graakt, graagh M¹) *sin buuk fol iitə* mæ'i-t bær-gəfuur²; *maar³ ne'mən⁴* juug [juukh M⁵] *nhem dat.*

17 doo kudm [kaam M¹] *er too* hemsæ'l'm² *ænd nhæ'i sæ'i: nhoo* fœ'lə fæn min nhæ'i-tə fœlk nhæ'bə uu'fluudəgh³ *nhar [jæ'r M⁴] bréa,⁵* *ænd ek kœm œm fæn nhœ'qər!*

18 ek sel¹ *œp'ste'n²* *ænd næ'i us³* nhæ'i-tə ge'n² æn ek sel tshen us nhæ'it see'zə [se'zə M⁴]: *nhæ'it, ek* nhæb zæn-deghə [son'dəghə M⁵] *tshen* *də nhem-əl* [nhœe-məl M⁶] *æn fo'r* (tshen⁷) *jōu.*⁸

19 *ænd nōu¹ ben ek næt méax* bhœrgh [bhœr'dəgh; bhœ'rəgh M²] *jōu sudn* [soon M] *tə nhœ't-ən* [jæ't-ən M³]; *mæ'i-tshə me mar lik as i'n fæn* *jōu æræbæ'i-dərs⁴* [ærbæ'i-dərs M].

20 *ænd nhæ'i stii¹ œp* *ænd gœq næ'i* *sin nhæ'it taa, ænd doo* *er nokh² fiir* fæn nhem *al³* bhœr, séakh sin nhæ'it nhem *al, ænd dii* bhaar [bha'rd M⁴] *nhem* *e'nærlī'kə* barmnhæ:itəghəns⁵ *o'n-di'n⁵; nhæ'i ruun* [rœn M⁶] *œp* *nhem taa, fuul⁷* *nhem œm sin nhæ'ls* æn *pa'tə⁸* nhem.

21 *æn də sudn* [soon M] *sæ'i tshen* *nhem: nhæ'it ek* *nhæb zæn-deghə* [son'dəghə M] *tshen* *də nhæm-əl* [nhœe-məl M] *æn fo'r* (tshen) *jōu.*

22 *də nhæ'it li'kbhol* *sæ'i tshen* *sin fœlk: breq¹ fúert²* 't bæ'stə pak kle'n

4. *Mr. C. C. Robinson's Halifax Version.*

11 *dhi' wə wun taim⁵ ə man, et-əd* *tuu ledz.*⁶

12 *th-juq'is¹²* *ən* *əm* *sed* *təl-t* *fœe-dhə¹³: fœe'dhər¹⁴* *gi-mə-tshee'r-ə-t* *stuf* *wət-s* *tə kum tu-mə.*¹⁵ *ən-i* *də'ld* *t-stuf* *təl-əm.*

13 *ən* *ə* *pis* *et-af-tə¹²* *th-juq'is* *led* *samd¹³* *ool* *up, ən* *meed* *iz ruu'd¹⁴* *tul-əd'z¹⁵* *ə* *faa* *lend,¹⁶* *ən* *brout* *isen* *throo* *ool* *ət* *i* *ed,¹⁷* *wi* *ōu-er-ēi¹⁸* *lev-in.*¹⁹

14 *wen i-d dhi'⁷* *brout* *isen* *throo* *ool, dhə kum* *ə* *gət⁸* *uq'ər⁹* *i-t* *lend, ən-i* *bigon* *tə* *tlem.*¹⁰

15 *ən-i* *went* *əgeet-əd'z,³* *ən-went* *bi-wun* *ən-t* *te'nmen⁴* *dhi'⁷* *ə* *dhat* *lend, et⁵* *sent* *im* *i-t* *wuidz,⁶* *fə-tə* *rūt* *t-pigz.*

16 *ən i-d* *fœe'r* *ə* *eet⁶* *iz* *bel-i* *ful* *ə-t* *pigment,⁷* *bod* *noo'bdi* *gav* *im* *nout.*

17 *wen i* *kum* *təl* *isee'l,⁶* *i* *spek* *up, ən* *sed: ə* *mi* *fœe'dhər-fouk* *ee* *mən-i* *ən-əm* *ev* *ər-er-inef* *ə* *bre'd,⁷* *ən* *oo-m* *kəm* *tə* *perish* *ə* *uq'ər.*

18 *oo-shəl* *up* *ən* *gu' təl* *əz* *fœe'dhər* *ən* *oo-s⁹* *see* *təl-im: fœe'dhər, oo-v* *send¹⁰* *əgi'⁷* *n* *ev-ən, ən* *əgi'⁷* *n¹¹* *dhi.*

19 *ən* *nee⁵* *o* *am-ət⁶* *wəth* *bīn* *koold⁷* *dhi* *sun; mek* *mə* *nəb-ət⁸* *see'm* *əz* *wun* *ə* *dhi* *waa'kaz.*⁹

20 *ən-i* *up* *ən* *went* *tul-əd'z* *tə-t⁹* *fœe'dhər, ən* *wəl¹⁰* *i* *wər* *jit* *ə* *gūuid* *pis* *of-ən-im,¹¹* *iz* *fœe'dhər* *siid* *im, ən* *bi-kum* *ər-əmee'stəd* *ət* *ee't¹²* *fər-im, ən-i* *ran* *təl-im, ən* *fel* *etəp-ə-iz* *nek, ən* *pat-əd¹³* *im.*

21 *ən-t* *sun* *sed* *təl-t* *fœe'dhə: fœe'dhər* *oo-v* *send* *əgi'⁷* *n* *ev-ən* *ən* *əgi'⁷* *n* *dhi, ən* *o* *am-ət* *wəth* *tə* *bi* *koold* *dhi* *sun* *ən-i* *laq'ər.*

22 *ən-t* *fœe'dhə* *sed* *təl* *iz* *fouk: breq* *əz-t* *best* *fluu'z* *i'⁶* *ən* *dən-əm* *ən-im,*

[klee'n M] jax, æn tshe'n [tshokh M³] ñhem dii o'n [oon M], æn jóu ñhem æn req o'n [oon M] sin ñhan,⁴ æn skúen o'n [oon M] ða fôe'ten [fue'ten M⁵].

23 ænd breq-t mæ'stø¹ ke'l² æn slakht et: let us iitæ æn froo'lek bhee'zø.

24 bhænt¹ de'sø suðn [soon M] fæn mæ'i bhi'r dea æn nóu es ær bheer le'bøn bhærdæn; nhæ'i bhi'r færlææn² æn nóu es ær bheer'fôn [bheer'foun M³]. æn ja bəgo'qən⁴ froo'lek tæ bhærdæn.

25 æn sin æ'lsta¹ suðn [soon M] bhi'r æn-t field [fielt M²] æn doo dii næ'i ñhuus gœq, æn tekhtæ³ bæ'i ñhuus kuðm [kaam M] ñhæar'de [jærdə M] nhæ'i tsho'qən⁴ æn-t do'n'shæn [doon'shæn M⁵].

26 æn nhæ'i roop i'n fæn sin nhæ'itæ¹ fæ'ntæn bæ'i ñhem æn free'ghæ ñhem bhæt dat tæ bitshæ'tæn² ñhiæ.

27 æn dii sæ'i tshen ñhem: din bruux es kæmd¹ æn jæ'mæ nhæ'it nhæt² 't mæ'stø kéal slæ'khtæ, æm-t ær ñhem suund bheer krii'ghæ nhæt.

28 mæx nhæ'i bhaax nii'dækh¹ æn bhux² næt in-t³ huuz⁴ gœ'n; doo gœq sin nhæ'it næ'i buu'tæ æn béa ñhem der æm.⁵

29 nhæ'i li'kbhol rukh sin nhæ'it tæ-n ænttæt¹ [ænttæt M]: shíekkh [shokh M]! sa fœ'læ jæ-ræn tshæ'næ² ek jóu, æn ek nhab néa næt bhæt tshen jóu æn di'n, æn dokhs hæ'bø jóu me nē'mær næn bo'kræ jóun, dat ek mæ'i min fræ'næn³ æk-ræ⁴ froo'lek bhee'zø mœ'khtæ.

30 mæx nóu de'sø suðn [soon M] fæn jóu kæ'mæn es, dii jóu gúed [guœ'd M¹] mæ'i ñhuuræn [wœm M²] ðer trœkh brokht nhæt, nóu hæ'bø jóu-t fæt-mæ'stø kéal fæx ñhem slæ'khtæ.

31 doo sæ'i ða nhæ'it tshen ñhem: bæn [bæn M¹]! dóu best æ'ltid beemæ [bæ'i mæ'i M²], æn al bhæt miinæs es, es diinæs æk.

32 me mo'st¹ ðæn froo'lek ænd bliid bhee'zø; bhænt de'sø² bruux fæn ðæ'i bhi'r dea ænd nhæ'i es bheer le'bøn bhærdæn; æn nhæ'i bhi'r færlææn æn nóu es ær bheer'fôn [bheer'foun M].

æn gi'im æ req on-t and,⁷ æn shuu'in æ-t fit (fit).⁸

23 æn breq-t fed koof, æn slef-tæ-t,³ let-s eet, æn bi mæ'r-i.⁴

24 kos dhis led-æ mæn wæ di'd⁵ æn nee iz lev'in ægi'i'n; i wæ lost, æn nee iz fun⁶ ægi'i'n æn dhæ bigon' tæ bi gam'sum.⁷

25 æn-t ou'dis⁶ led wæ-r-i-t floo'is,⁷ æn wen i went tul'ædz t-ee'z,⁸ æn kum tlôis⁹ be-t, i i'd¹⁰ t- seq'in æn don'sin.

26 æn-i koold wun æ iz fœ'dhæ³ men bi'im, æn ekst im wat it wœr.⁴

27 æn-i sed tæl-im: dhi brw'dhæ-z kom, æn-dhi fœ'dhæz slef-tæd t-fed koof fœr-im kum'in bek see'nd.³

28 bot-i get med⁶ æn wœd'nt goo in,⁷ soo iz fœ'dhæ went eet, æn bisou't⁸ im tul.

29 dhen i spek tæt fœ'dhær i dhes ruu'd,⁵ sez-i: nob'æt 'sii ee'⁶ mæn-i jæ'r⁷ oo-v saavd j-ool,⁸ æn-z nív'ær ðum nóut raq⁹ ægi'i'n jo, bœd¹⁰ joo-v niir 'mii nœ'n-æ-æ ked gin,¹¹ soo æz 'oo ænoo-l¹² mœd¹³ fæ wuns bi mæ'r-i wi dhem æt o noo.¹⁴

30 bœd 'nee æt dhes led æ jœe'rz³ ez kuw'm, æt-s get'n throo wat ji'ev wi uu'z,⁴ 'nee joo-v guu'n⁵ æn slef-tæd t-fet-fed koof fœr-im.

31 dhen sed t-fœ'dhær tæl-im: bee'n,³ 'dhæa-z⁴ oo'læs bi-mæ, æn ool æt-s mæn iz dhæn ænoo-l.⁵

32 wi-mæn dhæn bi mæ'r-i æn dled-sæm³ lûik, kos dhes brw'dhær-o-dhæ wæx di'd, æn-i wæx lost, æn nee iz fun ægi'i'n.

5. Notes on the Friesian and Halifax Versions.

11 Fr. ¹) approaching (kéar). ²) at times approaching (mon, mæn, man), and sometimes rather lengthened, as also in (lan, ñhan), both F and M. ³) although written *dy*, both F and M agree here. ⁴) "almost three o's," as M said; but I sometimes

thought I heard (so'næn, soo'næn). F¹ called attention to the resemblance and difference between the word and Dutch *swaan*, swan.

Ha. ⁵) Mr. Robinson marks (tæ'im). as a general rule I have marked the medial vowel in diphthongs as short in

dialectal transcriptions, its real length is in such cases rather variable. ⁶⁾ 'lads,' there is a great tendency to this thinning in the more refined speech.

12 *Fr.* ¹⁾ the sound which I have here throughout written (œ) seemed at times (α) or (ə), and may have been (æh); the English (α) may certainly be always used. ²⁾ this vowel hovered between (ɛ, æ), but on the whole (æ) seemed to be nearest. ³⁾ the diphthongs *y, ei*, were both pronounced alike, but both seemed unfixed, and hovered among (o'i, æ'i, æ'i) for the first element, and (æ'i, æ'i, æ'e, æ'e) for the second. as I use (æ) in *fen* (fæn), I write (æ'i) as a compromise throughout. ⁴⁾ the (tsh) was distinct in both F and M, and hence probably in all the other Friesian specimens it ought to be used. but occasionally I seemed to hear (ti-, tsi-). the vowel was unfixed as (e, ɛ), at least I could not feel certain, except that it was not (ɛ), and not (i, ɪ). ⁵⁾ (sin) had distinct (i), not (e), and hence is clearly (siin) shortened by rapid utterance. ⁶⁾ (rh) was generally distinct (ɣh), not simple (ɣ). this is the general word for *father*, as (mæm) for *mother*. F and M did not know *tete, tata*. ⁷⁾ the (g) seemed clear, not (gh, ch), as in Dutch, but in Emden, sp. 37, it was (ghout). (u') seemed to vary as (uœ'), thus (gu'd, gue'd, guæ'd), exactly as in English, in both F and M. (d) final was distinctly not (t); I did not sufficiently notice the dental (d) to be sure of it. ⁸⁾ (me) for (mæ'i) when without force, shewing that (me, mæ, mæ, mæ'i) were the probable stages; it is *not* a change of (æ'i) into (ee). ⁹⁾ the short vowel in (ta) must be noticed, it was quite run on to the consonant, as I have indicated. ¹⁰⁾ in Winkler (di'ldə), but F knew only (dee'ldə) ¹¹⁾ here F and M differed materially, one ignoring the inserted (i), and keeping the aspirate, and the other allowing the aspirate to be driven out by the inserted (i); both occur in English dialects.

Ha. ¹²⁾ 'youngest,' no *t*. ¹³⁾ 'till = to the father,' the *r* vanishes frequently. ¹⁴⁾ "when the word stands isolated, or when it ends a sentence, or is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, then the *r* must necessarily be heard; in other positions the word is, by rule, deprived of the *r*."—C. C. R. ¹⁵⁾ 'give me the share of the stuff what is to come to me,' or, more character-

istically, (de'l əz ɛ't əz oon) 'deal us out us=our own.'

13 *Fr.* ¹⁾ here I seemed to hear (gh) clearly. ²⁾ Dutch *na*, German *nach*, 'after, towards.' ³⁾ F's (bi'tshə), not (be'tshə), may have really been (bi'tshə), as M lengthened the vowel; short (i) seems most probable, as a representative of long (ii). ⁴⁾ both F and M agreed in long (aa), though the original has short (a). ⁵⁾ I doubt the (aa), it may have been only (ənu'di); (aa) does not seem to occur intentionally, but only to be generated by following consonants. ⁶⁾ the (éa) was here distinct; it is the German *zog* (tsoogh). ⁷⁾ (fúərt), both F and M agreed, in (úə), in trilled (r), and in final (t), and not (th) or (dh). F said that so far from (th) being Friesian, he had had very great difficulty in mastering it. ⁸⁾ (lan), at times (laan), and nearly (laan), quite as in Scotch. ⁹⁾ (brokht) with (o) rather than (ɔ). ¹⁰⁾ (al) was always very like (Al). ¹¹⁾ Winkler, noting the Hindeloopenish (sp. 89) form *oerwealdsk*, which he considers to be more correct, translates it into Dutch as *overweelderig*, over-luxurious or wanton, and derives it from old Friesian *weald*, English 'wealth,' as respects the *d*, however, we must remember the old Saxon forms *glot-uuelo*, *gold-uuelo*, *ôd-uuelo*, for riches in the plural, see Schmeller's glossary to the Heliand, sub *uuelo*.

Ha. ¹²⁾ 'a piece at after,' a little after that, observe short (i), not (ɪ). ¹³⁾ 'gathered,' this is quite Friesian. ¹⁴⁾ 'made his road.' ¹⁵⁾ 'till-wards' =towards. ¹⁶⁾ 'a far land,' the refined (lend) is most usually heard, the unrefined is (lond). ¹⁷⁾ 'brought himself through all that he had.' ¹⁸⁾ 'over-high,' or, equally common, (ôwæxen-ti) 'over dainty.' ¹⁹⁾ 'living.'

14 *Fr.* ¹⁾ F preferred (kuám), M said that was Dutch. ²⁾ Dutch *krap*, narrow. ³⁾ or (oo'n, oon). ⁴⁾ this was the form M knew, not (néad). ⁵⁾ both F and M seemed to say (q) at the end. ⁶⁾ F said *brekme* was quite out of use, Winkler says it is becoming rapidly obsolete, and is replaced by Dutch *gebrek*, M admitted (bræ'k'm). ⁷⁾ for *leiden*, the *d* lost as usual.

Ha. ⁸⁾ for (gæt, gart), 'great.' ⁹⁾ 'hunger,' observe absent aspirate, and the (g) for (qg). ¹⁰⁾ 'starve,' a common Yorkshire word, usually written *clem*, *clam*; another phrase is,

[kud'nt báid], 'could not bide' or last out.

15 *Fr.* ¹⁾ both F and M agreed in (sh), but with F the (i) seemed to have exhausted itself in making this change, while in M the (i) remained with its original stress. the Dutch has made the juncture (yy) in *stuuren* (styy'ran) to steer, or send. ²⁾ (dzh) was clear in each, the word stands for Dutch *weiden* (bhæ'i-dən), and the change of (d) into (dzh), instead of (j), or simple omission, as in (læ'i-ən) v. 14, is noticeable, the two seem to point to an intermediate (bhæ'i-djən), which would easily fall into either. the word is connected with English *weed*, *withe*.

Ha. ³⁾ 'agatewards,' on his gate or road; although *gang* is known so near as the Craven district, it is not used in Halifax. ⁴⁾ 'townsmen,' burgesses, citizens. ⁵⁾ relative *at* = *that* in meaning, but the derivation is disputed. ⁶⁾ 'woods.' ⁷⁾ 'root,' give roots to, feed.

16 *Fr.* ¹⁾ (jærna) was pronounced by both F and M as obsolete, they did not know it, and both used the Dutch word *graag*, 'eager, desirous, hungry,' but F seemed to say (graakt), possibly my mishearing for (graakh), while M said (graagh). ²⁾ this seems to be Dutch *voeder* 'fodder,' with the *d* omitted. it is curious that (uu) is sometimes spelled *oe* as in Dutch, and sometimes *û*. ³⁾ 'more,' and hence 'but,' as French *mais* = Latin *magis*. ⁴⁾ Dutch and German *niemand*. ⁵⁾ although I noted (juug), F may have said (juugh).

Ha. ⁶⁾ 'he would fair have eaten.' ⁷⁾ 'pigment' is "any offally mess, unworthy food, a mixture of ingredients of any kind; one of the commonest of South Yorkshire words; it has nothing whatever to do with paint, and would not be understood dialectally in this sense."—C. C. R.

17 *Fr.* ¹⁾ see v. 14, note 1. ²⁾ this was from M, I have not noted F; observe the final ('m). ³⁾ the (-dəgh) as in Dutch, a short faint deep guttural vowel sound, possibly (-dəhəgh), very peculiar in character. ⁴⁾ see v. 12, note 11; it is the old English *here*. ⁵⁾ final (d) omitted, the fracture strong, the (a) clear.

Ha. ⁶⁾ 'himself,' the vowel in (seel) is rather medial than long. "in the villages about Halifax and Keighley, and generally in the Lower Craven district (classification, variety 23a), the

l is usually followed by *n*, as (isee'ln, wæsee'ln, æsee'ln, mīsee'ln, dhæsee'lnz), and these are casual Halifax forms; so also *n* is added in (māln, meln) for *mill*. sometimes the *l* is lost to the ear in (sen) for *self*, and when *l* is heard in this word, *n* is lost, as (seel). I have also often heard people add on an *m*."—C. C. R. ⁷⁾ "(bre'd), usually (bri'd) in South Yorkshire, and many Halifax speakers use this sound; the vowel in this word, is unsettled and varies in localities but little distant from each other."—C. C. R.

18 *Fr.* ¹⁾ the *c* in *scil* was not noticed in pronunciation, it seems to be entirely etymological. ²⁾ (e'n), and not (éan), in each. ³⁾ (us), this is merely remembered, not noted, in other Friesian I find (yys). ⁴⁾ both F and M objected to the *d* in *sidze*, but F seemed to lengthen the vowel. ⁵⁾ neither F nor M acknowledged *sūn* = (suun), but I seemed to hear (zœn) from one, and (son) from the other; the (z) was slight, "more of a *z*" as F said, and may have been (sz). ⁶⁾ here there was the same difference in the length of the vowel as in note 4. ⁷⁾ both objected to *foar*, and Winkler says "or *bifoar*, but *tsjin* is better Friesian." The Greek εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐν ὅπτιον. σοῦ seems to have led all translators to adopt a real Hebraism in this place. ⁸⁾ both F and M said (jôu) exactly as in v. 12 for 'give,' and objected to the *ju* of Winkler.

Ha. ⁹⁾ 'I shall,' or *Ise*. ¹⁰⁾ 'sinned.' ¹¹⁾ "(fodā) is common in this position in the southern dialects (classification, subdialect 23); at Halifax it is called (fuu)."—C. C. R.

19 *Fr.* ¹⁾ I am not quite certain whether F said (nuu) or (nôu), but I think the latter; and M certainly did say so. ²⁾ F gave the two first, and said that (bhæ'igh) was commonest, "as if written with Dutch *u*," M omitted the (d), and made two syllables. ³⁾ same variety as in v. 12, note 11. ⁴⁾ this (arə) may have been accidental.

Ha. ⁵⁾ 'now.' "here (nee), because of the following (o) for *I*; (nee) is the usual form in Lower Craven; (net) is also used."—C. C. R. ⁶⁾ 'I am-not.' ⁷⁾ 'worth being called.' "(bin) is in v. 21 (tə bi), both forms are in use, but the first is considered to be most refined."—C. C. R. ⁸⁾ 'nought but,' only. ⁹⁾ 'workers.'

20 *Fr.* ¹⁾ both F and M objected

to *stoe* (stuu), but M said (stuu) could be used, though (stii) was more common.

²) F said (jæ'tə) was not heard, M said it was still used "by old-fashioned people." ³) (AA), the (f) of *off* dropped.

⁴) F did not pronounce the *d* or attend to the *e* in *ae*, but M did both. ⁵) both seem to be old-fashioned words. ⁶) this is another confusion of short and long. ⁷) this was from M, I have not noted F. ⁸) 'patted,' not 'kissed,' as I was told, but Winkler says, on the Hindeloopenish *paaike* (specimen 89, v. 20), "kissed, from *paaike*, to kiss; the usual Friesian is *patsje*, *patte*; *een zoen*, 'a kiss,' is in Hindeloopenish *en paaike*, and in usual Friesian *en patsje*, and formerly, as still found in Gysbert Japicx, *en pea*."

Ha. ⁹) 'to the.' "in the Leeds dialect (tət, tut), the latter emphatic and before a pause; in Halifax the heavy sound may be either (tət, tot), but seems most like the latter."—C. C. R. ¹⁰) 'while.' ¹¹) 'off on him,' off of or from him. ¹²) 'overmastered at heart,' or (wə sluft æ-t siit ən im), 'was sloughed, or choked with sobbs, at the sight of him.' ¹³) Mr. Robinson says there is no other word for *caress* than *pat*; *caress* would not be understood, at least when spoken.

²¹ *Fr.* and *Ha.* see the notes on the parallel passage, v. 18.

²² *Fr.* ¹) not (breqg) or (breqk) ²) see v. 13, note 7. ³) M admitted (tshe'n), but said (tshokh), German *zog* (tsookh), was more usual. ⁴) see (lan), v. 13, note 8. ⁵) I hesitated as to (fúæ'tən) or (fuæ'tən), the (u) was clear, but the force seemed to vary.

Ha. ⁶) 'clothes here.' ⁷) 'on the hand.' ⁸) 'feet,' either with short (i) or short (i). "(fuu't) is occasionally heard for *foot* in Halifax and Lower Craven, but it is more general towards the north."—C. C. R.

²³ *Fr.* ¹) 'masted,' fed on mast, as beech-mast, oak-mast, hence fattened. ²) the (f) lost.

Ha. ³) 'slaughter it.' ⁴) 'let us eat and be merry.'

²⁴ *Fr.* ¹) I did not observe any aspirate or approach to (ɦɦuæ'nt), but I may have overlooked it. ²) no trace of (r) or (x) in the second syllable certainly, in the first I am doubtful. ³) (bheɪ, bheer) 'again,' Dutch *weder* with omitted (d), as our old *whether* for *whether*, the last syllable (fo'n, foun), seemed to vary thus, but the distinction

is too fine to insist on. ⁴) see v. 14, note 5, the (q) was in this case noted from both F and M.

Ha. ⁵) 'this lad of mine was dead.' ⁶) 'found.' ⁷) 'gamesome.'

²⁵ *Fr.* ¹) the *d* was not heard, the (a) was nearly (A). ²) the final (d) of F was distinct, and the final (t) of M quite as clear, the (e) of (ie) was distinct, and hence the force doubtful (ie, ié). ³) no (th), German *dicht*, 'close.' ⁴) the (tsh) arises from the coalescent article (t), (sho'qən) is the word otherwise; this serves to shew the correctness of the analysis (tsh). ⁵) as (duu'nshən) is implied by the spelling, it was probably also so heard.

Ha. ⁶) 'oldest.' ⁷) 'in the close' or field. ⁸) 'the house.' ⁹) 'close,' adv. observe the difference between (7) and (9), (tloo'is, tlóis). ¹⁰) 'heard.'

²⁶ *Fr.* ¹) uninflected genitive. ²) Dutch *beduiden* (bedœ'irdən) 'signify.'

Ha. ³) uninflected genitive. ⁴) 'asked him what it wor=was.' observe that both (wəɪ) and (wɔɪ) occur in this example, and compare (475, c).

²⁷ *Fr.* ¹) the final (d) distinct, almost the vulgar English *comed*. ²) final (t), not (th).

Ha. ³) 'for him coming back sound,' on account of his coming back sound.

²⁸ *Fr.* ¹) properly 'envious,' Dutch *nijdig*, German *neidisch*. ²) as both F and M said (bhuu), probably *wol* is a misprint for *woe*, which is written in v. 16. ³) I presume *in 'e hús* is a misprint for *in 't hús*, I did not particularly notice the *t*. ⁴) the (z) seems due to the following (g). ⁵) German *bat ihm darum*.

Ha. ⁶) 'gat mad.' ⁷) 'go in,' viz. to the house; the word *house* is generally omitted in ordinary speech, and invariably in the dialect. observe that the sound is here (goo), but in v. 18 it was (gu'); when the fracture occurs, the vowel changes, and whether the fracture should be used or not depends upon the context. we find therefore in one word, having an original (aa) vowel, ags. *gán*, both an (oo) and an (uu) sound subsisting side by side in the same dialect; of course (goo) comes through (gaa, gaa, gaa, goo), and (gu') through (guáa, guá, guá, gu'); but the example is extremely instructive, and shews the necessity of great caution in older cases. ⁸) Mr. Robinson says that the past participle of *beg* is scouted, except in 'begged and prayed.'

29 *Fr.* ¹⁾ *andert* was not acknowledged; the two forms given were merely Dutch *antwoord*, with the second syllable obscured and *r* omitted. ²⁾ a form of Dutch *diene*, serve; this is taken as *tjenje*, and so becomes (tshæ'njə). ³⁾ F almost said (fræc'nən), I have not noted M. ⁴⁾ German *auch dereinst*.

Ha. ⁵⁾ 'in this road,' in this way. ⁶⁾ 'how,' a regular change. ⁷⁾ 'year,' the singular of quantity. ⁸⁾ 'served you-all.' ⁹⁾ 'wrong.' ¹⁰⁾ 'but.' ¹¹⁾ 'you have never me none of a kid given,' observe the order of the words. ¹²⁾ 'I and all.' the words 'and all' are a very common expletive in several dialects. ¹³⁾ might. ¹⁴⁾ 'those that I know'; Mr. Robinson observes that the word *friend* is very rarely heard in dialect speech.

30 *Fr.* ¹⁾ (gʊəd, guœ'd), I did not notice this variable force in v. 12. ²⁾ this (wœ'm) is evidently obtained thus:

(hhuərən, hhuœ'rən, wœ'rən, wœ'm), if indeed I ought not rather to have noted (uœ'm), as I think more probable.

Ha. ³⁾ 'yours.' ⁴⁾ 'whores.' ⁵⁾ 'gone.'

31 *Fr.* ¹⁾ perhaps both said (bæn), the *r* was quite unpronounced. ²⁾ the variation between (ee, æ'i) is here important in respect to Early English, for the speakers were two men of the same village, and nearly of the same age and standing.

Ha. ³⁾ 'bairn.' ⁴⁾ 'thou is.' ⁵⁾ see v. 29, note 12.

32 *Fr.* ¹⁾ (mo'st) was M's pronunciation; I am inclined to think that his (sooon), see v. 11, note 4, was rather (soo'n) or (so'n). ²⁾ for the rest of the verse see notes on the parallel passage in v. 24.

Ha. ³⁾ 'gladsome,' for (dl) compare v. 14 (tlem).

88. *Workum*, town (52 n 58, 5 e 26). I. 441. [As it was still generally spoken up to the year 1800.]

11 dər bhi'r ris en mi'nskə, də'i hi' t̥bha so'nən. 12 in hə'i dee'ldə jərən 't ghud. 15 om də bārghen to wéi'djən. 18 héit! ik hev suu'ndighe tshin [or (t̥in)] jōu. 22 briq jir daa'lik də be'stə kléan, in doogh sə him oon; in jéan him en riq oon siin hAAAN in skunən oon ə futen. 23 't me'stə kéal. 24 bhant di zə soon fan mə'i bhi'r déa, in hə'i is bher fuu'nden. 25 in də man siin AA'dstə soon bhi'r in-t fild [or (fild)], in doo də'i koom, in bə'i -t huus bhi'r jhe'rdə hə'i -t siō'qən end -t spii'ljən. 27 jōu bro'r. 29 dat ik mAAi miin frie'c'nən froo'lik bhe'zə mo'khtə. 31 ba'rn, dōu bi'stə a'ltiit bə'i mə'i.

89. *Hindeloopen*, town (52 n 57, 5 e 24). I. 445.

11 sii'kər mi'nskə hee'b t̥bhaa soon. 12 in hi dee'ldə jem-t ghoo. 15 om op də bārghen to pās'jən. 18 feer, iik heb suu'ndighe t̥jən ji. 22 briq hir daa'dlik 't be'stə pak klaan, in duāan it him oon, in JAAN him ən riq oon siin hAAand, in skoon oon siin futen. 23 't me'stə kaal. 24 bhant di zə miin soon bhee'r daa, in hii iis wor fuu'nden. 25 in siin éa'lstə soon weer iin-t fild in dæə hii tikht bi hyy's [(huu's)?] KAAM, hee'rdə hii-t ghesuu'q in-t gheduuns. 27 diin bro'r. 29 dot iik

méi miin free'nden ek ris no'khlik ['agreeable,' *genoeglijk*] bhæə'zə kAAst. 31 bo'rn, duu bist a'ltiit bii mii.

90. *Schiermonnikoog*, island 53 n 28, 6 e 12). I. 458. [In Friesian (ski'rmuu'ntsiæk) or (ski'rmuu'n-tsiæk).]

11 dər bhiir réis 'n man, in dii hiéa t̥bhaa jo'qes. 12 in har héit ['father'] dee'ldə har -t ghyy'd. 15 om har sbhi'i'nə to hyy'dən. 18 ik hev seáu'nə diin tshin [or (tsiin)] joo. 22 briq hiir -t bost pak kláainə, in tshokh it him oon, in jœə'u him 'n riq oon siin hAAaun, in skyy'nə oon siin fō'tən. 23 't ma'stə kalf. 24 bhant di jo'qə bhiéa dAAaid, in hii is bhiir fiéaun. 25 in də óurdstə sœən bhiéa iin -t láaun, in daa -t ər nóoi hyy's to sy'ə, in ti'khtə bii koom, hee'rsə hii siō'qən in dAAu'nsjən. 27 diin bry'ær. 29 dot ik móoi miin freaunə réis plesii'r me'tshə kyyə. 31 ba'rn, do bi'stə o'la daa'ghən bii mii.

[There has been much difficulty in translating the symbols. The (uu) seems not to occur. On *dao juwed* = (daa jyy'd), Winkler says it is 'the people,' Dutch *de lieden*, "usual Friesian *liu*, *liuwe*, which word is in some places called *lyue*, *lyuwe*, and in others *lyouwe*," ? (liúə, liy'ə, liúw'ə). "I and *r* are for Friesians, as for their national relations the English, difficult letters to pronounce, and are often omitted,

and hence the Schiermonnikoogers omit *l* and *r* in the combinations *lj*, *ry*. Then he gives examples, *juued* for *liu*, "as the Hindeloopers say *leead*" = (lé'e'd) ?; *juocht* for *riucht*, *sjuoucht* for *slucht*, so that *sjuoucht in juocht* = high German *schlecht und recht*, is a shibboleth of these islanders; and may be (siy'kht in ry'kht) (1397, *b'*). Another curious point is the use of (-s) for (-th, -dh) final, or of (dh) or (d) medial, even in participles, as *fortaars* = (fortaars), high German *verzehrt*, 'devoured,' usual Friesian *fortard*. "The Friesians on the continent have frequently softened the old *th* to *d*." Examples are *stjuersene*, 'steered, stirred, sent,' usual *stiurden*; *we₂sig* 'worthy,' *we₂sen* 'become,' *hee₂se* 'heard,' *ierse* 'earth,' *hers* 'hard.']

b. LOW GERMAN IN FRIESLAND. I. 461.

91. *Leeuwarden*, city (53 n 12, 5 e 47). I. 468. [This is where Winkler resides.]

11 *dər* bhaar-əs-ən man, in dii hā:də tbbhi-ə sœc-ən. 12 in duu fərde-ldə də ō:rdə man hār -t ghyyd. 15 op ə bārghən tə pās-ən. 18 faa-dər, ik hē sō:ndə deen tœc-ghən jōu. 22 brēq niir ghōu ris 't bēstə pak klee-rən, in trek nim dat an, in gheef-əm-ən riq an siin han, in skyy-nən an siin fyyt-ən. 23 't mēstə kalf. 24 bhant di-zə sœc-ən fan mō'i bhaar dood, in nōu hē bhee-m bheer-əm fō-nən. 25 in dā man siin ō:rstə sœc-ən bhaar op-t land, in duu dii bheer-əm kbham, in di-khtə bō'i hyys kbham, hoord i huu -t sē sō-q-ən in danst-ən. 27 jōu bruur. 29 daa -k uu -s met miin fri'ndən froo-lik bhee-zə mō:khtə. 31 kiin, dōu bi-stə o-mərs a'tiitd bō'i mō'i.

92. *Dokkum*, town (53 n 19, 6 e 0). I. 477.

11 *dər* bhaar-əs-ən man, in dii hād tbbhi-ə sœc-ən. 12 in hō'i ghaf hōr hoor ghōy'd ["a very short perfect *o* precedes a long, perfect, and somewhat lengthened *u*, on which the stress falls," this is the noun *goods*; the adjective *good* is (ghu'd)]. 15 om op ə bārghən tə pās-ən. 18 faa-dər, ik hēv sō:ndighd tœc-ən [and (tœc-ghən)] faa-dər. 22 briq daa-dōlik dē bēstə klee-rən niir, in duun nim dii an, in gheef-əm-ən riq an siin han, in skuu-nən an ə fuu-t-ən. 23 't mēstə kalf.

24 bhant di-zə sœc-ən fan mō'i bhaar dood in nōu is ō:rfō-nən. 25 in siin ō:rstə sœc-ən bhaar in-t land, in duu-t ōr dikht bō'i hyys kbham, hoord-ōr-t si-q-ən in-t danst-ən. 27 jōu bruur. 29 dat ik ōk-s froo-lik bhee-zə kon met miin fri'nd-ən. 31 kiin, dōu bist a'tiit-ən bō'i mō'i.

93. *Bolsward*, town (53 n 3, 5 e 32). I. 481.

11 'n man ('n mins) hād tbbhi-ə sœc-ən. 12 in hō'i de-ldə hyyr -t ghōe'd. ["the imperfect *u* in *put*" = (pœt, pœt), see (1292, *a'*), Dutch for *pit*, or *well*, "with preceding perfect *o*."] 15 op ə bārghən tə pās-ən. 18 hēit, ik hēv sō:ndə deend tœc-ghən jōu. 22 briq 'm niir siin bēstə klee-rən, in trek sē 'm an, in gheef-əm-ən riq an siin han, in skuu-nən an ə fuu-t-ən. 23 't fē-tə kalf. 24 bhant di-zə sœc-ən fan mō'i bhaar dō:d in ii is bheer-əm fō-nən. 25 in siin ō:rstə sœc-ən bhaar op-t lan, in duu dii dikht bō'i hyys kbham, hōord ii -t si-q-ən, in -t danst-ən. 27 jō bruur. 29 daa -k met miin fri'nd-ən -s froo-lik bhee-zə mō:kht. 31 kiin, dōu bist a'tiitd bō'i mi. [We find 20 (lii'p) rān, (fiil') fell, (in duu -t i nogh 'n hēel ind fan 'm o bhar) 'and when he yet a whole end from him off was,' (o) for (of) off, with (f) suppressed.]

94. *Nes op't Ameland*, village of Nes in the island of *Ameland* (53 n 27, 5 e 45). I. 486.

11 'n seē-kor minsk hād tbbhi-ə sœc-ən. 12 gheef mō'i 't deel fan-t ghū'd. in dā faa-dər ghaf sē elk siin paa:rt. 15 om dā bārghən tē huu-d-ən. 18 ik hēv mōi an jōu besō:ndighd. 22 briq -t bēstə pak klee-rən niir, in trek -t im an, in gheef 'n riq an siin han, in skuu-nən an ə fuu-t-ən. 23 't mēstə kalf. 24 bhant dœc-zə miin sœc-ən bhaar dō:d, in is bheer-fō-nən. 25 mar dā man siin ō:rstə sœc-ən bhaar op-t lan, in duu dii kam, in dikht bō'i -t hyys kō:m-ən bhaar, hoō:rdə hōi -t si-q-ən in danst-ən. 26 i'i'n [one]. 27 jōu bruur. 29 om met miin fri'nd-ən froo-lik tē bhee-zə. 31 miin kiin, jōu bi-nē a'tiitd bō'i mō'i. ["The pure long (ii) has often been changed into the Hollandish (ēi), but the Amelanders are not consistent, and you may hear them say: (bhō'i sē-gho a'tiitd tō'id, in niit' tiid), 'we all-teed (tiid) say tide (tō'id), and not teed (tiid).'] Such in-

consistencies are valuable for shewing the unconsciousness of transitions.]

95. *Het Bildt*, parish, a Dutch gemeente, and lordship, Dutch *grietenij*, containing *St. Anna-Parochie*, village (53 n 17, 5 e 40). I. 492.

11 dər bhæær əs 'n man, dii had t̥bheə sœœ'nən. 12 ən hœ'i pɑr t̥ə hœœær -t ghuud yʔt ənɑ'ndər. 15 om də ferkəns t̥ə bhɑi'ən. 18 hɑit, ik hev mœ'i bəso'ndighd tœœn jœu. 22 hœæl -t b̥st̥ə kleed foor -t likht ən duun him dat an, ən gheef him 'n riq ən siin hand, ən skuu'nən ən ə fuu'tən. 23 't f̥etmest kalf. 24 bhant dœœz̥ə sœœn fan mii'nən bhæær doo'd, ən hœ'i is fœ'nən. 25 mœær də man siin ɔurdst̥ə sœœn bhæær in -t feld, ən duu dii bheero'm kam, ən di'kht̥ə bœ'i -t hyys bhæær, hoord iit ghesiq ən-t ghespriq. 27 jœu bruur. 29 dat ik met miin ghuud̥ə fri'ndən əs froo'lik bheez̥ə mœ'kht̥ə. 31 kiind, dœu bist a'tiit̥d bœ'i mœ'i.

96. *Noordwolde*, village (52 n 53, 6 e 8). I. 498.

11 'n zee'kær meens hɑd̥ə t̥bhii' zœœ'nən. 12 ən h̥iʔ dii'ld̥ə hœœær 't ghuu'd. 15 om də vɑrkəns t̥ə h̥y'ɔn. 18 h̥eit, ik h̥ee zœ'ndighd t̥ee'ghən jœu. 22 breq hiir aɑ'nstons 't b̥st̥ə kliid, ən trek -t hom an, ən gheet 'n riqk ən ziin haand ən skhuu'nən, ən ə bi'nən. 23 't v̥et̥ə kaalf. 24 bhant di'z̥ə zœœ'nə van m̥iʔ bhas dood, ən nou is h̥iʔ vœ'nən. 25 ən ziin o'lst̥ə zœœ'nə bhas op ə a'kær, ən tuu iʔ kbham, ən biʔ hyys bhas, hœœ'rde h̥iʔ-t zi'qən ən juu'lən ['revel,' Dutch word]. 27 jœu brœær. 29 om mit miin kameraa'dən vroo'lik t̥ə bheez̥ən. 31 kiind, iʔ bin a'tiit̥d biʔ m̥iʔ.

XXV. NOORD-HOLLAND, in English Province of NORTH HOLLAND. II. 1.

97. *Wester-Schelling*, west part of island of *ter-Schelling* (53 n 20, 5 e 13). II. 10.

11 diʔ bhas h̥iʔ dris 'n man, h̥en dii ad t̥bhii seens. 12 h̥en taat d̥ei'ld̥ən -t ghuud hœ'ndər œm h̥en sin hœurdst̥ən bruur. 15 hom də sbhœ'nən t̥ə bh̥ei'ən. 18 taat, hik eb so'ndighd tœœ'ghən jœu. 22 h̥al'z̥ə ghœu də b̥st̥ə kl̥e'n, dokh 's him o'n, stek 'n riq o'n siin fi'qær, in dokh sko'nən o'n siin fœ'tən. 23 't m̥est̥ə k̥eal. 24 bhant miin sin, dii for yys deed bhas, is bher foq ['found,'

or 'caught']. 25 də ɑɑ'dst̥ə sin bhaas iin -t fiild [or (fiild)] in daa hi, biit n̥ei hyys t̥ɑɑ gheen, ti'kht̥ə biʔ koom hœerd̥ə h̥iʔ -t siœ'qən in-t spiil'jən. 27 diin bruur. 29 om mii m̥ei miin fro'qən froo'lik t̥ə m̥ai'tjən. 31 okh, miin boʔrn, doo bi'st̥ə o'm̥əs a'tiit̥d biʔ mii.

98. *Ooster-Schelling*, east part of island of *ter-Schelling* (53 n 20, 5 e 20). II. 15.

11 dər bhaas ris 'n minsk, in dii h̥iʔ t̥bhaa sins. 12 in də man d̥ee'ld̥ə -t ghuu'd. 15 om op də b̥arghen t̥ə p̥əsən. 18 ta, ik ha gh̥ret̥ə so'nd̥ə tshin [or (tsi'n)] t̥ə bidri'œn. 22 briq də b̥st̥ə kl̥e'n, in dokh him dii o'n, in jokh him-ən riq o'n siin h̥ɑɑn, in sko'nən o'n siin fœ'tən. 23 't f̥at̥ə ke'l. 24 bhant dœz̥ə sin fan mii bhas deed, in h̥iʔ is bher foon. 25 in də ɑɑ'dst̥ə sin bhaas op -t fiild [or (fiild)], in as hi tikht bi hyys koom, hœerd̥ə h̥iʔ siœ'qən in spiil'jən. 27 diin bruur. 29 dak ik m̥ei miin froœ'nən froo'lik bhe'z̥ə kuu'. 31 miin sin, doo bist a'tiit̥d bi mii.

99. *Midslands*, village, middle-of-the-land of *ter-Schelling* (53 n 20, 5 e 15). II. 18.

11 dər bhaar ris-ən mins, di had t̥bhii' sœœns. 12 in h̥œ'i d̥ee'ld̥ə h̥ar-t ghuu'd. 15 om op də b̥arghen t̥ə p̥əsən. 18 ta, ik h̥ef so'ndighd tœœ'ghən ta. 22 h̥aal ghœu -t b̥st̥ə kleed, in duu'n him dat an, in duu'n him-ən riq ən siin fi'qær, in skuu'nən ən siin fuu'tən. 24 bhant miin sœœn dii ik mii'nd̥ə ['thought'] dat dood bhaar, is bher fœ'nən. 25 də ɔurdst̥ə sœœn bhaar in-t feld, in duu h̥œ'i naa hyys ghœq, in di'kht̥ə bœ'i kbham, hœerd̥ə h̥œ'i -t si'qən in -t d̥ɑnsən. 27 diin bruur. 29 om m̥œ'i met miin maats ['mates'] ris froo'lik t̥ə m̥aa'k̥en. 31 miin jo'q̥ə, dœu bist i'm̥əs a'ltoos bœ'i m̥œ'i.

100. *Flieland*, island (53 n 15, 5 e 0). II. 22.

11 deer bhas dris 'n man, h̥en dii ad t̥bhii seens. 12 h̥en taat d̥ei'ld̥ən -t ghuud hœ'ndər œm h̥en sin hœurdst̥ən bruur. 15 hom də sbhœ'nən t̥ə bh̥ei'ən. 18 taat, hik eb so'ndighd tœœ'ghən jœu. 22 breq j̥elœ'i ['you,' Dutch *gijlieden*] 't kn̥apst̥ə pak iir, h̥en trek-œt-əm han, h̥en gheef 'n riq han sin aqd ['hand'], h̥en skuu'nən han sin fuu'tən. 23 't kalf dat bhe h̥op -t ok

mest e-ban. 24 bhaqt dœæzə min seen bhas dood, hən ə'i hīs fo'ndən. 25 hən de man sin hōu'dstə seen bhas hōp -t feld, tuu dii nee iis ['near house'] kbham, oordən ə'i-t għəsi-q hən-t għədə'ns. 27 jə bruur. 29 hōm ris froo'lik tə bhee-zən met min maats. 31 kiind, jə bint ha'ltəd bə'i mee.

[Observe the regular omission and insertion of (h). (iis), for *house*, is said to have "a very peculiar sound between (iis) and (œs)." (driis), once, shews the form (ris) to be *dereenst*.]

101. *Texel*, island (52 n 5, 4 e 47). II. 26.

11 deer bhas əri's 'n man dii tbbii sœæns had. 12 ən də vaa'dər deed-ət. 15 om op də forkes tə pə'sə. 18 taat, ik hebh ghroo'tə so'ndə deen tœæ'għə jōu. 22 briq in 'n amərə'i'tsə [in an *ave-maria*!] in a moment!] miin be'stə rok hiir ən duun -əm dii an, ən għeef him-ən riq ən siin hand, ən skuu'nə an siin biir-ne ['put shoes on his legs.' Winkler says he has been asked by a maidservant at Haarlem to wipe his *legs* (instead of his feet) on the doormat: *meheer! sel uwes assiblijf je beeine of fege?* see spec. 80, for *boots on feet*]. 23 't fet me'stə kolf. 24 bhant dœæzə sœæn bhas foor mē'i net ['neat,' quite] so għuud as dood, ən hō'i is bheero'm fo'ndə. 25 ən də ōu'stə sœæn bhas op-t land, ən duu i bheero'm kbham, ən dikht bə'i huys bhas, hoord i si-qə ən spœæ'lə. 27 jə bruur. 29 om mit me frii'ndən əri's 'n partə'i an tə l'għə. 31 kiind, jə'i bent i mers o-lan bə'i mee.

102. *Wieringen*, island (52n55, 5 e 0). II. 30.

11 dər bhas əri's 'n man di tbbii jō'qes had. 12 iin fan di jō'qes, də jō'qstə, fruugh an siin taat ['dad'] om siin mē'mes ['mammy's'] bəbbiis; ən dat kreegħ i. 15 om də farkes tə bhāi'dən. 18 ik sel tœæ'għən taat sē'għə dat ik so'ndighd hēf. 22 maar siin taat sēi-də tœæ'għən siin knechs, dat sə siin be'stə klee'rə bre'qə mo'stə, en sə-n a'ntre'kə mo'stə, ən dat sə-n riq ən siin haqd, ən skuu'nə an siin biir-nə duun mo'stə. 23 't mē'stə kalf. 24 bhant siin sœæn dii i dokht dat dood bhas, bhas nōu bheero'm fo-qən. 25 maar tuu kbham dii aarə ['other'] jō'qə fan-t laqd-t huys, ən dii hōo'rde huu-r so-qən ən daqst bhiird. 27 siin

bruur. 29 bheer hō'i met aarə jō'qes ris klukht [local word for 'pleasure'] mee maa'kə mo'khtə. 31 kiin, jə'i bin a'ltoos bə'i mee.

103. *Schagen*, country town (52 n 47, 4 e 47). II. 35.

11 dər bhas-ər-s 'n vaa'dər ən dii had tbbhe sœæns. 12 hō'i għoq ər den maar tuu o-vər om-əm z'n por'sii tə għee-vən, dēer i'anspraak op had. 15 op də varkəns pə'sə. 18 m'n vaa'dər is zōon gūi'ri kēerəl, as k-ər-s nēe 'm tuu għoq, ən zēi-də dat -ət-m'n spə'it ['food'] daa -k zōo raar deen hēp, dan, deqk ik, zōu-k bhel bheer in hō'is kō'mə m'għə. 22 hō'i most in iin-ən dii sti'kəndə klee'rə ə'it daun, ən də knekht most nuy'ə haa'lə, ən dii most i a'ntre'kə, ən i kreegħ 'n għēu-ən riq an z'n vi-qər, ən skhuu'nə an. 23 't mee'stkalf. 24 bhant m'n zœæn bhas zōo għuud as dood, nōu is i o'nvərbbha'khs bheer o'pordan [Dutch *opwärts an*, upwards on] kō'mən. 25 tbbh'is zə in hō'is a'ləs klaar maakt hādə, bhas də ōu'stə zœæn nogh op-t land, ən tuu -t zōo bhat omēen'ənbe'i [Dutch *om ende bij*, nearly] skheemə'ree'vənd bhas, hat i dēen ən tuu għoq i nēe hō'is tuu, maar tuu i bhat di'khtər bə'i hō'is kbham, hōo'rd i dat zə zōo ə'isələ'ik ['awfully'] vrō'lək bha'zə. 27 jə broo'r. 29 tuu ik iiməsdaag'għə kaməraa's bē'i m'n had. 31 m'n jō'qən, jēe bin a'ltoos bə'i m'n bheest.

[The open long *e* and *o* are clearly pronounced and kept distinct from the close long *e* and *o*. The open long *e* in West Friesian pronunciation sounds "almost like the Friesian diphthong *ea*," or (éa, éə, e'), "and the open long *o* nearly agrees with the Friesian *oa*," (ôa, ôə, o'); but I have put (ēē, ôô) in the transcription, because the fracture was not sufficiently clearly indicated.]

104. *Benningbroek*, village (52 n 42, 5 e 2). II. 41.

11 deer bhas ər-s 'n man, in dii had tbbhe sœæns. 12 ən hāi dee'ldə hōerlə'i-t għuud. 15 om də verkəns tə bhāi'dən. 18 vaa'dər, ik hebh kbhaad deen tœæ'għən jōu. 22 breq hiir għōu də be'stə plēn ['clothing,' old (plyn-nə), in Ostend (plē'i'tsjes), origin unknown], in duun 't 'm an, in għeef əm-ən riq ən s'n hand, in skuu'nə an s'n biir-nə. 23 't mē'stə kalf. 24 bhant dœæzə m'n sœæn bhas dood, in

raîs is bheer v'ondæn. 25 in s'n 6urdstæ sæcen bhas in -t veld, in tuu dii dikht báî hæ'is kbham, hoord i zi-qen in spēæ-læn. 27 jø bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri'ndæ ær-s vroo'lik bhee-zæ mokht. 31 kind, jái bi'næ a'ltaîd báî mee.

[On the word (bøk) for Dutch *buik* (bœ'ik), Winkler remarks that long (yy) and (ii) were anciently common all over Holland, as at present in Zeeland, West Flanders, Friesland and most other Netherland provinces. Only Holland, Brabant, and East Flanders have changed long *u* = (yy) into *ui* = (œ'i), and long *i* = (ii) into *ij* = (œ'i), which Winkler identifies with (êi). See (1292 a'). "But even in Holland the old pronunciation is not thoroughly extinct. Some words, as *duvel*, *duzend*, *iverig*, are pronounced with (yy, ii) by almost all Hollanders, even townsmen, and those who speak so-called 'fashionable' *fatsoendelyk* Hollandish. But in some Holland dialects the sounds sink to an intermediate sound, as *buk* (bœk) rather than *buik* or *buuk* (bœ'ik, byyk), and *dik* (dîk, de'ik), rather than *dijk* or *diik* (de'ik, diik), and this is the case at Benningbroek." In spec. 105 these are apparently rather (æ, ii). All this confirms what was said on page 295.]

105. *Enkhuizen*, town (52n42, 5 e 17). II. 45.

11 dær bhoondæ a'rg hæns 'n man di argh riik bhas en dii tbhee zœcens ad. 12 en i deêldæ z'n ghuud o'ndør 'rlœ'î. 15 om op dæ varkens op tæ pa'sæ. 18 vaarder 'k eb zo'ndighd tœæ'ghæn jœu. 22 aal't 't be'stæ pak kleeræ r's iir, en lææt ["sounds as long *e* with a slight inclination to *a*; this sound is not easy to describe, and is very peculiar"] -æt -æm a'nduun, en gheef-æm-en riq an z'n and, en skuu'næ an z'n bi'næ. 23 't vœ-tæ kalf. 24 bhant dœæ-zæ miin zœcen bhas dood ["a sound between Friesian *oa* and *ooa* (o', oo'?), the Netherland *boom* (boom?) a tree, and the Netherland *bot* (bot, bôt?)"], en is v'ondæn. 25 en z'n 6urdstæ zœcen bhas in-t veld, en duu dii bhrom kbham, en kort bi æs bhas oordæ ii-t ghæza-q æn-t da'næ. 27 jø bruur. 29 dat 'k æk ær-s mit m'n ma'kœz ['mates'] pret e-bæ kon. 31 kind, ji bint a'ltaîd biî mii.

[On (æ, ii), see note on spec. 104.]

106. *Hoorn*, town (52 n 36, 5 e 4). II. 47.

[As a workman would relate the parable to his children.]

11 dær bhas ærs 'n e'regh ræ'ik heer dii tbhee zœcens had. 12 mæ taat, jø mo'stæ mæ'in mæ muu'ders bebhæ'iz ghee-væ. 15 op z'n varkens in-t land tæ pa'sæ. 18 taat, zo'ndighd heb ik, voor jœu. 22 steekt jœ'loë'î di jœq dær's ghâu ferm in dæ plœ-njæ ['clothing'] dat ii-r bheer kadree ['smart'] œ'itziit. 23 't vœ-tæ kalf. 24 bhant mæ ju-qæ bhas zoo ghuud as dood maar nœu kan a'les nogh bheer in-t e'fæ ko'mæ. 25 maar nœu dæ 6urdstæ zœcen dii kbham-t hæ'is van-t land en dii hoo'rdæ dat labhâi ['uproar, row, used in all Dutch dialects] en dii zaght dat spektaa-kal. 27 z'n bruur. 29 dat ik m'n éi-ghæ mit mæ kameraarts verdii-vœtœræ kon. 31 jœ-qæ, jœ'î bi'næ o'mærs a'ltaîd hen en o'mtrœnt mee.

107. *Urk*, island (52n40, 5e37). II. 54.

11 daar bhas ær-s 'n man, in dii a'dæ tbhi' zzyyns. 12 in z'n taa-tæ dii'ldæ 't ghuud, en ghaf 'm z'n part. 15 om op dæ varkas tæ pa'sæn. 18 taa-tæ, ik æv æzœ'ndighd tyy'ghæn juu. 22 briq iir dæa' delik 't be'stæ klii'd, in trek-æt-æm an, in ghii'f-æm-en riq an z'n aand, in skhuu'næn an z'n bi'næn. 23 't ghœmæ'stæ kalf. 24 bhant m'n zzyyn bhas dood, in ii is bheer ævuur'ndæn. 25 in d-6urdstæ zzyyn bhas in -t laand, in duu æ'i kort bæ'i -t œæs kbham, oord ii-t ghæsa-q in-t ghæda'ns. 27 jø bryyr. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri'ndæn ok ær-s vroœ'lik bhee-zæ mokht. 31 keend, ji bi'næn o'mærs a'ltoos bæ'i m'n. ["Long *a* has four sounds, as long *o* in *goon*, *stoon* (oo); as *oa* (aa) in *doar*, *toate*; as pure *a* (aa) in *dagen*, *maak*; and finally as *æ* (ææ) in *mæær*, *wœærdig*, etc."] Although initial *h* is omitted, it is not unduly inserted.]

108. *Marken*, island (52 n 27, 5 e 8). II. 58.

11 dær bhas-æs 'n man, en dii ad tbhee zœcens. 12 en æ'i vœrdæ-ldæ 't ghuud. 15 om op dæ ver'kens tæ pa'sæn. 18 taa, ik ebh æzœ'ndighd tœæ'ghæn jœu. 22 briqt iir ghaqk ['quickly'] 'n bas ['beautiful, old Friesian *bask*] kleed, en trek-t-æt-æm an, en gheeft 'n riq an z'n æænd, en skhuu'næn an z'n bi'næn. 23 't ghœmæ'stæ kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœcen bhas dood, en æ'i is æv'undæn. 25 en z'n 6ur'stæ zœcen bhas op-t læænd en tuun æ'i dikht bæi æ'is kam, oordæ æ'i-t ghæza-q æn-t ghæda'ns. 27 jø bruur.

29 om mit m'n maats er-s vroomlik tē bheezē. 31 kēind, jēi bi'nē a'l'tēid bēi mē.

109. *Holijssloot*, village, near *Buiksloot*, village (52n24, 4e55). II. 62.

11 deer bhas er-s 'n man dii tbhee zœens had. 12 en tuu vœrdeeldē dē vaa'der z'n ghuud. 15 om dē vār'kis tē drēi'vē ['drive,' Dutch]. 18 vaa'der, ik heb æzo'ndighd tœē'ghē jōu. 22 breq dē ber'stē klee'rē niir, en trek-ām dii an, en gheef-ām-en riq an z'n hand, en skhuu'nē an z'n bi'nē. 23 't v-etē kalf. 24 bhant dœē'zē zœēn van mee bhas æstœ'r'vē, en is bheer øv'ndē. 25 en z'n øv'stē zœēn bhas in-t land en tuu dii deer æ'it ghoq, en dikht bēi hœ'is kbham, hoo'rden ii-t ghēzē'q en dē myyzi'r-k. 27 jē bruur. 29 om met mē kāmēraars er-s pret tē hōu'rē ['hold']. 31 zœēn, jēi bent a'l'tēid bēi mē.

110. *Zaankant* or coast about *Zaandam*, in English *Saardam*, town (52 n 26, 4 e 49). II. 65.

11 dēr bhas 'r's 'n man, en dii had tbhee zœens. 12 en dē vaa'der deē'ldē-n-t ghuud. 15 æm øp dē vār'kēs tē pær'sē. 18 vaa'der, 'k hev æzo'ndighd tœē'ghē jōu. 22 haal an'stons ['at the hour,' immediately] 't mōōi'stē kleed, en duu-m dat an; steek-en riq an z'n hand, en trek skuu'nē an z'n vuur-tē. 23 't mē'stē kalf. 24 bhant dœē'zē zœēn van mee bhas æstœ'r'vē, en is øv'ndē. 25 en dē øv'stē zœēn bhas in-t veld en duu ii -t hā'is kwam ["the *ui* of *huis*, etc., is nearly between *ai* (ái) and *oi* (ói)"], hoo'rde ii -t zi'qē øn-t dær'nē. 27 jē bruur. 29 æm mit mē vri'ndē bhēt plāizii'r tē hē'vē. 31 kind, jēi bint ø'mær's a'lē dagh bēi mē.

111. *Heemskerck*, village (52n30, 4 e 41). II. 68.

11 dēr bhas rēis 'n man met tbhee zœens. 12 en dē vaa'der deē -t. 15 om øp dē vār'kēs tē pær'sē. 18 vaa'der, ik heb ghēzo'ndighd tœē'ghē jōu. 22 breq niir 't ber'stē pak, trek-t-ām an, gheef-ām-en riq an z'n vi'qer, en trek-ām skhuu'nē an z'n bi'nē. 23 't v-etē kalf. 24 bhant dœē'zē zœēn van mee bhas doo'd, en ik heb 'm bheer økree'ghēn. 25 z'n øv'stē zœēn bhas in -t veld, en tuu i bēi hōqk ['home,' a good Friesian word, in full use in Friesland] kbham,

hoo'rden ii-t zi'qēn en dær'nēn. 27 jē bruur. 29 dat ik met mē vri'ndē vroomlik kon bheezē. 31 kind, jē bin a'l'tēid bēi mē.

112. *Egmond aan Zee*, village (52 n 36, 4 e 38). II. 71.

11 deer bhas 'n man dii a'dē tbhii zē'nē. 12 hēn ái deē'ldē z'n ghuud ø'qer [Dutch *onder* 'among'] dērlōi [for *heurlui*, Dutch *huntlieden*, literally them people]. 15 hōm hōp dē vār'kēs tē pær'sē. 18 taat, hik æ'bhē zo'q'dighd tēē'ghē jōu. 22 breq prakhtkái ['immediately,' a word in daily use among the Egmond fishermen, of unknown origin] 't zi'ndagh's pak ['Sunday's pack'], hōn trekt 't im an, hōn gheef-im-en riq, an z'n aqd ['hand'], hōn skuu'nē an z'n bi'nē. 23 't ghāmē'stē kalf. 24 bhaqt mē zēen bhas dood, hōn ái his bheer øv'qē ['found']. 25 hōn z'n øv'stē zēen bhas in-t laqd, hōn tuu ái báí 't óis kbham, øo'rd ái rái-kal'ik zi'qē en dær'qē. 27 jē bruur. 29 hōm ris mit mē māk'ers bláid tē bheezē. 31 kind, jái ben a'l'táid báí mē.

113. *Zandvoort*, village (52n23, 4 e 32). II. 74.

11 dēr bhas ærēis 'n man, en dii had tbhii zœens. 12 en tuu ghaf dē vaa'der-ām z'n pør'sii, en liit 'm ghæen. 15 jē, bhái ['yes, feed'] mē vār'kēs mæær. 18 vaa'der, ik heb æzo'ndighd tœē'ghē jōu. 22 hæel dē ber'stē plœ'nē, en duut-ām dii an, en gheef-ām-en riq an z'n hand, en skhuu'nē an z'n bi'nē. 23 't v-etē kalf. 24 bhant mē zœēn bhas dood, en is ber'o'm [Dutch *wederom* 'again'] øko'mē. 25 en z'n øv'stē zœēn bhas in-t veld, en tuu dii næē hōis kbham, hoo'rden ii al in dē vortē 't zi'qē øn-t spri'qē. 27 jē frē'rē. 29 om mit mē vri'ndē vroomlik tē bheezē. 31 kind, jái bent a'l'táid báí mē.

[On the west coast of Holland generally, long *a* is (ææ), *ei* and *ij* are (āai, ái), *ui* is (ói, ó'i), close *e* is (ii); *h* is usually left out and put in exactly contrariwise, but this is not so in Zandvoort.]

114. *Haarlem*, city (52 n 23, 4 e 38). II. 79.

["The present mode of speech in Haarlem is undoubtedly that which, of all used in the province of Holland, and hence in the Netherlands, approaches nearest to the genuine Netherlandish;

it is nearest to the present literary language. Genuine Haarlemish, as far as it exists, is certainly not spoken by more than half the inhabitants; the other half, including many strangers, speak modern Hollandish." The *g* is very strongly guttural, and *l* and *n* final cause the insertion of (i) before, and (ə) after, the preceding short vowel, as (khiə'ə:ldə) for *guiden* (ghə'ldən). Both the specimens 114 and 115 are dated, August 1870.]

11 dər bhas əréisii's ['there-once-once,' a repetition] 'n man, ən dii həd tbeə zoons. 12 ən də vaa'dər vər-dəe'ldə z'n buu'ltshə [or (buu'ltjə)] ən khaf-əm z'n porsii'. 15 om z'n vərəkəs tə bhéiə. 18 vaa'dər, 'k hēp khə-zo'ndikht tee'ghə jóu. 22 brəq mə réis kháu ['quickly'] mə bə'stə jas [= *lias*, 'bundle,' a Dutch French word] hiir, ən duu-m dii an, ən duu-n riq an z'n nand, ən skhuu-nə an z'n béei'nə. 23 't vet khə'mi'stə kə'l'f. 24 bhant mə zoon bhas dood, ən nōu is-t-i khəvo'ndə. 25 ən z'n óur'stə zoon bhas op 't land, ən tuu dii dikht bə'i 't hœ'is kbham, hoo'r'dən ii-t khəza'q ən-t khə-də'ns. 27 jə bruur. 29 om-s-ən fée'si ['feast'] mit mə vri'ndə tə hē-bə. 31 bhíel ['well'] jə'qə, jə'i bent ə'l'tə'id bə'i mee.

115. *Haarlem*, see specimen 114. II. 82.

["Modern Hollandish," that is, literary Dutch, called "of course almost exclusively in the province of Holland the polite (*beschaafde*) pronunciation of Netherlandish." See pp. 1292, and 1377, *c.*]

11 ii-mand həd tbeə zoons. 12 ən tuu vər-dəe'ldə də vaa'dər z'n ghuud. 15 om də vərəkəs tə bhéiə. 18 vaa'dər, ik hēb ghəzo'ndighd tee'ghən yy. [(yy) is a contraction for (yy-ee), still used by ladies' maids, and that a contraction for (yy e'e-dale) *uw edele*, 'your nobility'; *gij* (ghə'i) is used in writing.] 22 brəq-s ghóu -t bə'stə pak kleərə hiir, ən duu-m dat an, ən duu-n riq an z'n nand, ən skhuu-nə an z'n vuu'tə. 23 't ghəmə'stə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zoon bhas dood, ən ii is bheer ghəvo'ndə. 25 də óur'stə zoon bhas op't veld, ən tuun i dikht bə'i hœ'is kbham, hoo'r'də hœ'i -t ghəza'q ən-t ghədə'ns. 27 yy bruur. 29 om-s-met mə vri'ndə feest tə kə'nə viirə ['celebrate']. 31 m'n jə'qən, jee bent i'mərs ə'l'tə'id bə'i mee.

116. *Amsterdam*, city (52n22, 4 e 53). II. 93.

[The better classes speak literary Dutch, small tradesmen and journeymen still speak Amsterdamish, which was original Friesian; in the xivth and xvth centuries it was still half Friesian; in the xvith and beginning of the xviith it agreed most closely with the speech of Leeuwarden, specimen 91; and Winkler thinks that old Amsterdamish is nearer to Friesian than the present Friesian itself, and refers to the verses of Gijsbrand Adriaenszen Bredero for proofs. The "watering" of its spirit began in the latter part of the xviith century, and now barely half of the genuine Amsterdamers speak Amsterdamish. "Busy intercourse with fellow-countrymen and strangers, improved education, greater wish to read, and above all *fashion*, which rejects all that is original, or that is inherited, has made old Amsterdamish what it is." Winkler recognises at present *nineteen* varieties of Amsterdamish, and gives as the following specimen, the *Kalverstraatish*, or speech of Kalver Street, which runs South from the Palace; this mode of speech is spoken in parts which are "*zeer fatsoendelijk*" (very fashionable), and is corrupted by "*elegante expressies*" (elegant expressions); but by old gentlemen, born and bred in the Heeregracht and Keizergracht, it is still spoken purely. Modern inhabitants of Kalver Street speak Frankish, High German, Italian, Flemish or Brabantish, or Jewish and modern Hollandish.]

11 dər bhas-əréisii's 'n man-ən [the hyphens are here all in the original, and shew rather a different union of words from that used in English] dii hət tbeə zoons. 12 ən hœ'i ghaf 'm zoovee'l-as əm tuu-kbham. 15 ghaa mar na bə'i-tə-n-op mə lant, tan kēi-j-op ['then can ye upon'] mə vərəkəs pə'sə. 18 okh-ik hēp ghəzo'ndighd tee'ghə-n-yyee. 22 haal jə'i réis-astə-bhant m'n zo'ndaghə rok hiir-ən trek 'm dii-j-an-ən gheef 'm-as 'n fatsuu'ndelik mans kind ['as a fashionable man's child'] 'n riq-an z'n vi'qer; -ən ja, skhuu-nə mot-i-j-ook-an hē-bə! zegh! brəq mə bə'stə nyyə mə'r mee-j-ən duu 'm dii-j-an z'n vuu'tə. 23 't ghəmə'stə kə'lef. 24 bhant mə zoon bhas zoo ghut-as doot-ən 'k hēb 'm bheero'm ghəvo'ndə. 25 ən d óur'stə

zoon bhi:stə-r nogh niks nii-məndal van, bhant hē'i bhas net niit 't hē'is, ma'r tuu'n-i na hē'is kbham, hoo'rde-n-i dat-r braaf ghəzo-qə-n-ən ghədənst bhiir-ən dat-tə vīoo'l ghig. 27 y'es bruur. 29 om 'n vri'ndəmaa'ltshə [or (-tjə)] met m'n ke'nisə tə hōu'bhə. 31 kind, zēi də vaa'dər tuu, hēb-jə-n-t niit-ā'lə daa'ghə vol-op bē'i mee ghənat'?

117. *Laren*, village (52 n 15, 5 e 13). II. 98.

11 'n zee-kər mins a-də tbhee zœens. 12 ən ə'i deē'ldə hēn't ghoo'd. 15 om də vārkes tə hœœ-ən. 18 vaa'dər, ik eb əzœ'ndighd tœœ-ghən jōu. 22 breq ghōu-t bē'stə kleed iir, ən doo-t œm an, ən gheef œm-ən riq an z'n aqd, ən skhoo'nən an z'n beē'nən. 23 't vətə kalf. 24 bhant dii zœen van mee bhas dood, ən is əvo'qdən. 25 z'n ōurstə zœen bhas op-t veld, ən too ə'i kbham ən kort bē'i œœ'is kbham, oōrde hē'i ghəzi'q ən ghədə'qs. 27 jə brœœr. 29 om met m'n vri'nden is vroo'lik tə bheezən. 31 kē'ind, jə'i bin altē'id bē'i mee.

118. *Huizen*, village (52 n 18, 5 e 14). II. 102.

11 'n mins had tbhee zœœ'nən. 12 ən hē'i deē'ldə z'n ghuud. 15 om də vārkes tə bhe'ī'en. 18 vaa'dər, ik heb əzœ'ndighd tœœ-ghən jōu. 22 briq daa'lək 't bē'stə pak ən dōou-t hœm an, gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n haqd, ən skhoo'nən an z'n beē'nən. 23 't vətə kalf. 24 waqt dœœ-zə zœen van mee bhas doo'd, ən is əvo'qdən. 25 ən də ōurstə zœen bhas op-t laqd, ən too' hii dikht bē'i hē'is kbham, zagh hii 'n ghroo'tə vərə-qəriq [Dutch *verandering*, 'change']; zə zo'qən, spēœ'ldən ən da'qstən. 27 jə brœœr. 29 om met m'n vri'nden vroo'lik tə bheezən. 31 kē'ind, jə'i bint altē'id bē'i mee.

XXVI. *ZUID - HOLLAND*, in English Province of SOUTH HOLLAND. II. 105.

119. *Woubrugge*, village (52 n 10, 4 e 37). II. 106.

11 dər bhas ərəsi's 'n man dii tbhee zœens had. 12 ən d-ōuə man vė-deē'ldən z'n gheld ən ghuud. 15 om də vārkes tə hūu'i-jən. 18 vaa'dər, ik heb əzœ'ndighd tœœ-ghə jōu. 22 breq 's ghāu-t zœ'ndaghskhə ghund hiiir ə trekt-ət-əm an, ən steek-ən riq

an z'n vi'qər, ən trek-əm skhuu'nən an. 23 't vətə kalf. 24 bhant dœœ-zə zœen van mee bhas dōoud ["long o with the accent, and a faint aftersound of ou'"] ən ik heb 'm bheer əvo'nda. 25 zāin ōurstə zœen bhas 't land in əghaən, ən tuu dii bheer op hē'is an ghœq, ən op də bhœrf [Dutch *werf*, 'wharf,' homestead], hoo'rde hāi zə zi'qən ən da'nson. 29 om met mē kaməraa's skhik tə hē'bə. 31 kind, jāi bent o'mers a'l'tāid bāi mee.

120. *Leiden*, city (52 n 10, 4 e 30). II. 111.

["The speech of Leiden is undoubtedly by far the ugliest (*de leelijkste*), most unpleasant, and most countrified (*platst*) sounding in all Holland." The open country is said to be *plat*, 'flat,' in contradistinction to the town, so that when those who speak Low—that is Lowland—German, talk of a *plat* pronunciation, they mean one which prevails in the country, which is so flat that the plain is not even broken by a collection of houses! All the terms *high*, *low*, *flat*, *upper*, applied to German, have reference to the conformation of the country, like Lowland and Highland applied to Scotch. The educated speak literary Dutch.]

11 dər bhas ēri's 'n man dii tbhee zœœ'nə had. 12 ən tuu dē'ldə də vaa'dər z'n ghuud mit ərlōy ["the diphthong *ui* is not pure *oi* (ōi), but has something of the *ou* sound," and Winkler writes *oui*, which I interpret (ōy)]. 15 om op də vārkes tə pəsə. 18 vaa'dər ik eb zo'ndə ghədəa'n tēi'ghə jōu. 22 haal ēri's ghāu-t sœ'ndasə pak, ən trek-ət-əm an, ən stēik 'n ghōu'e riq an z'n vi'qər, ən trek-əm skhuu'nə an z'n vūu'tə. 23 't ghəme-stə ka'lēf. 24 want dœœ-zə zœen van mee bhas dōoud, ən hāi is bhēir tərœ'gh ghəvo'ndə. [The (ēi, āai) are here separated, according as Winkler writes *ei*, *ai*, but he says *ei* and *ij* are not pure *ai*, but are somewhat prolonged, as *a-ai*.] 25 ən də man z'n ōurstə zœen bhas op 't land, ən tuu dii ghədəa'n ad mit bhe'rəkə, ən naa hōys ghœq ən dikht bāai hōys kbham, hoo'rden ii dat zə zo'qən ən da'nstə. 27 jə bruur. 29 om mi'mə ['with my'] kaməraa's vrōoi'lik tə bhēi'zə. 31 jə, jāi bint a'l'tāaid bāai māain.

121. *Katwijk aan Zee*, village (52 n 12, 4 e 23). II. 122.

11 dər bhas ərī's 'n man, dii tbhee jo-qəs hái, dē iin 'n pæær jæærtshəs [or (tjæs)] au'ər ['older'] as d-a'ndər. 12 in tuu dee'ldə də vææ-dər z'n gheld in ghuud, in ghaf 'm z'n porsii [or (porsjə)]. 15 om də var'kəs tē bhái'ə. 18 vææ-dər, ik heb æzœn-dighd tœæ'ghə jóu. 22 hææl ərī's ghóu-t méo'istə pak kleerə, in trek-ət-əm an, in gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n vi-qər, in skuu'nə an z'n bi'nə. 23 't vətə kalf. 24 bhant dœæ'zə zœæn van mee bhas doo'd, in náu he'bə bhee-m bheer əvo'ndə. 25 də áu'stə zœæn bhas in-t veld, in tuu dii-t hæ'is kbham, hoo'rd-ii-t zi-qən in-t dæ'nsən. 27 jáu bruur. 29 dat ik mit mē kaməraa's ərī's vroo'lik kon bhee'zə. 31 mē jo-qə, jái bint a'ltáid báí mee.

122. *Scheveningen*, village (52 n 16, 4 e 16). II. 126.

11 dər bhas ərī's 'n man, ən dii ad tbbii zœæns. 12 ən z'n vææ-dər dee'ldə də buul of voor zææn ['him,' Dutch *zijn*, properly 'his'] ən z'n bruur. 15 om z'n var'kəs tē áui'jə [remnant of *hoeden* (huu'dən)]. 18 vææ-dər, ik ebb æzœndighd tœæ'ghə jóu. 22 laq dææ'delik 't be'stə ghuud, ən duut-əm dat an, ən duu-n riq an z'n and ən gheef əm skhuu'nə an z'n bi'nə. 23 't əmestə ka'l'f. 24 bhant dœæ'zə zœæn van mee bhas doo'd [written *doad*, and said to be the "Friesian and English *oa* in *boat*," the former is (6a, o', oo'), the latter is certainly not so in lettered English], ən ii is bhæro'm əko'mə. 25 ən də man z'n óu'stə zœæn dii bhas op 't land, ən tuu dii nææ œæ's ['house'] ghiq, oo' rdə-n-ii zə zi-qə ən dæ'nsə. 27 jə bruur. 29 om mit mē kaməraa's ərī's vroo'lik tē bhee'zə. 31 jóoi ['young one'], jə'i ben a'ltáid báí mee.

123. 's *Gravenhage*, in English *the Hague*, city (52 n 3, 4 e 18). II. 131.

11 dər bhas ərī's 'n man, ən dii had tbbæ'i zaa'nə. 12 ən tuu dæ'i'ldə də vaah-dər z'n ghuud ə'ndə h'ílii'. 15 om də var'kəs tē h'úi'jə. 18 vaah-dər, ik hep ghəzo'ndighd tœæ'ghən yy. 22 breq hiir ris gháu-t be'stə klæ'id ən duut-ət-əm an, ən ghæ'ift-əm-ən riq an z'n hand, ən skhuu'nə an z'n vuu'tə. 23 't ghəme'stə ka'l'f. 24 bhant dœæ'zə zaa'n van mee bhas daad, ən nōu hēe-m-əm tœæ'gh ghəvo'ndə. 25 ən z'n óu'stə zaa'n bhas in 't veld, ən

tuu dii kbham ən dikht bee-t hæ'is bhas, hoo'rdə-n-ii-t ghəza-q ən-t ghə-da'ns. 27 jə bruur. 29 om dər met mē vri'ndə vtaa'lik mæ'i tē bhee'zə. 31 m'n kind, jee bin a'ltoos bee m'n.

["e and o are very broad; e comes near ai, and o near ao (aa). ei, ui, ou, ij, are close and pinched (*benepens*); ei, ij, are almost long French è; ui is eui with second eu in French *heureusement*, and ou is very near oe (uu)."] In the text I have followed his spelling, where I have used (æ'i) to express an "imperfect, obscure" ai, because he says that where it stands for e long, it must not be spoken "perfect" nor "too clearly," and that long a "approaches the bleating æ (ææ)," which I have represented by (ah).]

124. 's *Gravesande*, village (51 n 59, 4 e 10). II. 134.

11 dər bhas 'n man dii tbhee zœæns had. 12 ən op 't la-qə lest ['at the long last'], dœær z'n zani'kə ən dréine mōs z'n vaa-dər bhel tuu-ghēevə, ən zoo kreegh-d-i z'n zin ['he got his mind,' got what he wanted]. 15 om də var'kəs tē h'úi'jə. 18 vaa-dər, ik heb mē ergh slekht tœæ'ghə jee ghedraa'ghə. 22 breq in 'n o'mæzii'ntshə [or (-tjə)] də be'stə kleerə dii jə vi'ndə ken, ən duu z-əm an, ən gheef-əm-ən ghóu'rə riq an z'n vi-qər ən skhuu'nə an z'n vuu'tə. 23 't vətghəme'stə kalf. 24 bhant dœæ'zə zœæn van mee bhas dood, ən nōu is-t-i bhəro'm ghəvo'ndə. 25 tuu dat zoo plaas had, bhas dən óu'stə zœæn in't veld, ən tuu dii van 't land kbham, ən di'khtə bə'i hæ'is bhas, hoo'rdə-n-ii-t ghəza-q ən-t ghədə'ns. 27 jə bruur. 29 dat ik mi'mə vri'ndə ris vroo'lik mokh ['might'] bhee'zə. 31 okh, mē kind, jee ben o'mərs a'lts'id bə'i mee.

125. *Groot-Ammers*, village (51 n 54, 4 e 49). II. 138.

11 dər bhas-əs 'n man ən dii had tbhee zœæns. 12 ən də vaa-dər dee'ldə-n-ər-t ghuud. 15 om də ver'kəs tē h'úi'jən. 18 vaa-dər, ik hee ghəzo'ndighd tœæ'ghən jóu. 22 breq mē m'n be'stə kleerə, ən duu z-əm an, ən gheef-ən riq an z'n hand, ən skhuu'nə an z'n vuu'tə. 23 't vətə kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœæn hiir bhas dood, ən hii is ghəvo'ndə. 25 də man z'n óu'stə zœæn bhas op 't veld, ən tuun hii bii 't nyys kbham, hoo'rdə hii -t ghəza-q ən ghədə'ns. 27 jə

bruur. 29 om mit mē vri'ndē vroo'lik tē bhee'zē. 31 kind, jee bint a'l'ti'nd bii mee.

126. *Gorinchem*, town (51n49, 4 e 59). II. 140.

11 *daar* bhas is nē man mi tbbhe zoons. 12 *en* tuu de'e'ldē dē vaa'dēr z'n ghuud. 15 *om* op dē va'rakes tē pa'sē. 18 vaa'dēr 'k heb zoo slekht ghelee'ft dat 't skhā'nda-n-is vōer jōu. 22 *haal* is ghāu, zee i, 't mōo'istē kleed, *en* trek-ēt-ām is ['once'] *aan*, *en-on* riq mot i *aan* z'n hand he'bē, *en* duut-ām skhuu'nēn ok *aan* z'n vuutē. 23 't v'etē kalf. 24 *omdaa'* mōnē-jō-qēn op d'n hōl bhas ghēgha'an ['had gone to the hole,' as it were 'to the bottom,' the word *hol* is very idiomatically used in Dutch], *en* nōu bheer boō'vē waa'tēr is ['and is now above water again'];—*hō'i* bhas op-*en-on* dbhaal-l-bhegh ['lost path'], *en* ii is bheer tē rekht. 25 nōu bhas d'n ōu'stē jō-qē net ['exactly'] op 't land, *en* tuun i *naa* hō'i is tuu-kbham, dōkh ii ['thought he']: bha hoor-k vōer-*en* ghēzi'q *en-on* ghēda'ns? 27 jō bryyr. 29 *om* is mi m'n vri'ndē tē smē'lē [Dutch 'feast,' gormandise] 31 jō-qēsē, jee bent o'mērs a'l'tē'i bē'i mee.

127. *Rotterdam*, city (51n55, 4 e 29). II. 145.

11 dēr bhas iis 'n man dii tbbhe zōēns had. 12 *in* dē vaa'dēr ghaaf-ām z'n porsii'. 15 *om* dē va'rakes op tē pa'sē. 22 *haal* mē iis ghāu dē bē'stē klee'rēn *ē'i't-ē* kast, *in* duut-ām dii *an*; gheef-ām-*en* riq *an* z'n viqēr, *in* skhuu'nē *an* z'n vuutē. 23 't v'etē kalf. 24 bhant mē zōēn dii -k dōkh ['thought'] dat dood bhas, heb ik bheer-ōm ghēvō'ndē. 25 tuu zē nōu braaf *an* dē ghaq bhaa'rē, kbham dē ōu'stē zōēn dii van 't ghēva'l nogh niit *en* [this (*en*) is a mere expletive associated with (niit)] bhist, *in* i hōo'r-dē zē zi'qēn *in* da'nsēn. 27 jō bruur. 29 dat-i [*that he*, the words are reported in the third person] voor hōēm of z'n vri'ndē nogh nōoit zoo *ē'i't-ghe-naa'*ld ['fetched out'] had. 31 kind, jee bint *ē'mērs* bē'i mee.

["The sound *ai* must not be pronounced too broadly (*volmondig*), it is intermediate between *ei* and *ai*; the orthography *ai*, with high German *ä*, comes nearest to the sound."] Hence my (*æi*). Compare the note on (*æi*) at the end of specimen 123.]

128. *Vlaardingen*, city (51n54, 4 e 21). II. 150.

11 dēr bhas *ē'i's* 'n man, *in* dii ad tbbhe zōēnē. 12 *in* tuun de'e'ldēn-ii-t. 15 *om* dē va'rakes tē ōu'rēn [remnant of (*hōē'*rdēn)]. 18 vaa'dēr, ik *ēb* *ēzō'*ndighd tōē'ghēn jōu. 22 *ēalt* jōeli' m'n bē'stē klee'rē -s iir, *in* duut-ām dii *an*, *in* steekt-*en* rē'iq *an* z'n *and*, *in* gheef-ām skhuu'nēn *an* z'n vuutē. 23 't ghēme'stē ka'l'f. 24 bhant dōē'zē zōēn van mē bhas dōo'd, *in* ii is *ēvō'*ndē. 25 z'n ōu'stē zōēn bhas *in* -t veld; *in* tuu dii kbham *in* dikht bē'i z'n vaa'dēr'z *ē'i's* kbham, *o'*rdēn-ii-t zē'i-qēn *in* t da'nsēn. 27 jō bruur. 29 *om* mit m'n vri'ndē vroo'lik tē bhee. 31 kō'ind, jōi ben o'mērs a'l'tō'id bē'i mee.

129. *Dordrecht*, in English *Dort*, city (51 n 49, 4 e 41). II. 154.

11 dēr bhas *ēs* nē man, *en* dii had tbbhe' zōēns. 12 *en* tuu ghaf dē vaa'dēr-ām z'n zin ['mind'] *en* dē zōēn kreegh dē hē'lēf. 15 *om* op dē va'rakes tē pa'sē. 18 vaa'dēr, 'k heb ghēzō'ndighd tōē'ghēn yy. 22 *haal*t dē bē'stē klee'rē, trekt-ām dii *an*, duut nē riq *an* z'n hand, *en* skhuu'nē *an* z'n vuutē. 23 't ghēme'stē ka'l'f. 24 bhant hiir hēb jee mēnēn-zōēn dii bhee dō'khtē dat dōo'd bhas, *en* ii is bheer ghēvō'ndē. 25 dē ōu'stē zōēn dii op-t veld *an*-t arēbē'i-*en* ['work'] bhas, bhas *in*-t ghōēel' ['altogether'] niit *in* z'n skhik ['delight'] tuun-d-i dikh bē'i 't hō'i's kbham, *en*-t ghēza'q *en*-t ghēda'ns hōo'r-dē. 29 *om* met mē vri'ndē vroo'lik tē bheezēn. 31 kind, jee bint a'l'tē'id bē'i mee ghēbheest.

130. *Oud-Beierland*, village (51 n 48, 4 e 55). II. 157.

11 dāēr bhas ris 'n man, *en* dii had tbbhe zōēns. 12 *en* tuu de'e'ldē dē vaa'dēr z'n ghuud. 15 *om* dē va'rakes tē bhā'i's. 18 vaa'dēr, ik heb ghēzō'ndighd tee'ghēn jōu. 22 brēqt ris ghāu m'n bē'stē spē'lē voor dēn dagh, *en* duut zō-m *an*; gheeft ook-*en* riq *an* z'n hand, *en* skhuu'nē *an* z'n vuutē. 23 't ghēme'stē ka'l'f. 24 bhant dōē'zē zōēn van mē bhas dood, *en* is ghēvō'qē. 25 *en* dē man z'n ōu'stē zōēn bhas *in*-t veld, *en* tuu dii kbham *en* dikht bē'i hō'i's kbham, tuu hōo'r-dēn ii-t zi'qēn *en* da'nsēn. 27 jō bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri'ndē ook ris vroo'lik mokh bhee'zē. 31 kind, jōi bin a'l'tōos bē'i mā'in.

131. *Brielle*, or *den Briel*, town (51 n 53, 40 e 10). II. 160.

11 dər bhas is 'n man [(máin) in country Briellish], dii had t̃bhee zōo'nə. 12 ən həi vərde'e-lde -t ghuud ɔ'ndər hœliir [Dutch *hunlieden*, 'them'] bēi'ə ['both']. 15 op də vərəkəs t̃ə pɑ'sə. 18 vaa'dər, ik heb zō'ndə ghedaan tee'ghə jóu. 22 breq 't be'stə kleed hiir ən duut-t-əm an, duut-əm-ən riq an z'n vi'qər, ən skhuu'nə an z'n vuutə. 23 't vət'ghəme'stə kɑ'l'f. 24 bhant mə zoon dii bhas dood, ən nōu is-t-i ghəvō'ndə. 25 ən də man z'n ɔ'stə zoon dii bhas op 't land, ən tuu-d-i dœ'khtə bēi -t hōis kbham, hoo'r-dii'də [contracted form of (hoo'r-dən-ii)], used in Brielle] 't zi'qən ən-t dɑ'nse. 27 jə bruur. 29 om met me kameraa'də is læcət [leut, leute, is in general use in Belgium and Zeeland for great pleasure, unbounded enjoyment, *dolle pret* 'mad frolic,' and plays the part of the Friesian *lol*. Brielle is the northern limit of *leut* and southern of *lol*. In Flanders a merry witty man is called *leutegaard*. Compare high German *leutselig*, social, affable] t̃ə kə'nə hē'bə. 31 kind, jee bin a'l'tiíd bēi mee.

132. *De Tinte*, hamlet of *Oostvoorne*, village (51 n 54, 4 e 6). II. 163.

11 dæər bhas is 'n man dii t̃bhe' zœənz had. 12 en də vaa'dər dee-t. 15 om 'də vərəkəs t̃ə bhēi'ən. 18 vaa'dər, ik heb kbhæəd ghədəən tee'ghən jóu. 22 breq dæə'dəlīk 't be'stə klē'e'd hiir, ən trek-ət-əm an, ən duu-n-riq an z'n hand, ən skhuu'nən an z'n bēe'ənən. 23 't ghəme'stə kalf. 24 bhant dœə'zə zœəən van mee bhas daad, ən is ghəvō'ndə. 25 ən z'n ɔ'stə zœəən bhas in 't land, ən tuu dii kort bēi hyys kbhiim, hoo'rən-d-ii zi'qən ən dɑ'nse. 27 jə bruur. 29 om is vroo'lik t̃ə bhee'zə mit m'n kamə'raa's. 31 kiind, jee bint a'l'tiíd bēi mee.

[The sound (ɛ') is said to be "peculiar, but nearly the same as the Friesian *ea*," and in (ɛɛ'ə) there is "the same sound, followed by an unaccented *e*, so that it is an evident diphthong."]

133. *Nieuwe Tonge*, village (51 n 43, 4 e 10). II. 167.

11 dər bhas əs 'n man, in dii had t̃bhe' zœəns. 12 in tuu dē'e'ldən-i haar z'n ghuut. 15 om də vərkes t̃ə bha'khtən ['watch']. 18 vaa'dər, 'k haa'bhə ghezo'ndighd tee'ghən juu.

22 briqt is gháu-'t be'stə klē'e'd hiir, in duut-t-əm an, in gheeft-əm-ən riik an z'n hand, in skhuu'nən an z'n vuutən. 23 't ghəme'stə kalf. 24 bhant dē'e'zə zœə'nə van mee bhas doo'd in ii is ghəvō'ndə. 25 z'n ɔ'stə zœə'nə bhas in-t veld, in tuun 'n kbham in-t hyys ghəne'æ'ktə [Dutch, 'neared'], tuu hoo'r-də-n-t zi'qən in-t sprii'qən. 27 jə bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri'ndən ək is vroo'lik mokht bhee'zə. 31 kind, juu bint a'l'tiíd bii m'n.

134. *Ouddorp*, village on *West-Voorne*, formerly an island (51 n 48, 3 e 57). II. 172.

11 'n zee'kər mī'nse had t̃bhe' jə'qəs. 12 ən z'n vaa'dər ghaf-t əm. 15 om də vərəkəs-tə bhēi'ənə [observe the gerundial final (-ə), *te weiden-e*]. 18 vaa'dər, ik eb zō'ndə bəghə' t̃ee'ghən juu. 22 briq gháu də be'stə kleerən hiir om ən t̃ə duu'nə [gerund], gheef-əm-ən riq an z'n vi'qər ən skhuu'nən an zə bēe'ənən. 23 't me'stkalf. 24 bhant dē'e'zə zœəən van mee bhas dā'd, ən is nuu bheero'm əvə'qə. 25 ən z'n ɔ'stə zœəən bhas in 't veld, en tuu i bhēigh ['away'] ghiq ən bi hyys bəghə's t̃ə kō'mə, hoo'r-də ii-t trēmœ'lt [French *tumulte*, in a form spread over all the Netherlands]. 27 jə bruur. 29 om is læcət [see sp. 131] t̃ə e'bhə mit me kamə'raa's. 31 kind, juu bint a'l'tiíd bi miin.

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135. *Burg*, village on *Schouwen* island (51 n 42, 3 e 50). II. 182.

11 'n zee'kər mens ad t̃bhe' zœəns. 12 in i dē'e'ldə zə 't ghuud. 15 om də vərəkəs t̃ə bhēi'ən. 18 vaa'dər, ik ɛɛ ghəzo'ndighd tee'ghən juu. 22 briqt -ət be'stə pak kleerən iir, in duut-əm dat an, in gheef-ən riik an z'n and, in skhuu'nən an z'n fuu'tən. 23 't ghəma'stə kolf. 24 bhant dē'e'zə zœə'nə van mee bhas dā'd, in ii is ghəvō'ndə. 25 in z'n ɔ'stə zœə'nə bhas in-t veld; in tuu i di'khtə bii yys kbhæəm, oord-ii-t gheza'q in-t gheda'ns. 27 jə bruur. 29 da-k mii mə vri'ndən is vroo'lik kon bhee'zə. 31 kind, jii bin o'l'toos bii m'n.

136. *Tolen*, island (51 n 32, 4 e 6). II. 185.

11 'n zee'kər me'nse ʌ [had, the final consonants are constantly omitted] t̃bhe' zœəns. 12 ən i dē'e'ldə ə'ldər [Dutch *hunlieden* 'them,' -r universally

used in Zeeland] 't ghuud. 15 om de verkens tē bhakhten. 18 vaa'dar, k-æ ['I have'] kbhæd ghædæe tee'ghen juu. 22 briqt m'n ghau-t be'stē klee'd, en duut om dat an, en gheeft-om-en riik an z'n and, en skhuu-nen an z'n vuut-en. 23 't ghæmestē kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœc-nē bhas zō ghuud as dō'd, en is vrom [Dutch *wederom*, again] ghævondē. 25 en z'n ōurstē zœc-nē bhas op-t land en tuun-en van-t land vrom kbham en a ['quite,' Dutch *al*] di-khtē bi yys bhas, ō'r-dæn ii da-zē zō-qen en da-zē danstēn. 27 jē bruur. 29 om mee m'n vrii-ndēn is pleeziir-t e-ben. 31 kind, jee bint o'ltiid bii m'n.

137. *Zuid Beveland*, in English *South Beveland*, island (51 n 27, 3 e 52). II. 190. [Lowland language of the greatest part of the island of Wolaartsdijk.]

11 di bhas is 'n man, dii tbbhæ' zœcens a. 12 en i verdee'-ldēn 't ghuud. 15 om de verkens tē bhakhten. 18 vaa'dar, 'k ææ zōndē ædææ tee'ghen juu. 22 æelt iir 'n best pak klee-rēn en læet-om dat an duu', en gheeft -en riik an z'n aar-nēn ['hands'], en skhuu-nēn an z'n vuut-en. 23 't vettē kalf. 24 bhant iir mē zœc-nē bhas dōd, en ii is ævondē. 25 en z'n ōurstē zœc-nē bhas in 't veld; en as 'n vrom kbham, en kort bi yys kbham, oordēn ii-t ghæza-q en-t ghæda-ns. 27 jē bruur. 29 om ok is mī m'n kamæraas' plazii'r t' ōu-en ['hold']. 31 kind, jii bin a'ltiid bii mee.

[The word (di), v. 11, is written *dir*, and Winkler notes that this *r* is not spoken, but serves to give the preceding vowel its sound in short syllables; this is theoretically (di), but practically (de). Similarly for (mī), v. 29.]

138. *Wemeldinge, Jerseke*, and *Kattendijke*, villages on the north-east of the island of *Zuid Beveland*, specimen 137. II. 193.

11 'n zœc-kærmēnsē a tbbhæ' zœc-nēn. 12 en da dee z'n vaa'dar. 15 om de verkens tē bhakhten. 18 vaa'dar, ik æ zōndighd tee'ghen juu. 22 briqt iir is 'n mōoi-æ pak ghuud, en duut -en dat an en gheet-en-en riik an z'n vii-qer, en skhuu-nēn an z'n vuut-en. 23 't be'stē kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœc-nē bhas dō'd, en i is ævō-qen. 25 en z'n ōurstē zœc-nē bhas op-t veld, en as dii

yyt 't veld nīr yys kbham, oordēn ii zē zii-qen en sprii-qen. 27 jē bruur. 29 om mī mē kamæraas' is pleziir 't æen ['have']. 31 jō-qen, jee bint o'ltiid bēi mee.

139. *Goes, or ter Goes*, town (51 n 29, 3 e 53). II. 196.

[Winkler remarks that the close and open *o* and *e* are distinctly separated, and *ie, oe*, are diphthongal.]

11 'n man a tbbhæ' zœc-nēn. 12 en tuu verdē'-ldēn i cēldar 't ghuud. 15 om de verkens tē bhēi-en. 18 vaa'dar, ik ææ-k ghæzōndighd tee'ghen juu. 22 briqt iir daa'dalik 't be'stē klee'd, en duut 't 'm an, en gheeft 'n riik an z'n and, en skhuu-nēn an z'n vuut-en. 23 't ghævetē half. 24 bhant dii zœc-nē van mee bhas dōd, en is ghævondē. 25 en z'n ōurstē zœc-nē bhas op-t land, en tuun-en di-khtē bi yys kbham, oordēn ii -t ghæza-q en-t ghæda-ns. 27 jē bruur. 29 da-k mee m'n vrii-ndēn is pleziir æ kon. 31 kind, jii bin a'ltiid bii mee.

140. *Noord Beveland*, island (51 n 33, 3 e 47). II. 199.

11 di bhas is 'n man, dii tbbhæ' zœcens a. 12 en i verdee'-ldē 't ghuud. 15 om de verkens tē bhakhten. 18 vaa'dar, k-ææ kbhæd ædææ tee'ghen juu. 22 æelt iir 't be'stē pak ghuud, en læet-en dat an duu, en gheeft-en-en riik an z'n vii-qer, en skhuu-nēn an z'n vuut-en. 23 't vettē kalf. 24 bhant ii m'n zœc-nē bhas dōd, en ii is vrom ævondē. 25 en z'n ōurstē zœc-nē bhas in-t veld, en as dii vrom kbham, en kort bii yys kbham, oordē ii-t zii-qen en-t dan-sen. 27 jē bruur. 29 om æk is mī m'n kamæraas' plazii'r t' æn. 31 kind, ji bint o'mæs a'ltiid bii m'n.

141. *Walcheren*, island (51 n 30, 3 e 55). II. 202.

11 dār bhas is 'n man en diin aa tbbhæ' zœcens. 12 en dē vaa'dar skhēdē z'n ghuud en ghaaf dēn juu-qen z'n erfpō'si ['inheritance-portion']. 15 om op dē verkan tē pāsēn. 18 vaa'dar, k-æ-k ['I have I,'] repeated pronoun, frequent hereafter] zōndē ghædææ tee'ghen juu. 22 briqt ghāu dē be'stē plœn-jē, en duut-om dii an, en gheeft-en-en riik an z'n vii-qer en skhuu-nēn an z'n vuut-en. 23 't ghæmāstē kalf. 24 bhant 't is net ē'ndēr of dē-zē zœc-nē van mee dōd ghæbbi'st ēit, en bhee ghævondēn is. 25 en z'n ōurstē zœc-nē bhas

op-t veld, en as en bheero-mæ kbham, en kort biit of [Dutch *hof*, farm-yard] bhas, oorden iit ghezii'q en ghesprii'q. 27 jø bruur. 29 om m'n kamæraa's is tæ trekteer-en, en vróoi-elik mi mee'kaatø ['mates,' Dutch *makker*, comrade] tæ ziin. 31 juun, jee bint aa'ltiid bi mee.

142. *Arnemuiden*, small town (51 n 29, 3 e 30). II. 204.

11 'n zee'ker me'nsæ aa' tbhee' zœœns. 12 en z'n ghaf 'm z'n posee' [or (po'sæ)? 'portion']. 15 om op dæ ver'kæns tæ pa'sæn. 18 vaa'dær, k-e-k ghræ'tæ zo'nd ædææ' tee'ghen juu. 22 brii'q iir tæn e'e'stæn 't be'stæ klee'd, en duut et an z'n liif, en gheeft en riik an z'n vii'qer, en skhuu'næn an z'n vuutæn. 23 't ghæma'stæ ka'læf. 24 bhan m'n zœœnæ bhas dood, en k-e-d-n ['I have I him'] bhiir-mæ øvondæ. 25 ør ziin øur'stæ zœœnæ bhas-t-ør nii bi, mer ii bhas in-t feld, en as-æn kør'tæ bi z'n vaa'dærs yys kbham, oord-ii zii'qæ en sprii'qæ. 27 jø bruur. 29 om mee miin vri'nden is 'n vróoi-elikæn æævæn ['evening'] t-øu'en ['to hold']. 31 juu'qæn, jee bint o'mæs aa'ltiid bi mee.

143. *Hulst*, town (51 n 17, 4 e 3). II. 209.

[The *h* and *g* are confused; Hulster men will say *een hoede goet* for *een goede hoed* 'a good hat,' *een houde ring* for *een gouden ring* 'a gold ring,' *een goute tafel* for *een houten tafel* 'a wooden table.' This confusion occurs among the lower classes, especially those who cannot read, and is not uncommon in Zeeland and Flanders. It is not shewn in the specimen.]

11 'n zee'keræn mens-aa'i tbhee zœœns. 12 en-ai dæe'ld -æn 't ghuud. 15 om dæ verkas tæ bhæ'tæ. 18 vaa'dær, ik-eb-'k ghezondighd tee'ghen-øu. 22 brii'q-iir vœort-'t be'stæ klee't-æn duut-et-øm aan, en gheeft -ænæn riik-aan z'n-ant-æn skhuu'næ aan z'n vuutæ. 23 't ghæve'tæ kalf. 24 bhan dees mæi'næn zœæn bhas doot-æn-i-is ghævondæ. 25 en zæi'næn-øur'stæ zœæn bhas-in-t-felt; en-as-ikbham en-t-æ'is ghænaa'kt, oord-ai-t ghæza'qk en-t laabhait [supposed to be connected with French *avade*, and not with *lavai*, specimen 106]. 27 uu bruur. 29 dad-ik mee-mæ vrii'ndæ mokh vroo'læik zæin. 31 kind, ghæi zæit -a'ltæid bæi mæin.

144. *Aksel*, or *Axel*, town (51 n 17, 3 e 55). II. 212.

[The Roman Catholic peasantry in the southern part of the Aksel district speak as in specimen 143, but the Protestants as follows. The close and open *e*, *o*, are said to be very distinctly separated.]

11 ør bhas ææ'rg hæns ii-mand dii tbhee zœœnæn aa. 12 en zæn vaa'dær deeld æ'ldær yit bhææ zæ noo'digh aan, om tæ kœ'næ leevæn. 15 bæ'e'stæn en vææ'rkæns øp tæ pa'sæn en tæ vuu'ræn. 18 vaa'dær, k -ææn zœ'kæ zo'ndæ ghædaa'n en miimædal ghuud mee juu ghæ'ndeld ['handled,' dealt]. 22 bregt-øm dæn nie'bhæn la'qkrok, en duut-æn ghøu'æ knø'pæn an z'n ææmsbiu'zæn ['gold studs on his shirt-front,' *hemdsboord* or *boezem*, the prodigal son is treated as an Aksel peasant lad], en zœ'l'væø bruu'ksti'kæn ['silver breeches-seams'] an, en skuu'næ mee ghi'spen ['buckles']. 23 en wœ'ldær zœ'læn ['we shall'] kuu'kæ ['cakes,' take the place of the calf] laa'tæn bæ'kæn. 24 bhant mæn zœœnæ bhas voor ons zoo ghuud as dood, en ii is ghævondæn. 25 dæn øur'stæn van dæ zœœns bhas in-t land, en tuun i di'khtær bi yys kbham, oorden ii zii'qæn en sprii'qæn. 27 jø bruur. 29 om plesi'ir t-ææn mee d-a'ndræ juu'qærs. 31 bel ['well'], mæn juu'qæn, jee bent a'læ tiin bi mæn.

145. *Kadzand*, village and district, formerly an island (51 n 21, 3 e 24). II. 216.

11 dæ bhas ees 'n mens dii tbhee zœœns æ. 12 in i dæe'ldæn-t ghuud o'ndær æ'ldær. 15 øp dæ ver'kæns tæ pa'sæn. 18 vaa'dær, ik ææn zo'ndæ ghædaa'n tee'ghen juu. 22 aalt 't móoi'stæ ghuud, in duut øt 'm an, in duud 'n riik an z'n vii'qer, en skhuu'næn an z'n vuutæn. 23 't ghæve'tæ kalf. 24 bhant m'n zœœnæ iir bhas dood, in ii is ghævondæn. 25 in z'n øur'stæ zœœnæ bhas in -t land, in as i kbham, in kort bi yys bhas, oorden ii-t ghæza'qk in-t ghæda'ns. 27 jø bruur. 29 om mee mæ vrii'nden ees-æn plezii'ri'ghæn dagh t-ææn. 31 juu'qæn, jee zii't a'ltiid bi mee.

146. *Sluis*, town (51 n 23, 3 e 23). II. 219.

11 'n zee'ker mens a tbhee zœœns. 12 en i dæe'ldæ -t ghuud o'ndæ æ'ldær. 15 om dæ ver'kæns tæ bhæ'khtæn. 18 vaa'dær, ik en ['have'] kbhaat

ghedaa'n tee'ghen juu. 22 aal -t be'stē kleed, in duut-et-əm an, in duud-ən riik an z'n and, in skhuu'nən an z'n vuut-ən. 23 't gheve'to kalf. 24 bhant dee-zē zōōen van mee bhas dōd, in ii is ghəvō'ndən. 25 in z'n ōu'stē zōōen bhas op -t land, in as i dikht bi yys kbham, ōōrdən ii-t ghəzə'q in-t ghədə'ns. 27 -jə bruur. 29 om mee mē vri'ndan lōē'tigh tē ziin. 31 kind, -jə bind a'l'tiid bii mee.

147. *Aardenburg*, town (51n16, 3 e 27). II. 222.

11 dāa bhas 'n keer [and (əkeer) 'once,' Dutch *eenkeer*, much used in Belgium] 'n man dii a tbhee zōōens. 12 ən ii vōrdeē'lden 't ghuud. 15 om dē vā'rēkens tō bhā'khtən. 18 vāā'dər, 'k dee-jō-k-ik [this repetition of personal pronoun is common in Flanders] zō'ndē tee'ghen juu. 22 aald-ə-keer 't be'stē klēē'd ən duu'det im an, ən-ən riik an z'n vii'qer, ən skhuu' nən an z'n vuut-ən. 23 't vē'to kalf. 24 bhan d'n dee-zēn m'n zōōē'nē dii bhas dōd, ii is ghəvō'nən. 25 z'n ōu'dstē zōōē'nē bhas in 't land, ən as i kbham ən t-yys nāā'dərden, ōōrdən ii-t zii'qen ən in dē rō'ndē dā'n'sen. 27 -jə bruur. 29 om mee m'n maa'ts ees lōē'to t-ən ['to have']. 31 m'n kind, ghee zii ghii a'l'tii bii mee.

148. *Eede* and *Heille*, villages (51 n 14, 3 e 27). II. 225.

[Really East Flemish, much mixed with French.]

11 nən zee'kōrən mēi'n'sē āā tbhēē' zōōens. 12 ən zōōnən-vāā'dərə parta-zērdən ōē'ldō dē syyksesii' ['succession']. 15 om dē zbhēns tō bhā'khtənē. 18 vāā'dərə, k-ēē'nē-k-ik [the pronoun tripled!] mesdāā'n jee'ghens ōu. 22 bregt iir voorts 't be'stē klēē'd, ən duug'hō-t-əm āā'nē, ən lā'qt-əm ənən-riik an z'n aand, ən skhuuns an z'n vuut-ən. 23 't ghē-mestē kalf. 24 bhant den dee-zēn monən zōōē'nē bhāā'rē dōēd, ən āi es bhedero'm ghəvō'nən. 25 ən z'n āi'stēn zōōē'nē bhas ēp dē stik-ən in os-t-ən kaa'mē ən t-ōis genāā'ktēghē, ōōrden āi den zaq ən-t ghərē'khtē. 27 ōu'ən bruurē. 29 opdaa-k mee m'n vri'ndēkens ēē's ghee'stigh mokht zāin. 31 kiind, ghee zāi ghāi a'l'tāis bāi māi.

[Observe the gerundial dative (tō bhā'khtənē) v. 15; Winkler remarks that this linguistically correct form, which has almost entirely disappeared

in North Netherlands, is still in full use in this and many other Flemish dialects, and that the dative is even used after independent nouns, as v. 13, *bachten lettel doogene*, 'after little (a few) days.']

XXVIII. ZUID-NEDERLAND, in English BELGIUM. II. 230.

XXIX. LIMBURG, Belgian portion. II. 234. Compare No. XVII. 51, etc., p. 1389.

149. *Helchteren*, village (51n3, 5 e 23). II. 235.

11 dōō' bhaas ins ənē-mins dee' tbhii zōōens ha. 12 ən dē vāā'dər lyyt z'n kinār ['let his children'] dee' lōn. 15 ən dē pā'khter dōēē hēm dē vēr'kən hyy'ən. 18 vāā'dər, ikh nem zōōn ghədōō'n tee'ghē okh. 22 duun dōē dē vāā'dər sēfēs ['quickly, see specimen 51] z'n be'stē kliir hāā'lēn. 23 ə vet kalf. 24 da zōōē-jōq trēk [Dutch *terug*, back] ghōkō-mē bhaas. 25 ō'nōrtē'sē ['meanwhile'] kbhaam dēn āā'dstē zōōn ōot hēt veld, ən bhēi ['when'] ər in hoos hyy'rde zī'qen ən dā'n'sēn... 27 uur bryr. 29 ən vōēer mikh hēm-mēn-zē ['have they'] zē lee'vōn zōō' ghiin ['none'] kōē'r'mis ['Christmas, fair-time, feasting] ghē-hāā'ghēn. 31 jōq, ghee' zēet a'l'tēēd bēē mikh.

150. *Hasselt*, town (50 n 56, 5 e 20). II. 238.

[The sound of *ao* in *kaome*, etc., and *o* in *vloog*, *go* (quickly), *zoon*, lies between *o*, *eu*, and *a*, but "one must be a Hasselter to force one's tongue to it." I have written (ē) as a compromise.]

11. dō bhōēer ins nē mān dīā tbhēi zēen ha. 12 dōūn ['then'] verdii'ldsjē dē vāā'r 't ghōūd tēsēn ['between,' Dutch *tussen*] min tbhēā. 15 uup z'n bhēni'q vēr z'n vēr'kēs tē hēi'ē. 18 vāā'dər, ikh heb fōēēt ghōhād tee'ghē yy'khē. 22 hāāi'ldsjē ins ghē 't be'stē kliid, ən dōūth [or (dōūtsjh)] cēm dā āān, ən stōēk-ēm ənē-riik in zōōē-vē'qer, ən skhāān in z'n vēēt. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mēnē-zōōēn hēē bhōēer dōd, ən nōō əs əm bhirm [Dutch *wederom*, 'again'] tregh [Dutch *terug*, 'back'] ghəvō'nē. 25 maa zōōnēn-āā'dstē zōōēn bhōēer op 't vēr'ldsh [may be ('veltsh, 'veltsjh, veldzh)] ən bhēē 'm in 't tregh kōē'r-mē kort an zēē'nēs ghēkēā-mē

bhœœr, hii'rdæn æm da-sæ an-t zæ'qæn
æn an-t daa'sæn [the first (n) lost]
bhœœræ. 27 uur bræ'r 29 vør m'n
kamerææ'tæn ins tæ traktee'ræ. 31
juuq, dzhee [written *dje*, may be
(tsiée)] zæet a'lteed bæe mikh.

151. *St. Truiden*, in French
St. Trond, town (50n48, 5e12). II. 242.

11 doo bhas ænæ-kiir (see specimen
147) ænæ-man, dee a tbhii juu-qæs. 12
æn dæ vaa'r dii'ldæ æn ghaf 't æm. 15
most ær æm bæe næ buur as verækæs-æe't
['as farrow-herd'] verry'ræ ['hire'].
18 paa, kh-æœb ghæzo'ndighd tee'ghæ
uukh. 22 6ilt ['fetch'] se'fæs nii'væ
klii'r æn æ paa'r nii'væ stii'væls vœœr
æm aæn tæ duun, æn ænæ-ghoo'n reqk
vœœr æn zænæ-vi'qær tæ stee'kæ. 23 't
vet kalf. 24 bhant mænæ-zoon bhas
duu'd, æn ikh æœb æm træk ghævu'qæ.
25 juu-maa ['yes, but'] dæn aardstæ
zoon dee bhas æn-t veld; æn æs-t-ær
t-åus kām, æn al da labhæ'e't æn
da ghæskhrii'f yæ'dæ, kos-t-ær nœe
bæghræ'ipæ bhæa da-t bhas. 27 zæ
bryyr. 29 vœœr z'n vri'ndæn ins tæ
traktee'ræ. 31 kend, dzhee [or (diée),
written *dje*] zæ'it a'lte'id bæe mikh
ghebheest.

XXX. ZUID BRABANT OR BEL-
GIAN BRABANT. II. 247. See
No. XVIII. 57, etc., p. 1390.

152. *Zuurbeemden*, village near
Haalen (50 n 57, 5 e 7). II. 249.

11 dœu'æ bhas ænæ-kiir næ man,
dæ'æ tbhii' zoo'næn hæ. 12 æn dæ
vaa'r liit dæn a'læs dæ'ile. 15 verkæ-
he'e't tæ bho'dæ ['to become farrow-
herd']. 18 vaa'dær, ikh bhii't-æt,
ikh hæm gere'ligh ghæmi'st tee'ghæ
uukh. 22 helt ghóu, ghóu dæ bæ'stæ
klii'ræn, duut z' hæm aæn, gheeft
hæm ok ænæn-riq in zæ'ine vi-qær, æn
briqt hæm skhuu'næn om æn tæ duun.
23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mæ'ine zoon
bhas duu'd, æn hæ'i'æn æs trœgh
ghævo'næ. 25 tæbhæ'i'læ da dad a'læ-
mou'l vœœrvil ['every-time hap-
pened'] bhas dæn aardstæ zoon in 't
veld, duunt er nœu'æ hæ'is kamp,
hyy'dæt ær va véis-t labhé'it van-t
zi'qæn æn-t da'næn. 27 uur bryyr. 29
vør m'n vri'ndæ ænæ-kiir tæ traktee'ræn.
31 joq, ghee zæ'it hæmæs a'lte'id bæ'i
mikh.

153. *Diest*, town (50n58, 5e3).
II. 253.

11 dør bhas eens ænæ-zæe'kæræ vent

['man'], dii' tbhii' zoo'næn ad. 12 æn
dæ vaa'dær vœrdi'ldæ elk zæ paat. 15
uum dæ verkæs tæ yyæ. 18 vaa'dær,
ikh æm kbhaad ghædaa'n tee'ghæ
uu'khæ. 22 spuud ['hasten'] uukh
al gháu, bregt æ nii' klii'd æn van dæ
skhuu'nstæ ['most beautiful'] æn
duugh-æt-æm aæn, æn gheft æm ænæn-
riqk aæn z'n and, æn skhuu'næn aæn
z'n vuu'tæn. 23 æ fæt ka'læf. 24 bhant
mænæ-zoon dii' dæa æs, bhas dood, æn
ee æs nœu ghævo'næ. 25 mæ'r dæn
ôustæ bhas bæ'z-tæ ['without'] uup 't
feld, æn æs æm o'ntrënt dæ'tigh okh
fi'tigh stapæ van oo's ['about 30 or
50 steps from house'] bhas, uu'rdæn
æm zi'qæn æn sprigæ. 27 uur bryyr.
29 om mee mæn vri'nde in kompanii-
t-æetæn. 31 zoon, ghee zet a'lteed
bæe mikh.

154. *Tienen*, in French
Tirlemont (50 n 38, 4 e 56). II. 256.

11 dœ' bhaær 'n kir 'n mins dæ'e'
tbhii' juu'qæs a. 12 æn dæ vaa'r eet'
æm 't ghuud ghedæ'ld. 15 vør dæ
verækæs 't yyæ. 18 vaa'ræ [this
should mean 'little father,' but may
be a misprint, as the word is (vaa'dær)
in v. 21], ikh æm o'ngheleek gh'ad
['I have wrong had'] tee'ghæn ækh. 22
hæilt ænæ-kir aghoo: [Dutch *al gauw*
'all quickly'] dæ bæ'stæ kleeræ dee'
ghæ viqt ['find,' Dutch *vindet*] æn
trekt-æm dee' aæn, æn stekt æm
ænæ-riqk in zænæ-vi-qær æn skhuun in
z'n vuu'tæ. 23 dæ vœ'tæ mœ'tæ ['calf'],
also (mœ'tæ, mœ'itæ, mœœ'tæ), (mœ'tiin)
in Overijssel means 'stuff'. 24
bhant mænæ-juuq ii bhas dood, æn-æ
æs bhiir trœgh ghævo'qæ. 25 o'ndærtæ'sæ
['meanwhile'] bhas dæn aardstæ zoon
uup 't veld, æn æs-t-ær trœgh kamp æn
beka'nst ['near'] æn z'n æœs [or
(ææhs) 'house'] bhas, yyædæ-t-ær
zi'qæn æn sprigæ. 27 zæ bræ'i. 29
vør mæn vri'ndæn ins æ fiée'skæ tæ
ghee'væ. 31 okh juuq, ghee' zed
æmæs a'lte'e'd bæe mikh.

[On the word *slavodder*, 'where'
v. 30, Winkler remarks that it is pro-
perly the word *slodder*, 'sloven,' with
a join inserted (*een lasch er in*) in the
Flemish way, thus: *sl-av-odder*, and in
the same way West Flemings make the
North Nederlandish *slet*, 'slut,' into
sl-av-etse, with the same meaning;
similarly in spec. 147, v. 14, the word
schabouwelijk occurs, which is *schouw-
lijk*, 'showily,' with a Flemish insertion
of *ab*.]

155. *Leuven*, in French *Louvain*, city (50 n 53, 4 e 43). II. 261.

11 *doo* ["a simple sound, nearly long Dutch *oo*, nearest French *eau*, and approaching German *u*"] bhas nē man dii tbhee zoon's a. 12 en dē voor verdee'lden in dan 't ghuut. 15 uum ēr dē verēkēs t-aa'və [(aa'və, oo'və, hoo'və, hóu'ə) from (hóu'də) 'hold,' the usual (huu'dən) 'keep' is unknown at Louvain]. 18 voo'dər, k-ēm ghemi'st, k-ēm zoo veel kood ghedō'n tee'ghə aa. 22 óilt se'fēs ēt bē'stē kleet en duut-ēt-əm on; stekt ənən-riq on zənən-vi'qər en duut-əm skhuu'nən on. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon bhas dood, en A'i es ghə'vō'nə. 25 jo-moo, dən óu'dstə zoon bhas tervā'i'lend ['whiling,' staying] uup 't velt, en as dā'i'nə bhee kbhamp en bēkā'inst ['almost'], en A'is bhas, oō'dən-əm vaa bā'i'tə daa zə *doo* bee'zigh bhoō'rə mee zi'qən en dā'n'sē. 27 uu brii. 29 uum mən vrii'ndən ins tē trakteerən. 31 mo kint, ghā'i' zā'id a'l'tā'id bā'i' mā'i. [(A'i) is said to "sound nearly like the English *boy*, but the (i) is very obscurely pronounced," more as (A'j) perhaps, but it is a mere variety of (āi).]

156. *Brussel*, in French *Bruzelles*, in English *Brussels*, city (50 n 52, 4 e 21). II. 268.

[The 'sneeze' of the Brusselers is stated not to be exactly Dutch *sj*, or French *ch*, or German *sch*, but resembling all, and to have something of *l* and *n* *mouillées* in it; hence I write it (sj) or (shj). J. F. Willems wrote it *j*, as *hitj* 'hot,' and S. C. A. Willems wrote it *jsch*, as *hitjsch*, and Winkler writes it *sj*. The Brussels population and the country about is distinctly low German, not French. The following version is the genuine old language of the lower city.]

11 duu bhas ənē-kii ənē-man dii tbhii'rə zoonən a. 12 en dē voor ghaf uun iider ze poot ['part']. 15 uum dē verēkēs t-aa'və. 18 voor, t-es bhoor ['true'] 'k em-ik-ik vœel, gh'i'i'l [Dutch *geheel*, altogether] vœel kbhhood ghadoo'en tee'ghən aa. 22 spūuid āailen isj al ghāa, o'ltsj ['fetch'] ē skhōoi ['beautiful'] nyut klii't vœē ['fore'] əm uun tē duun, stekt əm ənən-riqk uun zənə-vi'qər, ən gheeft-əm-ə poor skhuu'nən uun z'n vuu'tə. 23 ē vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon

duu bhas dōoid, ən naa əmə bhee 'm bhee ghə'vō'nə. 25 moo dən óu'dstə zoon bhas bōoite nuu 't feltjsj ghəbheer'st, ən as əm zuu əbhā'd [Dutch *ietwat*, 'somewhat'] in dē ghəbvy'rə ['neighbourhood'] van z'n óois kbhamp, óoidən āai al-t-si'qən en dā'n'sən. 27 a bryy. 29 om mēem'n kameroō'dən isj brāa tē smō'lən. 31 zoon, ghee zāai ghāa i'məs a'l'tāaid bāai ma t-óois.

157. *Noord-Brussel*, *Schaar-beek*, etc., the suburbs on the North of Brussels, see No. 156. II. 273.

11 *doo* bhas ənə-zee'kərə man dii' tbhii' zoonən a. 12 en dē voor di'ltsjsjən cœ'lən cœ'lə [Dutch *hunjeden* repeated] poot. 15 uum z'n verēkēs ghūui tē sloo'ghə [Dutch *gade te slaan*, 'notice to strike,' to mind]. 18 voor, t-es bhoor k-əm tee'ghən a kbhhood ghaduun. 22 ghef ghāa ē klii'd on dē juu'qə, en i'i'n ['one'] van dē bē'stē; duut'sj əm ənə-riqk on zənə-vi'n'rj, ən skhuu'nən on z'n vyy'tən. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon bhas dōoid, ən aa əs bhee ghə'vō'nə. 25 dən aa'dstə zoon bhas in 't feld gheblé'və; moo as ən noo z'n úuis kbhamp, iœcœ'dən a myyzii'k, dā'n'sən ən zank. 27 cœ'lə bryyr. 29 uum mee mən vri'ntjsj moo'l'taad t-aa'və. 31 juu'qə, ghee zaat a'l'taa baa ma.

XXXI. ANTWERPEN, in French ANVERS, in English ANTWERP. II. 279.

158. *Tielen*, village, near *Turnhout*, town (51 n 19, 4 e 57). II. 281.

11 dər bhas es nē vaa'dər mee tbhii' zoonən. 12 nee, dē vaa'dər dii' bhas droo'vər kontēnt, ən i liit z'n juu'qəs daa'lən. 15 dē verēkēs dee hyy'en. 18 vaa'dər k-ēm vœel kAAD ghōdāa'n. 22 duut-əm ghāu skhoon dii'qən AA, ən-nə riqk AA z'n vii'qər ən-skhuun AA z'n vuu'tə. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mənə-zoon bhas dood, ən-ik em tērcē'gh ghə'vō'nə. 25 jAA-mor dē ēē'dstān juu'qən bhas dān uup 't veld AAN 't bhe'rēkən, ən əs ē tee'ghən 's AA'vəs ['evening'] uup hóis AA kbham, oō'rdən ēē va vaas dā labhā'id ən-ə kost ər ghānə kop AA krā'i'ghən ['and he could there no head on get,' and he could not understand it.] 27 ē bryyr. 29 om m'n vrii'ndən es tē trakteerən. 31 juu'qə, ghee zāit uu'mes a'l'tāi bāi māi.

159. *Mol*, town (51n12, 5e7).
II. 284.

11 *dAA* *bhas* 'nə man dii' t**bh**ēē' zoon'nən *AA*'i ['had']. 12 *ən* *də* *vAA*'dər vordēē'ldə dan't ghuud. 15 *də* *ver*kəs *yy*'jə. 21 *vaa*'dər, 'k əm o'ng'hələ'ik. 22 *bre*kt sēfəs 't bē'stə kleed, ən duu ghəə't *AA*n; stekt-ən riqk *a* zənə-*ver*qər ən duut-əm skhuu'nən *AA*n. 23 't vet kə'ləf. 24 *bhant* mənə zoon *bhas* doot, ən ii is ghəvo'nə. 25 *dən* *ā*'stə zoon *bhas* tē'sən dii'n tē'id őit; as ə'i t-őis kbhamp, *yy*'rdən ə'i vā bōit-tə labhaart. 29 *om* mee m'n vree'nđən uup 't eē'tən. 31 *də* *vAA*'də zee-m dan dat hē'i a'l'tē'i bē'i -m *bhas*.

160. *Antwerpen*, in French *Anvers*, in English *Antwerp* (51 n 13, 4 e 23). II. 293.

[Considering Antwerp pronunciation to be the 'type' of South Netherlands or Belgian forms of speech, Winkler gives rather a long account of it, which is here condensed.

A long is *oa*, nearer *o* than *a*, almost the French *ô* in *fantôme* [that is, (AA)]. When without stress, it is like a common short *o*, (o, ə), as *maar* = *mor*.

A short is very like *e* short or German *ä* short; *man*, *had*, *kwam*, sound as German *männ*, *ädd*, *kwämm* [that is, (e)]. But when it has the stress, it sounds as half long *A*, nearly as French *âne* [that is, (a)].

E long and close becomes among the lowest classes *ei*, or rather *eei*, *eej* [that is, (éi, éei, éer) or (éi, éei, ées)].

E long and open becomes a diphthong *iē* or *ieē*, exactly like the Friesian *ie* or *ia*, and this is general Belgian [that is, (iə, i')]. When without stress, it becomes in Antwerp simple *i* [(i, i, e¹, e²)].

E heavy, "de zware e," is a bleating sound between *a* and *e*, the *æ* found in many Hollandish forms of speech, the French *faire*, *père* [as distinct from (ē)], given to short *e* above, this is certainly (æə)]. It often occurs before *r*, where the genuine Netherlands has *aa* or *e*, as *gærne*. In Friesic towns, Groningen, etc., these words have *ee*. The same *e* or *æ* sound is used in other words at Antwerp, which in Belgium generally have *ei* (éi). The final -*aar*, -*laar*, have (æ).

E short before *r* becomes *a* short, as *werk*, *kerk*, *sterk* = *wark*, *kark*, *stark* [with (a) ?].

IE diphthong has the pure, not the Hollandish, pronunciation [that is, (iə), not (ii)]. The lowest class, however, change it to a close long *e* followed by *j*, as *ziel* = *zeejl* [that is, (zé:il, zee'jl)].

I short is pure *i*, as in German, especially when it has the stress [that is, (i), not (i, e¹, e)].

O close and long is generally as in genuine Dutch [(oo) ?], but the lowest speakers add on an obscure *w*, as *kowmen* for *komen* (kóou-mən); *zoon*, *koning*, are *zeun*, *keunik* (zœcen, zœn; kœœ-nik, kœœ-nik).

O or OO open and long is pronounced *oeē*, that is, as *oe* with an aftersound of unaccented *e*, just like Friesian *oe* or *uo* [that is, (uu', u')]. This pronunciation is peculiar to Antwerp, Limburg, and part of Belgian Brabant. But in the two Flanders and the rest of Belgian Brabant this *o* is called *uē*, (yy'), as *schuun* or *schuēn* (skyy'n, skyy'n').

O short has generally in Belgium three sounds; 1) regular, in *top* (top, top ?); 2) as Hollandish *oe*, or German *u* (uu, u), in most words, where Hollandish has the obscure short *o* [apparently (o, ə)], as *oep* for *op*; 3) before *r*, as short *eu*, or as German *ö* [perhaps (ə), and not (œ)], may be meant]. Many of these words have short *u* [(œ) in my transcription].

U long retains its sound generally (yy); but when followed by *w*, as in *uw*, *duwen*, and also in *nu*, it becomes *au* or *auw* (áu).

U short in Antwerp and all Belgium, except occasionally in Flanders, is pure *u*, like German *ü* (y), as *ūt* for *hut* (yt).

IJ and EI under the stress become *aai* or *ai* or *oai* (āai, āi, A'i); without the stress, they fall into simple *a*.

UI, AAI, are both *ooi* (ōoi), as *oois* for *huis*.

OEI and OOI are both *oei* or *oej* (óui, új) at Antwerp. In OOI the *i* is sometimes lost, and the long open *oo* becomes *oeē* (uu') at Antwerp, as (nuu't) = *noot*.

AUW and OUW are both *auw* (áu).

EEW is *iēw*, "that is, the long open *ee*, which in Antwerp becomes *iē* or *ieē* [iī'], ending with a *w*" [iī'u ?].

IEUW is generally *iēf* (iif, iəf ?).

H is not pronounced in Antwerp, the two Flanders, and the western part of the province of Antwerp, and Bel-

gian Brabant. In Eastern Antwerp and in East Brabant, as well as in Limburg, *h* is pronounced.

N before some consonants becomes *ng* (g), as *kiingd* for *kind*. N is omitted in the termination *en*, where the next word does not begin with a vowel, as *wai moeten alle doage warke*.

T is omitted in *dat, wat, niet, met*, etc., as is also common in Zeeland and North Brabant.

D between two vowels is frequently *i* or *j*, as *spoien* for *spoeden*.

Cases do not differ in adjectives, but genders do. Article: masc. *'ne* (nə) before all consonants but *b, d, h, t*, and *'nen* (nən) before these and vowels; feminine *'n* always; neuter *e* (ə) before all consonants but *b, d, h, t*, and *'n* before these and vowels. Definite: masc. *de, den*; fem. *de*; neut. *t*. Possessive: m. *m'ne, m'nen*; f. *m'n*; n. *me, m'n*. Demonstrative: m. *dieē, dieën*; f. *die*; n. *dat*.

Pronouns: *gij* or *ge* placed after a verb becomes *de*, as *oor de nie?* = *hoort gij niet*. *Hij*, otherwise *a* or *aat*, becomes in that position *em*, as *zal em komen* = *zal hij komen*; but older people preserve *i* in this case. *Wij*, not under stress, becomes *me*. As object of a verb, the third person plural is always *ze*; of a preposition, always *un*.

A long vowel in verbs is shortened in 3 pr. sg., in 2 pr. pres., and in imp., *ik nēm, a nēmt, we nēmen, ge nēmt, ze nēmen; nēm, nēmt.*

11 *dor* *bhæs* is *nə mæn* en *dii'n* *æd* *tbbii'* *zœcœ'nə*. 12 *en a-j-eet* *œn ii'dər* *zə kiiqsghe'dii'ltə* ['child's portion'] *gheghee'və*. 15 *uum də vərəkəs t'uu'və*. 18 *vaa'dər*, *k-em* *kbhAA* *ghæd'ən tee'ghə* *áu*. 22 *mæ'nə*, *gháu*, *breq̃t ə pAA'sber'stə* ['paschal best, the custom being to put on new clothes at Easter] *klii'd* *œn duu* *ghee-t-əm* *AAN*, *stekt* *œnən-riiqk* *œn zœnə-vii'qer*, *œn trekt* *skhuu'nən* *œn z'n* *vuutə*. 23 *t* *vet* *ka'lof*. 24 *bhænt* *mənə-zœcœn* *bhæs duu'd*, *œn a-j-is* *trýgh* *ghəvə'qdə*. 25 *mor* *terbhái'let* *bhæs* *dən* *áu'stə* *zœcœn uup-t* *veld*; *œn* *æs* *œm* *bheer* *kbhæm*, *œn* *æl* *dikht* *baa z'n* *óois* *bhæs*, *uu'rden* *œm* *zi'qən* *œn* *daa'n'sə*. 27 *uu* *bryyr*. 29 *um* *m'n* *vri'qdən* *is* *tə* *trakteerə*. 31 *sii*, *ju'qə*, *ghee* *zə* *gháai* *a'ltə* *bə* *mái*.

161. *Lier*, in French *Lierre*, town (51 n 8, 4 e 34). II. 297.

11 *nə* *man* *ad* *tbbii'* *zœcœ'nə*. 12

œn a *vərdii'ldən-ət* *ghuud* *œnder* *œœ'lə*. 15 *œm* *zən* *væærəkəs* *t-œœ'bhə*. 18 *vaa'dər*, *k-əm* *tee'ghən* *aa* *ghəzœ'n-dighd*. 22 *breq̃t* *dən* *ii'r'stən* *tə'bərd* ['tabard, frock, a Dutch word] *dən* *b'esten*, *duut-əm-əm* *óun*, *stekt-əm* *nən-riiqk* *œn z'n* *and*, *œn* *skhuu'nən* *œn z'n* *vuutən*. 23 *ə* *m-estkalf*. 24 *omdat* *maa'nə* *zœn* *dood* *bhas*, *œn* *is* *bheeru'm* *ghəvə'nə*. 25 *mor* *dən* *aa'dstə* *zœn* *bhas* *op-t* *veld*, *œn* *tuun* *a* *bheer* *kbhamp*, *œn z'n* *óous* *nóu'dərde*, *oorden-aa-t* *ghəzə'qk*. 27 *uu* *bryyr*. 29 *om* *mee* *maan* *vri'ndə* *t-ee'ten*. 31 *zœn*, *ghaa* *zaad* *a'ltə* *baa* *maa*.

162. *Mechelen*, in English *Mechlin*, in French *Malines* (51 n 2, 4 e 23). II. 299.

11 *dər* *bhas* *nə* *kii'* *nə* *man*, *dii* *tbbii'* *ju'qəs* *aa*. 12 *œn* *də* *vA'i'dər* *vərdii'ldən* *œœ'lə* *pAAt*. 15 *uum* *də* *vərəkəs* *ghóoi* *tə* *slA'ighə*. 18 *vA'i'dər*, *k-əm* *ghəzœ'ndighd* *tee'ghən* *aa*. 22 *gheeft* *al* *ghaa* *ə* *klii'd* *œn-t* *b'estə* *dat* *er* *is*, *gheft-əm* *nən-riiqk* *AAN* *z'n* *and*, *œn* *skhuu'nən* *AAN* *z'n* *vuutə*. 23 *t* *vet* *kalf*. 24 *bhant* *mənə-ju'qə* *bhas* *duu'd*, *œn a-j-is* *bhee* *ghəvə'nə*. 25 *JAA-mor* *dən* *aa'dstə* *zœn* *dii'* *bhas* *up* *ət* *veld* *as* *daa* *vœcer* *viel*; *œn* *ghəla'k* *œm* *nor* *óois* *kbhamp*, *oorden-əm* *dor* *ə* *labhAAit* *van* *zi'qən* *œn* *sprii'qə*. 27 *uu* *bryyr*. 29 *um* *mee* *m'n* *vri'ndə* *nə* *kii'* *blái* *tə* *záain*. 31 *ghee* *zə* *gháai* *u'məs* *a'ltáaid* *bə* *mái*.

163. *St. Amands*, village (51 n 3, 4 e 12). II. 302.

11 *dóu* *bhas* *nə* *man* *dii'* *tbbii'* *zœcœ'nən* *aa*. 12 *œn* *də* *vóu'dər* *ghaf* *t'əm*. 15 *də* *vərəkəs* *ghóoi* *slóu'ghən*. 18 *vóu'dər*, *k-əm* *kbhóud* *ghedóu'n* *tee'ghən* *aa*. 22 *gheft* *al* *ghaa* *ə* *klii'd* *óun* *də* *ju'qən*; *ii'n* *van* *də* *b'estə*; *stekt* *dən* *nən-riiqk* *óun* *zái'nən* *vi'qer*, *œn* *gheft-əm* *skhuu'nən* *óun* *záin* *vuutə*. 23 *t* *vet* *ghəmo'kt* *kalf*. 24 *bhant* *ons* *kiind* *bhas* *duu'd*, *œn* *ái* *œs-bheer* *ghəvə'nə*. 25 *dən* *aa'tstən* *zœn* *bhas* *iin't* *feld* *ghəbleevən*, *œn* *as* *œn* *nóur* *œ'is* *kbhamp*, *uu'rden* *ái* *daa* *sə* *bee'zigh* *bhóurən* *mee* *tə* *zi'qən* *œn* *tə* *da'n'sən*. 27 *a* *bryyr*. 29 *uum* *nə* *kii'* *mee* *máin* *vri'ndə* *ke'mis* *t-aa'vən*. 31 *gha* *zait* *u'məs* *a'ltáid* *bái* *mái*.

XXXII. OOST-VLAANDEREN, in English EAST FLANDERS. II. 306.

164. *St. Nicolaas*, town (51 n 10, 4 e 7). II. 308.

11 dôur bhas nê kii'r nê mens, dii tbbii' zœnên AA. 12 en dê vœu'der ghaf z-êlk œlder pœurt. 15 om dê verkœs tœ bhakhtên. 18 vœu'der, k-êi misdœu'n. 22 œust œlder ['haste ye'] en œult al ghaa dê berstê klee'rên en duu zœ-m œun; stikt-œm-nê riik on zâi'nê vii'qer, en skhuu'nên on zâin vuutên. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mâi'nê zoon bhas doot, en âi is bheer ghœvœ'nê. 25 dên aar'dstê zoon kbham intœsên van -t veld bheer, en as âi nogh en booghskhœt ['a bow-shot'] van œ'is bhas, kost âi al-t myyzii'k, œn-t labhâit œ-rên. 27 œu bruur. 29 mee mâia vri'ndên nii nê keer lœutên smœœ'rên. 31 ghee zâi ghâi al'ted bâi mâi.

165. *Eeklo*, town (51 n 12, 3 e 33). II. 311.

11 tœr bhas nê kii'r nê rœ'i'kên eœtœ [Dutch *heer*, gentleman] dii tbbii' zœœns AA. 12 in dê vaa'derœ vœrdi'ldêgh œlder zœ'î ghunt. 15 dê verkœns tœ bhakhtên. 18 vaa'derœ, k-en misdaa'n vœœr EE. 22 briiq' iir al ghœ'bhœ [Dutch *gaauw*, quickly] zœ'in berstê dii'qên, in duu'ghœ-t-œm an, in stek-œm nê-riik an zœ'i'nê vii'qer, in skhuuns a zœ'in vuutên. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mœnœ-zœœ'nê bhas dyy't, in œ'î is bheero'm ghœvœ'n-dên. 25 maa'r binst ['in the mean time'] bhas zœ'i'nên ebh'stê zœœ'nê in dên a'kœr, in œs dên dii'nên bheerœ kii'rdêghê in an œ'is kbhamp, in yy'rdêghê zii'qên in labhêit e'bhên. 27 EE bruurœ. 29 om mœ'î mee mœ'î vrii'ndên nê kii'r bhal tœ duun. 31 tuut, tuut, mœ'î kind, gh-EE ghœ'î al'tœid bœ'î mœ'î ghœbheest.

166. *Maldegheem*, village (51 n 13, 3 e 27). II. 315.

11 dœr bhaâr nê keer'kœ nœn rœ'i'kœ man, dii tbbœ zœœns AA. 12 ee laa'tœr [?] mœ'stê deœ'lœn. 15 bhaâr ghœdwo'qên ['forced'] van dê zbhœœns tœ bhakhtên. 18 vaa'dœr, ek en mesdaa'n tee'ghên uu. 22-24 ee liipt-œm tee'ghœnœ ['he ran towards him'], vlaagh an zœnœn-als ['flew at his neck'], ke'stœ-œm, œn ee deœ ['did,' caused] van blœ'iskhap ['from blitheness'] omdat ee daâr bhaârœ, 'n vet kaalf sla'khtên. 25-30 dên a'ndœrœ zœœ'nê bœklaa'ghdœ œm ['complained'] daâr œœ'vœrœ dat ee a'kœns ['ever,' Dutch *al keerens*] braa'vœ ghœbheest bhaârœ, œn dat dii lœœrœ ['scamp']

zyy' ghund œ'ntaald bhii'rœ. 31, 32 maa'r dœ vaa'dœr zœi: mœ kend! t-œn œs nii meer of rekht ['it-not is not more of=than right'] daa mee daâr vœœr lœœtœ ['feasting'] maa'kên; bhant uu bruurœ bhaâr dœd, œn ee œs varœe'zœn ['risen from the dead'], ee bhaâr varlœœ'rên ['lost'], œn ee œs bheerœ ghœvœ'ndên.

167. *Kleit*, a hamlet belonging to parish of Maldegheem, 166. II. 319.

11 dê bhaâr nê keer'kœ nê ree'kœ man mat tbbœ zœœns. 12 dœ jo'qstê vruugh zœœn deœ'lœqœ. 15 most dœ zbhœœns bhakhtên. 18 vaa'dœrœ, ek een ['have'] mesdaa'n tee'ghœ uu. 22-24 ee viilt œm om dên nê'kœ œn ee deœ œn vet kaalf sla'khtên om kœ'rme'sœ t-aurbhœn van blœ'iskhap omdaa zœœ'nê zœœ'nê [Dutch *zijn zoon*, his son] gœkœ'mœ bhaârœ. 25-30 maa'r dên âu'stên bruurœ bhaârœ daâr kbhaad œ'mœ, dat ee a'kœs bbaa'vœ ghœbheest œn dat zœœn vaa'dœr vœœr em nii œn deœ'. 31, 32 maa'r dœ vaa'dœ zœ'i'œ: meen kend, laât œns blœ'i'œ zœœn, bhant uu bruurœ bhaârœ daad, œn ee œs varœe'zœn, ee bhaârœ varlœœ'rên, œn ee œs bheer ghekeœ'rd ['returned'].

168. *Gent*, in French *Gand*, in English *Ghent*, city (51 n 2, 3 e 44). II. 325.

[There are two principal modes of speech. One, the Newbridge Gentish, formerly spoken in the street of Nieuwe-Brug or Neder-Schelde, used principally by small tradesmen and work-people. This is lower (*platter*) than ordinary Gentish, and much drawled (*sleepend*, *lijmerig*). The present Newbridge mode is really the general old Gentish. The other Gentish is spoken generally by the citizens, and even the upper classes when using their mother tongue; modern Hollandish is "fortunately" not used, even in churches or in most schools.]

In this Gentish almost all short vowels are lengthened, as *kaate* or *kate* for *kat*, *bruge* or *bruugge* for *brug*, *steemme* for *stem*, etc. The short *i* and *e* of other dialects becomes *ij* (œ'î), as *drijnke*, *zijnge*, *wijnkel*, *schijnke*, *nijsn*, (mensch).

Long *a* is *œa* (AA) and before *r* often sounds as a diphthong like French *oi* in *voir* (uAA').

Open *e* or *ee* is a diphthong *ieë* (ii') or nearer *èëë*, *eeë* (EE, 'ee').

Heavy *e* [the (ææ) of Flemish generally] is *ii*, and this is the sound of short *e* before *r*, as *piird*, *zwird*, *begüre*; *stiirk*, *biirg*, *kiirke*, *viirke*.

Open long *o* becomes *ue* (yy'), as *buem*, *brued* = Dutch *boom*, *brood*.

Close long *o* becomes *eu* (œæ), as *veugel*, *vogel*.

Long *u* retains its sound (yy), but *uw* generally adds on an unaccented *e* (-ə).

The *ij* is *ai* (âi) or even *aai* (âai).

The *ei* is also usually *ai*, but in some words *eeë*, *èëë* (ee', EE'), as *gèëte*, *geit*, *schèën*, *scheiden*.

The *ui* becomes *aai* (âai).

The *ou* and *au* are French *ê* (EE) in some words, and Dutch *ij* (ô'i) in others; but when followed by *d*, are always *êw* (EE'u); *schêwwe* is both *schaunw* or *schaduw*, 'shade, shadow,' and *schouw* or *schoorsteen*, 'chimney'; when followed by *t*, these *ou*, *au*, are generally *ij* (ô'i), as *stijt*, stout, 'bold.'

The *i* in *ing* is not merely long (ii), but has the secondary stress, as *deelingē*, *lezingē*. [This is quite Chaucerian.]

The old termination *-eege*, *-igge*, is in full use, as *naaisterigge*, *naaister*, 'seamstress.'

The termination *-is* becomes *-esse*, as *geschiedenesse*, and *-laar*, properly *-leer*, becomes *-lirre* as *dompelirre*, *dompelaar*, *loiterer*.

The termination *uw* becomes *em*, as *zwa'em* for *zwaluw*, swallow (bird); but *weduwe*, *weduwenaar*, become *wewe*, *wewirre*.

Short *a* before *r* becomes long *a* or *oa* (AA), as *oarm*, *woarm* = arm, warm.

The *h* is not pronounced.

Unaccented *-e* is often added, as *moedere*, *emele* (hemel, 'heaven'), *ende* (hemd, 'shirt'), etc.

When *l* and *r* occur in the middle of a syllable, they are frequently omitted, and *r* before *s* is regularly mute, as *oas*, als, *ges* for *gers*, *gras*, as in Friesic *bust* for *burst*, *borst*, 'burst, breast, brush.'

But *ch* is heard in *mussche*, *bossche*, *mijnsche*, *menschen*, where it is omitted in Hollandish.

For *mp*, they use *np* or *nt*, as *lant*, lamp. Medial *d* either falls into *i* or *j* or is mute. Final foreign *je* is called *de*, as *famielde*, familie.

Ulder, *wulder*, *gulder* and *zulder* are used for *hen* or *hun*, *wij*, *gij*, *zij*. *Hij* is

often called *jij*, as '*k en ben te 'k ik nie geweest, 't eete jij geweest* (konberntekik nii ghebbheest, teetajô'i ghebbheest), literally 'I not am it I I not been, it has he been,' = 'twasn't me, 'twas him.

Gentish.

11 *tôr* bhaas *nə* *kii'r* *nə* *man*, in âi AA *tbbii'* *zœæns*. 12 in âi *dii'ldēghə-t* *yyldər* *âait*. 15 *om* *də* *viirkəs* *tə* *bha'khtə*. 18 *VAA'dərə*, *k-ee* *miis-dAA'n* *tee'ghən* *ee*. 22 *AAS* *âi* *nə* *bâi* *zâi* *zēlvə* *ghək'omə* *bhaas*, *riip* *âi* *ii'nə* ['he called one'] *van* *zâin* *kne'khte*, in âi *ghəbiidēgh* *eem-t* *beestə* *də'iqə* *t-AA'lə* *om* *eem* *an* *tə* *duun*, *eem* *ə* *paar* *skhuu'nə* *tə* *ghee-və*, in *nə* *rə'iqk* *oop* *zâinə* *və'iqər* *tə* *steekə*. 23 't *bestə* *kaalf*. 24 *omdaar* *mâinə* *zœænə*, *dii* *dyy'* ['dead'] *bhaas*, *bheerə* *ghəvə'ndə* *es*. 25 *o'ndartyy'sghə* *kbhaam* *dən* *ēēbh'stə* *zœænə* *oop* *-t* *land*; in *AAS* *âi* *omtree'nt* *dən* *âai'zə* ['house'] *kbhaam*, *yy'dēgh* *âi-t* *labhai't* in *də* *spee'lmən*. 27 *ee* *bruurə*. 29 *oom* *mâin* *vrii'ndə* *mee* *tə* *trakteerə*. 31 *maar*, *mâinə* *jo'qənə*, *ghee* *zâit* *oomorst* *altâid* *bâi* *mâi*.

169. *Tongval van de werklieden in de wijk der Nieuwe-brug te Gent*, speech of the work-people in New-bridge Street, Gent, see specimen 168.

11 *nə* *VAA'dər* *AA* *tbbii'* *zœæns*. 12 *ən* *də* *VAA'dərə* *ghaaf* *ət* *eem*. 16 *də* *viirkəs*. 18 *VAA'dərə*, *k-EE* *misdAA'n* *tee'ghən* *ee*. 22 *AAS* *tēldərə!* *lyy'pt* *oom* *zâin* *beestə* *klii'rə*, in *duu* *eem* *ən* *niœə'* *paar* *skhuu'nən* *an*, in *stek* *eem* *nə* *râiqk* *oop* *zâinə* *vâiqər*. 23 't *veertstə* *kaalf*. 24 *bhant* *mâinə* *zœænə* *bhaas* *ghəstoorvə*, in âi *əs* *bheerə* *lee-vət* *ghəbbhordə*. 25 in *AAS* *dən* *ēēbh'stə* *zœænə* *NAAR* *âais* *kbham*, *yy'rdēghə* *âi* *van* *veerə-t* *məzii'k* *in-t* *labhâit*. 27 *ee* *bruurə*. 29 *om* *mâi* *mee* *mâin* *kamərAA-tə* *yy'k* *nə* *kii'r* *t-aməzeerə*. 31 *kiind*, *al* *bhad'k* *bəzii't*, *əs-t* *ii'bhə*.

170. *Wetteren*, small town (51 n 0, 3 e 52). II. 331.

11 *daar* *bhas* *nə* *kii'r* *nə* *menskh*, *dii* *tbbii'* *zœæns* *AA*. 12 *ən* *ô'i* *dii'ldēghə* *ēldər-t* *ghuud*. 15 *om* *də* *veer'kəs* *tə* *bha'khtən*. 18 *vou'dər*, *k-EE* *misdAA'n* *tee'ghən* *ôu*. 22 *AAS* *tēldər!* *breq* *tse'fos-t* *bestə* *klii'd* *ən* *duun-t* *həm* *AA'nə*; *stek* *nə* *riq* *AA'n* *zə'in* *and*, *ən* *skhuu'nən* *AA'n* *zə'in* *vuutən*. 23 't *vet* *kalf*. 24 *bhant* *mâinə* *zœænə* *bhas* *dyy'd*, *ən* *ô'i* *əs*

ghəvō'ndən. 25 maa'r dən aa'dstə zœ'nə bhas in-t veld, ən as ə'i bheer kii'rdəghə ən tee'ghən œ'is kbham, yy'rdəghən ə'i, dat ər bi'nən myyziik, ghəspee'ld ən ghəda'nt bhiird. 27 ōu bruur. 29 om nə kii'r mee mē'in vrii'ndən kee'rme's t-aa'en ['hold']. 31 jo'qən, ghee zə'it a'ltyy's bə'i mē'i.

171. *Ninove*, town (50 n 51, 4 e 1). II. 334.

11 duaa' bhas nə kii' nə mensjh, dii tbhii' zuu'nən aa. 12 ən də vuaa'r ghaf əm za puaa'rt. 15 om də vēr'kəs tə bha'khtən. 18 vuaa'r, k-em kuaa'd gheduaa'n tee'ghən aa. 22 spuudsj ēilon, ən duut əm sə'fəs skhiyy'en ['beautiful'] dii'qən uaa'n, ən stek nə riik uaa' zaa'nə vii'qər, ən skhuu'nən uaa' zan vuutən. 23 ə və'itsj kalf. 24 bhant iik pēe'sdən [Dutch *peinsde*, thought] daa maa'nə zuun diyy'əd bhas, ən aa əs van-eer [van *her*, 'again'] ghəvō'nə. 25 dən aa'stə zuun kbham puaa'r œ'is van-t veldsj, ən as ən bəka'ns ['near'] t-œ'is bhas, iyy'ərdən a zi'qən ən da'nən. 27 aa briir. 29 om mee maan vri'nən kee'rme's t-aa-vən. 31 ju'qən, gh'etjsj ghaa a'l'tə'id ba maa.

[On (djsj, tjsj), the 'sneeze,' see specimen 156. On (uaa') Winkler says the sound is somewhat (*eenigzins*) diphthongal, especially before *r*, and then sounds exactly like the French *oi* in *voir*. In spec. 170 he had not made that remark. See introductory note to spec. 168, on long *a* (1423, *d'*).]

172. *Eichem*, village near *Voorde*, village (50 n 49, 3 e 50). II. 338.

11 dər bhas nə kii'r nə maan dii tbhii' zœ'nən ōu. 12 ən a vėrdə'ilj-djəghən ēi'ər -t ghuid. 15 om də vė'rkəs tə bha'khtən. 18 vaa'r, k-em tee'ghən aa ghəzō'ndighd. 22 ost ōu'ər [Dutch *haast u*, 'haste you'], briqd a ghaa t-i'i'stə ['the first'] klii'd daa ghə vendjsj ['find'], duuv-əd əm aan, stekt-əm nə-riqk op d-and ən skhuu'nən aa zə'in vuutən. 23 ə vatjsj kalf. 24 bhant mē'i'nə zoon iir bhas diyy'əd, ən aa əs bheer ghəvō'nən. 25 maa'r zə'i'nən ōu'stən zoon bhas op-t veldsj, ən as ən bheer kbham, iyy'ərdəghən-ən spee'lən ən zi'qən. 27 a bryyr. 29 om mee mē'in vri'nən op-t eē'tən. 31 zoon, ghāai zəid a'ltyy'əs bāai māai.

173. *Geeraardsbergen*, *Geeroudsbergen*, *Geertsbergen*, or *Griesbergen*,

in French *Grammont*, town (50 n 46, 4 e 47). II. 341.

11 tər bhas nə kii'r nə maan, dii tbhii' zəinsh aa'i. 12 ən də va'i'r dii vėrdii'ldshəghə -t ghuid tœ'skhən zan zəinsh. 15 om də vər'kış tə bha'khtən. 18 'k zaa əm zə'ghən ['I shall say to him'] daa-k kaad ghədaa'n ēē'n tee'ghən em. 22 tœ'rə lœ'pt, oltjsh a ghāu man spli'ntərnny ['my splinter-new'] plœ'nə ən duu zə-m aan; stikt nə riik aa zaa'nə viq'ər ["in *ng*, the *g* is omitted, and *n* nasalised as in French." This direction I take to be one given by the translator, and that it was meant to convey the sound of (q) to French speakers; the same direction occurs elsewhere. I continue to use (q), but shall note the (A)], ən skhuu'nən aa zan vuutən. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant maa'nə zœ'nə bhas diyy'əd, ən aa əs van-eer ghəvō'nən. 25 mor dən āu'stən zœ'nə dii' bhas tərbbāi'ligh op-t land; ən as ən bheerə kbham ən dat ən bāi t-œ'is bhas, iyy'ərdəgh ən-t labhāit van-t myyziik ən van-t ghəza'qksəl. 27 a bryy'ər. 29 om mee man vrii'nən nə kii'r taa'fəliqə t-āu'en. 31 jo'qən, iyy'ər nə kii'r, zāi ghə ghāi nii a'l'tāid ba māi?

174. *Oudenaarde*, in French *Audenarde*, town (50 n 51, 3 e 36). II. 345.

11 tər bhas nə kii'r nə zœ'kərə mēins dii tbhii' zœ'ens aa. 12 ən də vaa'dər vėrdii'ldəghə -t ghuid. 15 om də vė'rkəs tə bha'khtən. 18 vaa'dər, k-ee misdaa'n tœ'əghən œ'i. 22 ghoo tœ'rə, haalt-ət bə'stə klii'd ən duu-t-əm an, duut-ən nə rēi'qk aa zāi'nə vėi'qər, ən skhuuns aa zāi vuutən. 23 't fet kalf. 24 bhant māi'nə zœ'nə bhas dyy'd, ən ii əs nœ'i bheerə ghəvō'ndən. 25 dən ōu'stə zœ'nə bhas op-t feld, ən ii ən bhi'stəghə ['wist, 'knew] vaa niit. os i nœ'i, al bheerə kii'rən, zāin ōis naa'dərdeē'ghə ['neared'], yy'rdəgh-i dan zə zuu'qən ən zœk nən daa'nighən dœən maa'ktighən. 27 œ'i bruurə. 29 om māin vrii'ndən mee tə traktee-rən. 31 kind, uu est tokh mœ'e-ghəlāil da-ghe zœ'kən dēi'qən van œ'i bruurə kənt zə'ghən; ghāi, ghə zāit a'ltyy's bāi māi.

175. *Deinze* or *Deynze*, town (50 n 58, 3 e 31). II. 349.

11 dər bhas nə kii'r nə maan, dii tbhii' zœ'ens aa. 12 ən də vaa'dər dii'ldəgh ə'ldər zēē ghuid. 15 om də

vir'kens tē bha'khtēn. 18 vaa'dərə, k-EE misdaa'n tee'ghē aa'j. 22 ee dee ēm dē be'stē klii'rēn aa'lēn vœœr zee'nē zœœ'nē aan tē duun, ēm ee dee ēm ē paar skhuu'nēn gheen, ēm nē reeqk op zee'nē vee'qer stee'kēn. 23 't vet'stē kalf. 24 omdaa' mee'nē zœœ'nē, dii-t dy' bhas, bheerē ghə-vō'ndēn es. 25 binst dii mi-dəlēn tē'id kbham dēn aa'j'stē zœœ'nē van op-t land; ēm oos ee omtre'nt dēn œ'i'zē kbhamp, yy'rdegh œ-t labhə'i't ēn de speel'man. 27 aa'j bruurē. 29 om meen vrii'ndēn mee tē trekteerēn. 31 maar mee'nē jo'qēn tokh, ghē zee ghə'i o'mərs a'tteed bē'i mē'i.

XXXIII. WEST-VLAANDEREN, in English WEST FLANDERS. II. 352.

176. *Brugge*, in French *Bruges*, city (51 n 13, 3 e 12). II. 356.

[Long *a* is pronounced *aa* (AA) before *d, t, l, n, r, s, z* (except in plurals of past tenses in verbs, where *a* is short in singular, as *ik bad, wi baden*, and except some *b, f, g, m*, has been lost, as *made* for *maagde*), but is pure, as *ā* in French *âtre* (*aa, aa?*), before *b, p, f, v, g, k* and *m*. And *sch* is pronounced *sk*, which is old low German, and is still heard in some low German modes of speech. The version is too free to be quoted exactly.]

11 dər bhas ē ker ē man, ēm ii aa tbhee zœœns. 12 vaa'dər, ghē'mē ['give me'] ghi -t ghoo'nē [Dutch *het geene*, 'the that,' the thing or part] daa-k ik muun en. 15 zbhiins. 22 i dēi ēm zōn be'stē kleerēn aa'lēn. 25-30 dēn uurktēn zœœ'nē bhas daar zaluu's [French *jaloux*] van, ēm zēi: vaa'dər, t-ēn is tokh nūi ghəper-met-eerd! jē duu meer vaar dii slōəbər ['slobbery fellow'] of daa jē vaar miin do't. jaa, zēi dē vaa'dər, vēr'ntjē ['man'] t-ēn is maar reks lik of 't ziin munt ['it is however right like as it must be,' it is quite right], jēn bruurē bhas dood, ēm ii is vœœrēzēn ['arisen']; zōo is-t gheel simpəl daa mē miin'dər [for *wij wijlieden* 'we we-folk'] daa vii'rēn. jē viiqk ghē ['receive'] dē belōoniqē van jē ghūu ghedra'gh ['of your good behaviour'] in bhal tē staa'nē med i-dereen, vœrstaa-jē daa? en laat ghi ons ol tē ghaa'rē ['together'] kontē'nt ziin dat i nogh leeft.

177. *Oostende*, in English

Ostend, town (51 n 14, 2 e 54). II. 362. [This is also very freely translated.]

11 tər bhas ēm keer ēm vaa'dər, ēm j-aa tbhee zœœns. 12 dii ghūu soel ghaaf ēt ēm; EE ja, bhaa mo'st ēm doo'n, ee? 15 ēm zōn zbhiins tē bha'khtēn. 18 vaa'dər, k-ēn zōo lee'lik ghēdaa'n mi juun ['I have so ugly done with you']. 20-24 bhaa daa sēn vaa'dər mid ēm dēi? 'k laat shē -t ghēraa'n ['what then his father with him did, I let you it guess']. ghōu, wa'nsjē ['jack,' diminutive of *Johannes* called *Jowannes*] zēit ēm ghōu, kom bi'nēn, mēn vēr'nt, 'k ziin zōo blii' daa jē daa ziit. mē ghāan sēfōns kē'rēm's uu'dēn. ēm-t vet kolf most ēr an, ēm nogh ēntbhat a'qers ['something besides'] ēm vaa'dər ēm zœœ'nē dēi'ēn ēm fiin mœ'ltjē ['had a fine feast']. 25 dēn uu'dstē zœœ'nē, dii van oō'vēr en dagh of tbhéi yyt bhas, kbham binst dēn mi-dələnti'i'd naa z'n yys tē bhee'ghē. jaa-maar i oō'rde-t myyziik spee'lēn, ēm jē vœrskhiit ['changes'] ol met ēm keer. 29 jē bhor mē bhe' zōo vruud zee, dat i nūi ēm bhist bhaa dat ēm dēi, ēm j-ēm wi'dē nūi bi'nēn-ghaan. 31 maar vaa'dər kam yyt, ēm a'khter ēm bitsjē bibelabuur'shas ['after a little coaxing'] jē tbhee'feld ['induced'] ēm tokh tuu bi zēn bruurē. ēm zē kœ'rstēn mee'kaar, ēm-t bhas vriind lik van tē vœ'rēn.

178. *Roesselaar*, in French *Roulers*, town (50 n 56, 3 e 7). II. 369.

11 t-bhos ē kee nē man ēm ii aa tbhee zœœns. 12 ēm zē vaa'dərē i vœrde'ld i ol zē ghūud o'ndər z'n tbhee zœœns. 15 ēm dər dē zbhiins tē bha'khtēn. 18 vaa'dərē, k-EE-k-ik zō'ndē ghēdaa'n teeghēn juun. 22 aast jē, aal-ēm ē kee zē niibh kleed ēm duu-t an, stekt nē riik ip z'n'ē viiq'rē [see specimen 173] ēm duu skhuun an z'n vuur'tēn. 23 't vet kolf. 24 ghē muu bheetēn ['wit,' know] mēnē-zœœ'nē bhos daad, ēm ii EE bheerē yy'tghakō-mēn. 25 dēn uu'dstēn zœœ'nē bhos ip -t land bee'zigh mee bhe'rēnē, ēm os en bheerē kbham van de sti'kēn, ēm t-yy's naa'sdē, i oō'rdaghe da zē van bin trompetaghe ēm zuu'qēn. 27 jēn broo'rē. 29 omda-k aak vaar m'n vrii'ndēn zuu kœœn ē kee kē'rēm's uu'dēn. 31 maar ju'qēn [here *ng* is printed as usual], ghē zii ghii o'lti'ld bi mi.

179. *Kortrijk*, in French *Courtrai*, city (50 n 55, 3 e 12). II. 374.

[The Kortrijkers omit final *d*, especially before a consonant, as *i ston mē ziin œ ip ziin oof, en i iel 'n broo in ziin an* = hij stond met zijn hoed op zijn hoofd, en hij hield een brood in zijn hand, 'he stood with his hat on his head, and he held a bread-loaf in his hand.' Final *n* is so frequently omitted that the Kortrijkers are nicknamed *ennebiters*, 'en-biters.' Also *l* and *r* are frequently omitted. *Sch* is called *sk*. Final *iē* (iə) is constantly used as a diminutive.]

11 nē man a tbhēe zœœns. 12 ən zə kREĒ'ghən elk œldər dEĒ'l. 15 dii dēi əm ghaan mee də zbhiins. 18 vAA'dər, k-EE ghəzə'ndigh tee'ghən yy. 22 loop om-t be'stə kLEĒ'ən duu-t-əm an; ən duu-nə riikq ən ziin an, ən duu skhuunan [as *sch*, and not *sk*, is written, I copy it] an ziin vuur't. 23 't vet kolf. 24 bhan mi-nə zœœ-nə bha daa, ən ii əs bheer-ə ghəvə'ndə. 25 dən 6u dstə zœœ-nə bhaa daar binst ip-t lan. os i bheer-ə kEE'rde van də sti'kən, en bi-t yys van zi vAA'dər bhaa, oordən-i zi'qən ən da'nsə. 27 yy bruur-ə. 29 om mee miin vri'ndən tē kerə'mə'sən. 31 ju'qən, ghee ziit o'ltiid bi mi.

180. *Iperen*, in French *Ypres*, city (50 n 52, 2 e 53). II. 378.

11 daa bhos ə man dii tbhEE zœœns a'də. 12 ən də vaa'də dee-J-ət. 15 om də zbhiins tə bha'khtən. 18 vaa'dər, k-ēin EEZuu'ndeghd [this (EE) for (ghə) in participles is said to sound just as *ē* in the French *être*] tee'ghən juun. 22 briiqt ə keer zee'rə ['quickly'] ə niœœ'bhən bruuk ən ə niœœ'bhə kaza'kə, ən duu-sə-m a'nduun. stekt ə riikq ən zə vii'ndər ən gheet-ən niœœ'bhə [(niée'bhə) may be the proper word; *nieuwe* is printed twice and *nieuwe* once, but *eu* does not appear to be otherwise replaced by *e*] skhuun. 23 ə vet kolf. 24 mə ju'qən [see specimen 173 on (q)] bhos dood, ən-ən əs bheer-ə EEvu'ndən. 25 jamaa, os dən uu'dstə zœœ-nə van-t lant kbham, bhaa dat-ən bhos ghaan bherkən, ən dat-ən bi-t yys kbham, ən oorde da'nsən ən zi'qən ən sprii'qən. 27 jə broo'rə. 29 om z-ep t-eetən ['to eat it up'] mee mən vri'ndən. 31 ju'qən, J-ən-EE ghii nii tē klaa'ghən; ghē ziit van tj'nœ'khtəns

tuu tj'naa-vəns ['from morning to evening,' Dutch *ochtends, avonds*] bi miin.

181. *Poperingen*, town (50 n 52, 2 e 43). II. 382.

11 t-bhos EE kee EE mens, dii tbhEE zœœns a'də. 12 ən də vAA'dər dee'ldə œldər-t ghaut. 15 om də zbhiins tə bha'khtən. 18 vAA'dər, k-ən EEZu'ndighd tee'ghən juun. 22 briiqt [see specimen 173 on (q)] ma zee'rə zən be'stə kaza'kə ən duu-sə-m an, stekt EE riikq ən zə vii'qər ən duu sə skhuun an. 23 't vet kalf. 24 om dəs bhi'lə mə zœœ-nə bhos dood, ən-ən is yyt EEko'mən. 25 tuun kam dən uu'dstə zœœ-nə van-t stik, ən os ən ontrent t-yys kam, ən dat ən z-oorde zi'qən ən myyzi'kə spee'lən. 27 jə broo'rə. 29 om miin vri'ndən tē traktee'rən. 31 ju'qən, jə zi ghii o'san [for *olsan*, that is, *als aan*, always] bi miin.

182. *Veurne-Ambacht*, district, manor of *Veurne*, town, in French *Furnes* (51 n 4, 2 e 38). II. 386.

11 t-bhos ə kee ə man, ən dii man a'də tbhEE zœœns. 12 ən də vAA'də dee'ldən œldər -t ghaut. 15 om tə zbhiins tə bha'khtən. 18 vAA'dər, k-ən daa leek misdaa'n tee'ghən juun. 22 zEE'rə ['haste'] om ə be'stə kaza'kə vAA mə zœœ-nə, duut-ən z-an, ən duut-ən ə paar skhuun an. 23 't kolf daa m-EE-vət ən. 24 mə zœœ-nə daa bhos dood, ən m-ən ən bheer-ə EEvo'qən [see specimen 173 on (q)]. 25 dən uu'dstə zœœ-nə bhos bi də bhi'lə 6p də sti'kən os ən nyy van zə bherk kam, lik of ən nii v-e'rə mee van zən yys bhos, ən oorde zə da'nsən ən sprii'qən ən myyzi'kə spee'lən. 27 i broo'rə. 29 om mee mə vri'ndən ə kee kerə'mə'sə t-u'ndən. 31 zœœ-nə, i blyff ghi o'san bi miin.

XXXIV. FRANCE. II. 389.

183. *St. Winok's Bergen*, in French *Bergues*, town (50 n 59, 2 e 25). II. 395.

[In the town itself the people generally speak Flemish, and but few French; the country round about the town is quite Flemish.]

11 t-bhas ən keer ən vAA'dər dat ən paar zœœns a'də. 12 ən dən uu'dən braa-vən man, jAA, nœm dee'ldə z'n fortyynə. 15 dən buur ['boor,' peasant] bEE ['well'!], EE zoq [see specimen 173 on (q)] ən op sən land mee-sən

zbhiins, sensee ['only think']. 18 t-is bhaa ['it is true'] mæn vaadər, k-ən zōndə EEDAAN tee'ghen juun. 22 lopt, zeght-ən, briiq-ət be'stə abii-t [French *habit*], dii m-en ['which I have'], ən trēk-en-t næm an; stikt-ən ən-riiqk rond zən viiq-ər, ən gheet-ən ən PAAR skhuun. 23 ət vet kAAf. 24 om-s-bhi-lə, mæn juq-stən juq-ən, diit-ən dood bhas, is t-yyS Eeko-mən. 25 dən uurdstən zœæ'nə, bee, ən bhas op-t veld etbhaa, ən diit-ən bi-t yys erøveerdə ['arrived'], ən ər-də daa ən rrymmu-r onghiōrd, ən zii-qən ən klii-qkən ən dānsən. 27 zən free-rə. 29 om men kēnesen tē bēshkii-qkən. 31 juq-ən, jə blyift ghii MEE miin.

184. *Duinkerke*, in French *Dunkerque*, in English *Dunkirk*, town (51 n 3, 2 e 23). II. 401.

11 dē bhos 'n keer EE man, ən 'n ad tbhee zœæns. 12 dē vaa-dər ghaf an ziin tbhee zœæns elk-t sii'nə. 15 bii ziin zbhiins. 18 vaa-dər, k-en-ən folii- ['folly'] EEDAAN ee'ghen juun. 22 ən i zee; aald əm tē fee'tə EE

niœæ'-bhən teny- [French *tenu*]. 23 't kermes-ka'lf. 24 van apree-tuun [French *après tout*], miin zœæ'nə bhos doəd, ən-ən is EEvo-nən. 25 ən os dən uurdstə zœæn daa rook, EE bhas eepikee-rd ['piqued']. 29 om op-t eet-ən MEE-mən kompanjōns [Fr. *compagnons*]. 31 ort, ju-qən, [see specimen 173 on (q)] ik ən ghii bhœæ-nən a'ltiid tē ghaa-rē ['together'].

XXXV. AANHANGSEL, Appendix. II. 408.

[This gives a version in the *Rood-waalsch* or *slang* of the South-Netherland or Belgian Limburgish Kempen (specimen 185), and of Zele in East Flanders (specimen 186), which have no interest for our present purpose.]

Note.— Since p. 1393, col. 2, l. 8 from bottom, was printed off, I have been informed that the Dutch *porsie* for *portion* has the accent on the first syllable, and is (pors'ii, pors'i) or (pors'hə). French words in *-tion*, *-sion*, become words in *-sie* in Dutch, and end either in (-sii, -si) or (-sia', -shə).

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This completes the studies introductory to the consideration of our English dialects. It may be thought at first that too wide a range has been taken, but my own conviction is that the error lies in the other direction, and that these studies will prove insufficient for the complete phonologic study of our dialects, because I have found that, since most of them were in type, on attempting to deal with some existing cases which have come before me, my own knowledge has only too frequently made default. Thus in vowels, the *oo* and short *u* of Northumberland, taken as (*u*); the *oo* of West Somerset, of North and South Devon, of Norfolk and Suffolk, taken as (*yy*, *fu*), are still phonologic riddles, and I might greatly increase the list. In consonants, the different uvular *r*'s of Northumberland, and the (glottal or reverted) *r*'s of Wiltshire, Gloucester, and Somerset; and even the trilled *r*'s of Scotland, Westmorland and Ireland (said to be different), are not yet discriminated phonetically with sufficient accuracy. For many of the diphthongs and fractures extreme difficulty is felt in determining the position of stress, the length of the elements, and the quality of the element not under the stress. The peculiarities of intonation, which are locally most characteristic, are as yet phonetically uncharacterized.

For those who simply regard dialectal talk as "funny," "odd," "curious," "ridiculous," or "vulgar," such like difficulties do not exist. Even philologists, who have wrapped themselves up in their garment of Roman letters, as musicians in their equally tempered drab, will not care for them. But as no scientific theory of concord can be evolved from the blurred representation or rather caricature of consonance which this temperament can alone produce, so no scientific theory of organic change of words, which forms the staple of philology, can be deduced from the incomplete, dazzling, puzzling, varying, orthography which Latin letters can alone present. The great object of this work has been from beneath this heavy cloak to trace the living form, with the pure philological purpose of arriving at scientific theories which shall help us to derive the present from the past of language. The result can be but a rough approximation after all. But in forming an estimate for any work it is usual to calculate to farthings, and then lay on a broad margin for contingency. So here we must endeavour to trace to the minutest details, however absurdly small they may appear, and then allow a wide "debateable land" for inevitable errors. The nature of such a land is well enough shewn by an example in the preceding introductory remarks (pp. 1371-3). The nature of the details is shewn in Nos. 6 and 7 (pp. 1265-1357). The guide to an appreciation of the English laws of change will be found in the changes so carefully tabulated by Schmeller for Bavarian High German (pp. 1357-1368), a language descended from the same remote common ancestor as our own, and those which can be inferred from Winkler's collections (pp. 1378-1428) for descendants on the original soil from the same progenitor. With this preparation we will endeavour to investigate the phonology of existing English dialects themselves, as a clue to the radically dialectal English of our forefathers.





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